



Martha Mutisi and Deprese Muchena

Global Governance Multilateralism and African Politics

Module for Young Thought Leaders
FES LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

Youth
Leadership
Training
Zimbabwe

**FRIEDRICH
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STIFTUNG

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MODULE DESCRIPTION AND BACKGROUND

For Africa, global governance matters. Decisions made by developed countries and by global bodies such as the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the Group of 7 (G7) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), have a direct bearing on the well-being of the African people. The impact of global governance and global processes have been felt in Africa at many levels. Events such as the developed world's global economic and financial crisis of the late 2000s have had an untold impact on African economies which are tied to these countries and global regions. The impact of the global financial crisis on the African continent has manifested through the increased volatility of various currencies, reduced flows of private capital to the region, reduced flows of remittances and decreasing commodity prices. These outcomes have had considerable implications for poverty, food security and health.

Often, African citizens complain or are intrigued when their leaders run up huge bills on foreign travel or when they are seldom in the country due to going on overseas trips. Some even make dramatic policy announcements with deeper domestic ramifications while on these travels. Some of the international travel includes trips to UN bodies, including the Universal Periodic Review Meetings, CITES, Human Rights Committee and the General Assembly, which takes place every September. Others include the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Climate Change Conventions under the various Communities of Practice (COPs) and the World Health Organization (WHO) conventions. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) Spring Meetings are a popular feature of global economic governance.

Outside of the many UN level forums, there are other multilateral institutions such as the Organization of European Cooperation and Development (OECD), the EU, NATO and the G7. Due to the battle for alternatives to the current global order, other platforms have arisen at various epochs of history, and include the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Organisation of American States (OAS), Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (BRICS), the G7 and G20 gatherings and other regional groupings. There are also Africa based platforms such as the African Union (AU) Summit of Heads of State, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the

SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF), the East African Community, the Great Lakes Conference and the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS), amongst others.

Newly formed relationships with Africa include the Summit of the China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Tokyo–Africa Forum (TICAD), India–Africa Summit, United States (US)–Africa Summit, Brazil–Africa Summit, EU–Africa Summit, amongst others. There is an array of non-state actors' platforms, summits and groupings that are growing in purpose, strength and significance. They include the World Economic Forum (WEF), World Social Forum, Southern Africa People's Solidarity Platform (SAPSN) Alternative Mining Indaba, including the Zimbabwe Alternative Mining Indaba, the Zimbabwe Citizen Manifesto, International Anti-Corruption Conference, CIVICUS and others that are also shaping the global governance agenda.

States have embraced (some grudgingly) the idea that national territory is no longer the only space where some of the world's larger and more complex multifaceted problems can be solved. Or rather national territory remains necessary and desirable but it no longer has sufficient space to contain and address all the complex problems.

To effectively solve some of these complex issues that increasingly are inter-territorial, interstate or larger than the sovereign will of governance. States have to trade some of their sovereignty for a larger goal – the common good. They need a multilateral forum and institutions that can create a governance framework at a global level to which every state belongs and with which every country associates.

It is the realisation that a multilateral forum is probably the better site and space to give effect to the governance of matters beyond the State that we find the two concepts – global governance and multilateralism – mutually reinforcing. It is thus possible to argue that global governance and multilateralism are two cousins of the international relations family, closely related to the pursuit of peace, security and economic development within an agreed upon international relations framework.

We live in an increasingly complex world, a world of great contradictions, complexities and interdependence politics. This module seeks to develop

craft competence for young leaders studying this course by referring to the evolution of the concepts and the debates of some of the views of key scholars and practitioners. It introduces vital thematic areas through which we can examine the practice and the limits of global governance and multilateralism. For Zimbabwean students of this module, it is well known that the 'international community' has been a critical factor in the efforts of the post-November 2017 government at ending isolation and promoting re-engagement. Understanding the opportunity and limits of the global governance and multilateralism is an important step in following the steps and strategies that Emmerson Mnangagwa's government will be taking.

This course covers the essentials for understanding global governance and examines how African actors engage with a wide array of multilateral institutions and partners. By combining a variety of disciplinary perspectives, including law, economics, political science, history, and international relations, this course considers some salient central topics in the field of global governance, including institutions, identities, and issues; capacity building; setting, implementing and monitoring standards; and regional governance. Importantly, it examines the limits, gaps and shortcomings in these processes.

Governance refers to the systems of official rules, norms, institutions, and practices by using any collectivity, from the local to the global, manages its common affairs. The often fluid meanings of governance, global governance will be interrogated, particularly within the context of Africa, using lenses of various perspectives. The focus will also be on the theoretical debates on democratisation, including views on the emergence of concepts such as political coalition, governments of national unity.

The module examines the architecture of global governance and identifies some of the challenges, limits, signs of reversal, as well as trends towards an anti-global agenda. The module examines the institutional components, rationale, added value, and current controversies of the global governance agenda, regarding specific African cases. The course also focuses on the new and emerging forms of global governance and the continued evolution of global institutions of governance, including the rise of anti-globalisation sentiments.

The module also explores the roles played by global contextual developments in shaping and influencing the governance and democratisation agenda in Africa. Finally, the module examines the prospects of politics in Africa. It provides an overview of the evolving architecture, processes and variable outcomes in global governance, and it explores possible ways of improving the capacity of African states to deal with global interests, institutions, processes and challenges.

Included in the module is an examination of how responsive the global governance agenda has been towards the youth. A study of the application of youth-centred frameworks of global institutions such as the UN Security Council 2250 on Youth, Peace and Security (adopted in 2015) and the African Youth Charter will also be pertinent. The aim is to examine the extent to which young people, particularly youth activists and leaders in Zimbabwe feel that such frameworks are helpful in achieving their cause and in enhancing their livelihoods. Furthermore, the relevance and implementation of Africa governance frameworks such as the AU Charter on Democracy and Good Governance and the AU Youth Charter will also be examined.

The study encourages a deeper appreciation of how the world of global governance works (or does not), including a focus on strategies for improving global governance outcomes. It combines lectures, case studies, panel presentations, role plays, class presentations, quizzes and written assignments. The module delivery encourages students to engage in critical discussions and thorough and creative textual analysis and independent research on critical issues of the day.

OVERALL AIM OF THE MODULE

The course seeks to examine global governance and the main pillars of the global governance architecture, with a focus on Africa. The idea is not only to discuss the key actors in the governance discourse but also to consider the various theoretical perspectives for the analysis of governance architecture in Africa. The course further analyses the normative frameworks and policies informing governance in Africa, to examine how well Africa is fairing in the current globalisation and global governance landscape.

This course is not a purely academic course as it aims to arouse interest in civic engagement and critical mindsets in young leaders and activists in Zimbabwe. The course also examines the nexus between economic development, civic participation and democratisation in Africa to understand how global institutions have, currently and in the past, designed policies and programmes that have affected the livelihoods and human security in Africa, especially the lives of youths and other citizens who depend on a well-oiled and well-functioning governance system.

The rationale is to develop a cadre of grounded local leaders in Zimbabwe with a sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the complexity of national, regional and global dynamics and an understanding of how the international community works, how multilateral systems are manipulated and can be mobilised, and how governance at a global level has unfolded through history. The module seeks to enable youth leaders in Zimbabwe to have a keen understanding of how the African governance architecture works, its history, structure and political outlook. This understanding gives young people a chance to claim a space in the policymaking arena in their countries, a deeper understanding and ability to track national governance and policymaking moments including for example, in a context of the declaration 'Zimbabwe is Open for Business' or other grandiose declarations touted in many Africa countries such as 'Look East'. Young leaders have the intellectual fitness of purpose to engage critically. In the era of China in Africa, 'Megadeals' routinely announced in state-owned media, the new scramble for Africa, illicit outflows, and the rising influence of alternatives to traditional and formalist global governance platforms, young leaders must be uniquely equipped with tools of analysis in their advocacy work, their auditing of development policy and in their leadership journeys.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- To appreciate the role of Africa in global governance, multilateralism and implications thereof.
- To provide a platform for participants to understand how the regional, continental and global processes and institutions have a bearing on national and local decisions.

- To provide a platform where participants can identify opportunities of acting locally while thinking global in their leadership roles.
- To generate proper understanding of the function, performance and impact of the AU and SADC on African politics, governance, conflict and development.
- To deepen leadership confidence in young people and their understanding of African politics and the notion of 'African alternatives' to the traditional governance architecture, and engage with how different and similar these institutions are reproducing similar hierarchical relationships with Africa.
- To provide space for identifying different tools, methodologies and strategies of analysis and problems solving as leaders in the community of practice.

EXPECTED OUTCOMES

By the end of the module, participants should be able to demonstrate:

- An appreciation of the concepts of global governance, multilateralism and political economy, and how these impact on socio-economic and political realities at the local levels;
- An appreciation of and how young people's experiences in Zimbabwe cannot be divorced from larger regional, continental processes. The experiences of youths in Zimbabwe need to be framed from an understanding the intricate linkages between the local and the global;
- A critical understanding of the theory, concept, architecture and practice of global governance and multilateralism in historical perspectives, especially how Zimbabwe engaged with regional, continental and global institutions;
- An appreciation of the role of global governance in the context of the growing Africa agenda of economic integration and multilateralism;
- Development of sound knowledge and expertise on global processes which will be accompanied by an in-depth capacity to reflect on strategies of how to engage with global institutions on a day-to-day basis; and

- A more informed understanding of the context and praxis of the governance architecture and frameworks, with implications for policy in Zimbabwe and the region.

METHODOLOGY AND PEDAGOGY

The module is learner centred and the delivery participative and driven by the group's interests in developing knowledge of African politics and how people are affected by the global governance systems and the notion of multilateralism.

Reference is made to global developments of multilateral politics which dates back to the period of the 'Concert of Europe', World War 1, the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations and the UN. The UN is the highest multilateral body and decisions made there especially by the General Assembly carry legitimacy, international credibility and force. Some of the powerful resolutions include, for example, Resolution 1445 which led to the independence of Namibia or Resolution 1973 which led to the 'No-fly Zone' being imposed on Libya. Any country can be a member of the UN, and once in the General Assembly, any country's leader can address the Assembly.

The module delivery will also utilise group presentations where the participants in the Youth Leadership Training Programme will engage in research of examples of regional and continental organisations to examine the extent to which they represent African citizens. The purpose of this assignment is not only to allow a more in-depth understanding of how their lives are affected by such institutions but also to give the young leaders an opportunity to critique and appraise these institutions of global governance. At an African continent level, notions of global governance and multilateralism have been popularised by and through the AU Regional Economic Communities (RECS) of which SADC is a typical example, and the role these entities play in promoting intergovernmental unity, trade and development, resolution of disputes and integration of the regions in which they are located.

With respect to African politics, the session explores (in a very minimal sense) African politics from a comparative politics perspective. It examines past and current academic debates on topics including theories of African politics, Nationalism, Democratisation, Civil Society, Ethnicity, Land, Labour, Gender and Religion. It seeks to unpack the concept of African politics, politics in Africa, the characteristics and ecology of African politics. Zimbabwe's DNA will be interrogated as a case study and discussions, work groups and practical dialogues will unearth Zimbabwe's place in Africa and on the global stage.

SESSION OUTLINE

The sessions cover conceptual issues about global governance and Africa's role in this international framework. Students will discuss practical examples such as the case of Zimbabwe's elections, the contestations by the opposition (Movement for Democratic Change) of the said elections, and explore the avenues that are available for voicing discontent, including the decision to take the case of the contested elections of 30 July 2018 to the African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) –the Banjul Commission. Young Leaders Training (YLT) participants will reflect on the mandate of the ACHPR and its history and its structure and set up, to ascertain the extent to which such a body has the capacity to resolve an internal dispute. By focusing on concrete examples that are based on Zimbabweans' lived realities, the participants can realise that global governance is not something that is far removed from their day-to-day lives. They can appreciate the interconnections between national and local politics with international relations and global politics.

After introducing the subject of global governance, and the core elements in the traditional architecture of global governance, including its institutional and legal foundation, the module surveys emerging trends in the global governance architecture. Institutions with a worldwide governance mandate such as the UN, AU and RECs are analysed, and their influence on global governance is debated. The module also addresses how and why they differ and why they are some continually emerging institutions of global governance. Having set the tone for how global processes impact on national and local processes, the module further examines the concept of the 'new scramble for Africa', which highlights

the impact of activities by the multinational corporations, development assistance architecture and global actors in the rush for Africa and in the treatment of Africa as an object of interest and exploitation.

The Global Governance Module is structured in a manner that allows the young leaders in Zimbabwe to bring their own citizen perspective in understanding the performance of global institutions. More often than not, global bodies tend to be removed from the realities of those who are affected by their decisions. By using the module as a discursive environment, it allows for a thorough examination of the citizen-oriented perspective on global processes. The module also examines how politics in Africa is a product of the governance framework and in turn influences the global governance processes. Particular focus is on the issue of Africa's capacity and capability to engage with the rest of the world, and how well the continent is doing to protect the rights and interests of its citizens.

MODULE CONTENT

The Fundamentals of Global Governance and Multilateralism

Global Governance and Multilateralism: Setting the Context

The world we live in is increasingly complex, increasingly political and requiring countries to work at multiple levels to achieve the common good. That includes Zimbabwe and the rest of Southern Africa. Zimbabwe is a significant actor, historically, within the global community of nations, because of its history of colonialism, of the liberation struggle and how independence was achieved – through negotiated settlement at Lancaster House, in England.

For close to two decades, Zimbabwe's economic and political crisis has attracted condemnation and, in some cases, since 2000, the collaboration of countries to resolve the Zimbabwean problem. While Zimbabwean authorities have insisted that Zimbabwe's crisis was a bilateral matter between Britain, its former coloniser and itself as a former colony, many political analysts dismissed that assertion as 'political talking points'. Zimbabwe has been and still is very much an international question – it has been referred to different multilateral forums for resolution including SADC, AU, EU-ACP Assembly, UN and EU-Africa Summit, amongst others making Zimbabweans engaged continuously with these issues. There are, of course, many other countries like Zimbabwe – Sudan, South Sudan, Burundi, Syria, Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Ukraine – where multilateralism has been sought to address the problems.

This module is not designed by accident – its content was well thought out to expose young leaders in Zimbabwe to the links between global and local processes. It reflects a much-needed set of technical and political skills and understanding of the current global, regional and national diplomatic dynamics, primarily to appreciate how such seemingly far removed processes have a bearing on decisions and actions taken at national level. While the emphasis at first is on the impact of global processes on local issues, it is important to highlight that the relationship between global and local issues is neither only one way nor always hierarchical. The young leaders get to appreciate the two-way

relationships between the global and local processes. It highlights the importance of the role of youth agency in global and regional discourses, primarily to identify spaces where young leaders can make a difference in national, regional, continental and global spaces. The strategy session of this module will be critical in reminding young leaders of their vantage point and their agency.

In line with the intention of building political fluency of young leaders, this Global Governance Module discusses some case studies that demonstrate the challenges, complexities and opportunities for global platforms and communities. In its most recent vote in December 2017, the UN General Assembly voted to condemn the United States' decision to recognise Jerusalem as Israel's capital and ignored President Trump's threats to retaliate by cutting aid to countries voting against it. In a collective defiance towards Washington in the US, the United Nations General assembly voted 128 to 9 with 35 abstentions for a resolution demanding that the United States rescind its 6 December 2017 Declaration on Jerusalem, the contested Holy City (Gladstone & Landler, 2017).

While the resolution was non-binding and therefore mostly symbolic, the vote nevertheless indicated the extent to which the Trump administration's departure from a 50-year international consensus on Jerusalem's status has unsettled world politics and contributed to American Isolation. It further strengthens the idea and the need for the importance of acting multilaterally, as opposed to acting unilaterally. The former gains legitimacy and support for a decision, the latter, no matter how powerful the states, results in isolation and the illegitimacy of the decision.

From the above example, it is possible to argue that multilateralism has increasingly been accepted as the *modus operandi* in world politics, and as others would argue, in global environmental politics.

Conceptualising Global Governance

Simply defined, global governance refers to political and socio-economic processes that occur beyond the State, which demonstrates the increasing layers of decision-making. Global governance is about the management

of structural allocation mechanisms between states, and often it occurs in interdependent and pluricentric network structures, in which state and non-state actors participate and where multiple political levels of action are included. Global governance demonstrates that many spheres of authority share power.

According to Gardener and Weiss (1996, p. 17), 'global governance portrays efforts to bring more orderly and reliable responses to social and political issues that go beyond capacities of states to address individually'. Indeed, global governance demonstrates the increasing interconnectedness of state and non-state actors in decision-making and in global processes. Increasingly, private networks, NGOs, humanitarians, business enterprises and quasi-public sovereign entities all function with much more authority and effectiveness in a range of security, economic, environmental and other domains. Global governance includes the following:

- **Intergovernmental governance:** States make decisions which require the consent of those involved.
- **Supranational governance:** States can be bound by a decision even without their consent. Supranational governance refers to the formal transfer of legal authority and decision-making power from member states to an institution or international body. There are various pillars of global governance (Hawkins et al, 2006).
- **Trans-governmental governance,** i.e. rule-based coordination, involving entities that act relatively independently from their central governments.
- **Transnational governance,** i.e. untraditional types of international collaboration amongst both public and private actors, which can be legally structured or less formal.

Multilateralism Through Time and Space

Throughout the last century and since the beginning of this century, nations have realised that the challenges of security, peacekeeping, disease control, human rights violations and pollution, amongst others, are too vast and complex for any one nation or group of nations, no

matter how powerful, to effectively manage alone.

Historically, multilateral agreements have occurred predominantly to manage relations between states in areas where interdependence is inescapable. As early as the 17th century, multilateral arrangements were proposed to manage property issues, such as the governance of oceans. Multilateral cooperation, however, was relatively rare until the 19th century, which witnessed a surge of new treaties on (among other things) trade, river transport and public health.

The International Telegraph Union, the Universal Postal Union and the International Office of Public Hygiene all had their origins in the 1800s. Nineteenth-century multilateralism was spurred by the political, social and economic transformations generated by the Industrial Revolution. Rising volumes of international transactions not only increased the scope for disputes between states. They also prompted states to protect their sovereignty, even as they agreed to common rules to facilitate economic exchange.

Most multilateral agreements in the 19th century did not generate formal organisations. The most important, the Concert of Europe, was an almost purely informal framework in which four European powers — Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia (later joined by France) — agreed to consult and negotiate on matters of European peace and security. The result was peace in Europe for nearly forty years. However, the Concert was imposed by political leaders on the docile public. Its legitimacy was gravely damaged by the revolutions of 1848 and the surge in nationalism they generated. The Concert never became a truly multilateral organisation. Instead, it paved the way for twentieth century multilateralism by establishing that issues of peace and security could be addressed in international forums, and by recognising the particular roles, rights and obligations of the Great Powers, as evidenced by the Treaty of Versailles and its impact on the reconstruction of the political architecture of Europe and the road towards World War II.

Of the many global issues that would be best managed through multilateral cooperation, a significant number are about the environment. It was about 15 years that Jean-François Rischard put the number of inherently global issues at around 20, six of which, he said, were issues

surrounding the global commons (Rischard, 2002). Since then, the issues could have risen to a number higher than his original 20 or might have been lowered due to global and multilateral action on each of these. Because of the truly global nature of these issues, the actions or inaction of every country affect the well-being of all countries and peoples, and no country can address these issues alone.

Defining Multilateralism

It is not easy to define this concept as it is a much-debated and evolving concept in international relations. International relations epistemology is also heavily dominated by American scholarship and theoretical assumptions, so the concepts tend to borrow mainly from American traditions of thought and practice. But as this branch of international relations has 'globalised', there are many variations of both global governance discussed elsewhere in this module and multilateralism, covered in this section.

According to Lindsey Powell, the first documented use of the term 'multilateral' to describe an international arrangement dates to 1858 (Powell, 2003). A definition put forth in US foreign policy in 1945 supports this observation. Multilateralism was then defined as 'international governance of the "many"', and its central principle was 'opposition [of] bilateral and discriminatory arrangements that were believed to enhance the leverage of the powerful over the weak and to increase international conflict'. Although a lot has changed since the end of World War II, the most basic definition of multilateralism has not. Simply defined, multilateralism is an approach to politics and economics which considers the divergent needs of many different states. Multilateralism requires decisions governing cooperation of states to be based on universal, democratic and inclusive rules.

In 1990, Robert Keohane defined multilateralism as the practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states (Keohane, 1990). In a 1992 article, John Ruggie agreed that this was an accurate definition of multilateralism but called it 'nominal' and criticised it for being incomplete. Ruggie observed that 'What is distinctive about multilateralism is not merely that it coordinates national policies in groups

of three or more states, which is something that other organisational forms also do, but that it does so based on certain principles of ordering relations amongst those states”.

He thus formulated a substantive definition of multilateralism, which states that ‘Multilateralism refers to coordinating relations amongst three or more states in accordance with certain principles’, (Ruggie, 1992) which James Caporaso, publishing at the same time as Ruggie, articulates more succinctly. As Caporaso explains,

As an organising principle, the institution of multilateralism is distinguished from other forms by three properties namely, *indivisibility*, *generalised principles of conduct*, and *diffuse reciprocity*.

- *Indivisibility* can be thought of as the scope (both geographic and functional) over which costs and benefits are spread.
- *Generalised principles of conduct* usually come in the form of norms exhorting general if not universal modes of relating to other states, rather than differentiating relations case-by-case on the basis of individual preferences, situational exigencies, or a prior particularistic ground.
- *Diffuse reciprocity* adjusts the utilitarian lenses for the long view, emphasising that actors expect to benefit in the long run and over many issues, rather than every time on every issue. (Caporaso, 2000)

This inclusion of ‘principles’ in the definitions offered by the US government in 1945, and by Ruggie and Caporaso more than fifty years later, suggests that the beliefs required for multilateral cooperation are as central to its function as are its more formal tenets.

Post-war Multilateralism

Whatever its failings, the League of Nations was an essential precursor to the international institution-building after 1945. In less than a decade, multilateral accords creating the Bretton Wood agreements and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the UN, and NATO were agreed. Why was there such a ‘spike’ in multilateralism? Central to any

explanation is the role of the emergent hegemonic power, the US, and its leaders, particularly Franklin D. Roosevelt. For the US, ‘Multilateralism in its generic sense served as a foundational principle on which to reconstruct the post-war world’ (Ruggie, 1992).

For weaker states, multilateralism not only promised benefits but also constrained a hegemon (Ikenberry, 2003). When work began on the UN Charter, it was clear that it would be a collective security organisation and thus follow in the steps of the League. However, past traumas coaxed consensus on the need to recognise the privileged role of the Great Powers.

Offering the US, Soviet Union, France, the UK and China permanent membership on the UN Security Council, and effectively a right to veto, not only marked a return to the balance of power. It also acknowledged the necessity of unanimity amongst major powers as a prerequisite of multilateral cooperation. Decisions of the Security Council – effectively a directory – were equally binding on all UN members. Unlike the League, the UN’s role extended to economic and social affairs and human rights.

The US also threw its weight behind the creation of a multilateral economic system. This multilateral economic system was represented by the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) – otherwise known as the Bretton Woods institutions.

It became clear during World War II that only multilateral cooperation could act as an antidote to the protectionism of the 1920s and 1930s. New multilateral agreements were based on a stable exchange rate system, a reserve unit of account (the gold standard), and the reduction of trade barriers. Crucially, bipartisanship on foreign policy between the two major US political parties emerged during the war and persisted after it ended. It was nurtured assiduously by the White House.

Roosevelt took the Republicans’ reservations about the UN seriously enough to work to incorporate them in the Charter. Two pillars of the foreign policy of his successor, Harry Truman, were that a stable and prosperous Europe and a rules-based international economic order were central to US interests. In the end, the Marshall Plan and GATT enjoyed broad bipartisan support (Ikenberry, 2003; Kupchan & Trubowitz 2007).

The domestic politics of multilateralism thus shifted in the US, albeit in response to international changes.

The Cold War also ushered in a new and unprecedented international context. Tensions between the US and the Soviet Union permeated the entire UN system, making unanimity between major powers difficult, often impossible, to achieve. However, the construction of the Iron Curtain convinced Washington to support the creation of NATO in 1949, with an attack on one member was considered as an attack on all. But the American commitment to multilateralism was not doctrinal. No multilateral security agreement ever materialised between the US and East Asian states, with the US preferring bilateral agreements with Japan and South Korea.

It is not impossible to imagine a different post-war US approach. As one of two dominant powers, the US could have shunned multilateral commitments and intimidated its Western allies into submission. Equally, as Martin (Martin, Rauschnig, & Wiesbrock, 1997) argues, weaker allies in a bipolar system might have threatened to exit their alliance to 'Create incentives for a dominant power to accept smaller benefits in exchange for long-term growth and stability...[since] the credibility of threats to exit determines the long-term costs and benefits of multilateralism'.

There was never a credible threat that West European allies would exit the alliance, leaving aside the particular case of France and NATO. Similarly, within the multilateral institutions, the United States has always tended to prefer a bilateral approach and has often adopted an instrumentalist approach which usually considers its strategic goals when participating, and supporting multilateral institutions (Foot, MacFarlane and Mastanduno, 2003).

European Multilateralism

Europe is a significant player in the global governance and multilateral policy architecture. A discussion of global governance and multilateralism must identify and locate the role of Europe in building the culture, the politics and the institutional framework for multilateralism. As indicated earlier like other regions, multilateralism is not a recent phenomenon in

Europe. We earlier referred to the 'Concert of Europe' as a critical point of departure.

The requirement that the Europeans cooperate in reconstruction on a multilateral basis produced the OECD – the chief mechanism through which economic bureaucrats of all advanced capitalist countries coordinate the conduct of day-to-day policies.

Students of European history will probably be familiar with the work of the historian Guicciardini, who, in his History of Italy written in the early 16th century, identified the balance of power with the idea of justice. He praised Lorenzo de Medici, the ruler of Florence, who recognised that the security of his city depended on maintaining the balance of power within Italy. Guicciardini knew very well what he was writing about because he had witnessed the collapse of the Italian distribution of power and its replacement by the Habsburg Spain hegemony.

In the eighteenth century, a diplomatic manual published in Europe referred to multi-polarity as 'An equal distribution of power amongst the Princes of Europe as makes it impractical for the one to disturb the repose of the other'. And similar views appear in the great multilateral peace treaties. The Preamble of the Treaty of Utrecht concluded in 1713, says that the 'diplomatic settlement' seeks to establish a 'just equilibrium'.

A century later, one of the leading figures of the Vienna Congress, Prince Metternich observed that multilateralism in Europe was based on the acceptance of the principles of solidarity and of the balance of power. During the Vienna Congress, the dominant perspective was a view of the multipolar distribution of power as a condition for political freedom, for international justice and for collaboration between states.

In a speech to a conference at the European University Institute in Florence, on 18 June 2010, the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durão Barroso made a case for the EU's role in reinforcing multilateral rules and institutions at the global level. He opined,

Multilateralism is the right mechanism to build order and governance in a multipolar world, and the European Union is well-placed to make a decisive contribution. As you know,

it has become a common assertion that the first decade of the 21st century has witnessed the gradual emergence of a multipolar world. A system composed of multiple global and regional powers, by many relevant institutions and organizations, and by powerful non-state actors. There are, clearly, some virtues in a multipolar international system. It limits 'hegemonic power', which can often be a source of instability. In the history of modern European political thought, the distribution of power has been consistently treated as a mechanism to limit hegemonic or imperial tendencies. (Barroso, 2010, p4)

However, it would be unwise to overlook the risks associated with multipolarity. A quick glance at European history also provides ample evidence of the dangers of an understanding of multipolar strategies in terms of expansion and competition for predominance. Strategic rivalry between Great Powers often produced wars in Europe – right up to the middle of the twentieth century.

At the risk of oversimplification, it can be said that a paradox lies at the heart of modern European history: attempts to create a multipolar balance of power, to avoid the emergence of imperial or hegemonic states, ended up with violent competition between the Great Powers themselves. It is beyond the scope of this module to provide a substantive debate about the pros and cons of unipolarity and multi-polarity. Europe has made a significant contribution to global governance and multilateralism through the European Union, with its large bureaucracy based in Brussels, a European Parliament and its accompanying cooperation frameworks such as the ACP – EU Joint Assembly, the EU–Africa Summit, Lomé and its successor, the Cotonou Convention.

It is essential to recall that the idea of a stronger well-coordinated Europe, was strongly supported by, and even originated in the US. By 1947, the concept of European integration had gained strong support in the US media and political circles. Senator Fulbright and Representative Boggs went so far as to introduce identical resolutions, to Congress that year, asking to endorse 'The creation of a United States of Europe within the framework of the United Nations'. The bills were passed overwhelmingly. European integration was a more promising idea for European economic

recovery than individual national efforts alone, and it offered safeguards for the reindustrialisation of Germany, which in turn was increasingly seen as being necessary for European reconstruction and for the success of newly articulated US foreign policy of containing the Soviet Union (Hogan, 1987). While this might sound like too much of an American perspective it is vital to demonstrate multilateralism in Europe had gained traction much earlier.

'Wilsonianism' and the League of Nations

In contrast to prior forms, multilateralism in the early 20th century yielded multiple formal organisations. Multilateralism thus was transformed. It came 'to embody a procedural norm in its own right — though often a hotly contested one — in some instances carrying with it an international legitimacy not enjoyed by other means' (Ruggie, 1992).

The advocacy of Woodrow Wilson was crucial in this transformation. The only political scientist ever to serve as US President, Wilson's Fourteen Points, presented to the US Congress in January 1918, urged the creation of 'a general association of nations.' Wilsonianism became a doctrine that prescribed the spread of democracy, free trade and strong international law to create an international order that 'would replace older forms of order based on the balance of power, military rivalry and alliances [...] power and security competition would be decomposed and replaced by a community of nations' (Ikenberry, 2009).

Specifically, Wilson championed an international body with universal membership, binding rules and a dispute settlement mechanism. He studiously avoided the use of the term 'collective security'. However, intense negotiations, mainly between the British and Americans at Versailles in 1919, focused on precisely this issue.

The result was the League of Nations. Its Covenant committed member states not only to the renunciation of war but also to accepting 'the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct amongst governments'. Article 10 of the Covenant's preamble required members 'to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of

the League'. States were threatened by political and economic sanctions if they resorted to war, with force used only as a last resort.

In no sense did the League's Covenant find universal approval. Its collective security provisions were the primary reason for the US Senate's rejection of American membership. Wilson himself was pivotal in establishing the conditions for negotiations on a new international system based on collective security with the League as a mechanism for dispute resolution. But he failed to coax the domestic political conditions required for US entry.

The League was disbanded in 1946. It failed, first, because membership was not universal the US never joined and significant players such as the Soviet Union and Germany withdrew. Second, the League faced multiple crises during an economic depression and became deeply unpopular in many countries including Germany. Finally, the League's Covenant was plagued by loopholes, ambiguity, and over-ambition (Armstrong et al., 2004. p. 29). Precisely why the League failed continues to be debated. But factors rooted in the domestic, as well as the international, level of political space were central to its demise.

Multilateralism, Unipolarity and Globalisation

When the Cold War ended, many predicted that the international system would shift towards multi-polarity, thus undermining multilateralism. 'What the 1990s wrought is a unipolar America...more powerful than any other great state in history' (Ikenberry, 2003. p. 538). Many expected the US to eschew multilateralism. Washington gave crucial political backing to the development of new multilateral economic agreements including the WTO and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC). It also was instrumental in the 'robust multilateralism' that was embraced, and the complex division of labour between multiple international organisations that emerged, in response to the war in the Balkans. It was at least 'permissive' of a process of considerable strengthening of the UN's systems for peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and humanitarian aid.

In other areas – including arms control, environmental affairs and some human rights issues – US support for new multilateral initiatives

ranged from patchy to non-existent. After the Republican Party captured control of Congress in 1994, multilateralism became a 'wedge' issue used to seek partisan advantage, with Republicans insisting that 'the [Democratic] Clinton administration's penchant for multilateralism was compromising "US sovereignty"'. The bipartisan consensus crucial to US support for post-war multilateralism crumbled quickly.

Partisanship became even more entrenched during the administration of George W. Bush. Many of its top officials openly aired their mistrust of international institutions and the US reneged on a range of multilateral commitments (Feith, 2008). Still, questions of multilateralism dominated US foreign policy debates. Future historians may concur with a senior American diplomat: 'The Bush administration's failing has not been its instinct for unilateralism and its disdain for multilateralism. Its failing too often has been how poorly it has practiced multilateralism' (Ross, 2008. p. 5).

The 2000s witnessed rapid advances in interdependence spurred by globalisation. The internationalisation of financial regulation, diseases, and the threat of catastrophic terrorism created fresh demand for multilateral solutions. As generic comments on multilateralism go, Ikenberry's (2003. p. 540) comes as close as any to unchallenged veracity: 'As global interdependence grows, so does the need for multilateral coordination of policies'.

The UN System

Using the December 2018 Jerusalem decision example cited above, it is clear to see that the UN is the biggest stage of multilateralism and global governance. The architecture of the UN was designed with multilateral cooperation in mind. Under the Charter, the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has 15 members, and each member has one vote. Under the Charter, all member states are obligated to comply with Council decisions.

The Great Powers that were the victors of World War II – the Soviet Union (now the Russian Federation), the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France and China, set themselves up as the body's

five permanent members. These permanent members can veto any substantive Security Council resolution, including those on the admission of new member states or candidates for the position of UN Secretary-General. This is what happened following the vote against the US decision on Jerusalem. Ignoring the ostracism, US Ambassador to the UN, Nikki Haley vetoed the resolution.

The Security Council also has ten non-permanent members, elected on a regional basis to serve two-year terms. The body's presidency rotates monthly among its members. The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of a settlement. In some cases, the Security Council can resort to imposing sanctions or even authorise the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security. The Security Council also recommends to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and the admission of new Members to the UN. And, together with the General Assembly, it elects the judges of the International Court of Justice.

It is important for all multilateral forums to work closely with the United Nations to achieve global objectives of peace, security and justice. For example, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), a very contentious issue in Africa, recognises that the Security Council has authority to refer cases to the Court in which the Court could not otherwise exercise jurisdiction. The Council exercised this power for the first time in March 2005, when it referred to the Court 'the situation prevailing in Darfur since 1 July 2002'; since Sudan is not a party to the Rome Statute, the Court could not otherwise have exercised jurisdiction. The Security Council made its second such referral in February 2011 when it asked the ICC to investigate the Libyan government's violent response to the Libyan Civil War.

There are many other bodies that are significant sites of multilateralism – as building blocks to the primary stage which is the UN. Amongst others, these include the Organisations of American States, referred to as the world's oldest regional organisation bringing together 35 independent states of the Americas, the Arab League, the ASEAN, the AU and EU. We will not have space and scope to cover all these groupings in detail. Each geographic

region is concerned with solving common problems amongst which are peace and security, economic development, democracy and human rights together in ways that promote multilateralism to limit the prospects of open warfare, open conflicts and insecurity. For this module, we will introduce the subject of the AU, although it is covered in detail in later pages.

Conceptual Framework of Global Governance

The concept of global governance has been a topical matter with multiple meanings going back decades. It is also a popular concept that has received different definitions from international relations practitioners, academics and popular writers. Whether it is observable phenomena such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) worldwide campaign against corruption, political visions that are expressed in a call for a more powerful international legal system, or the ubiquitous talk about global governance itself, almost any process or structure of politics beyond the state – regardless of scope, content, or context – has within the last few years been declared part of a general idea of global governance.

Since at least the early 1990s, the literature on world politics is replete with references to fundamental change. World politics is in an era of 'turbulence' (Rosenau, 1990), societies are entering a 'global age' (Albrow, 1996) and the national constellation that has characterised world politics since the 17th century has been replaced by a 'post-national constellation' (Habermas, 1998).

Scholars who challenge the mainstream international relations assumption of sovereign nation-states embedded in an anarchical international system tend to refer to global governance as a conceptual reference point for their occupation with world politics. Their analysis usually includes a variety of phenomena, such as global social movements; civil society; the activities of international organisations; the changing regulative capacity of states; private organisations; public-private networks; transnational rule-making; and forms of private authority.

The strand of thinking about world politics as global governance that comes closest to a theory is inherently linked to the work of Rosenau. Departing from a broad understanding of governance, he states that

'Global governance refers to more than the formal institutions and organisations through which the management of international affairs is or is not sustained. The United Nations system and national governments are surely central to the conduct of global governance, but they are only part of the full picture' (Rosenau, 1990). More so now when they are under severe attack from the Trump administration.

Rosenau sums up his understanding of global governance, stating that 'Global governance is conceived to include systems of rule at all levels of human activity –from the family to the international organisation – in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions' (Rosenau, 1990. 13). This definition has four constitutive elements: systems of rule, levels of human activity, the pursuit of goals, and transnational repercussions.

As to the first element, Rosenau is primarily interested in how control is exerted in transnational politics, and to *"grasp the concept of control one has to appreciate that it consists of relational phenomena that, taken holistically, constitute systems of rule"* (Rosenau, 1990, 14). Systems of rule exist where some mechanisms are in place that relate to each other and that regulate or have an impact on the norms, expectations, and behaviour of the relevant actors within the regulated area. Importantly, established legal or political authority is not a prerequisite for the effectiveness of a system of rule.

Second, Rosenau's definition speaks of systems of rule 'at all levels of human activity', thereby including local, subnational, national, international, and transnational control mechanisms.

Third, the definition stipulates that interactions should be considered phenomena of global governance only if they are intentional, that is if they relate to the individual or collective pursuit of goals. This element is restrictive in that nonintentional processes are largely excluded from the realm of global governance. In practice, a distinction between intentional and nonintentional processes may, however, be problematic in many cases, and processes such as social learning or the diffusion of policy innovations could, in contrast to Rosenau's definition, also be considered elements of global governance.

Finally, Rosenau's definition mentions transnational repercussions as a fourth defining characteristic of global governance. Since the second criterion already includes the various levels of human activity, the requirement of transnational repercussions equally constitutes a restrictive rather than a broadening element of the definition.

In sum, Rosenau defends a rather broad concept of global governance, which is nevertheless rooted in the tradition in which governance has been introduced with regard to the study of domestic political systems. But why is such a concept necessary in the first place and how does it improve our understanding of world politics today, in Zimbabwe and in Africa? Since the departure of the Mugabe regime, we have observed renewed efforts by the new government led by Emmerson Mnangagwa, to engage global institutions, such as EU, Commonwealth and related private business entities.

From an analytical perspective, the concept of global governance describes a specific set of observable and related phenomena. The use of this term can be understood as an answer to the failures of existing theories of international relations to account for the empirical transformations. As world politics is rapidly changing, we have to adjust 'our conceptual equipment to facilitate the analysis of how authority gets exercised in a decentralised world'. In the paragraph below, Dingwerth and Pattberg elaborate on the evolution of global governance.

Global governance can be traced to a growing dissatisfaction among students of international relations with the realist and liberal-institutionalist theories that dominated the study of international organisation in the 1970s and 1980s. In particular, these failed to capture adequately the vast increase, in both numbers and influence, of non-state actors and the implications of technology in an age of globalisation. (Dingwerth and Pattberg, 2006: 189)

In short, world politics is no longer what it used to be. As a result, the concepts we used to describe the old realities are no longer seen as appropriate and the label 'international politics' is increasingly replaced by the new label of 'global governance' (Rosenau, 2010). Global governance is also closely related to globalisation. It is that deepening

economic globalisation, and increasing migration, trade and capital flows, climate change and increased activities in the global commons – those resource domains that do not fall within the jurisdiction of any one country, and to which all nations have access – make individual states more susceptible to policies adopted by others. Globalisation thus, fuels the need for global governance, mainly because of the ability to integrate economies and therefore politics together – for better or for worse!

There is a whole debate about the negative consequences of globalisation, including increased *financialisation of the economy*, rising global inequalities, cyclical crises, and reduction of smaller economies into passive recipients of harmful global policies that they are not party to, the rise of unemployment due to technology adaption challenges, poverty and powerlessness of the Global South.

Another view is that globalisation has also fostered increased coherence, coordination and collective decision-making at the global level, grounded in international human rights standards and guided by the human rights commitments of the international community. We see this chiefly at the UN level, ACP–EU framework of cooperation amongst others.

Government policies and international arrangements for collective decision-making have not kept pace with these changes. The changing nature of the global economy, the global political system and non-state actors has given fresh impetus to global governance and why it is needed or not needed. In sum, the global governance thesis can be disaggregated into four major claims:

- Regulation has increasingly shifted from the national level to policy levels beyond the state (Internationalisation).
- Spheres of authority beyond the state have multiplied (Diffusion of authority).
- The procedural norms on which regulation beyond the state is based have changed (Changing norms of governance).
- The resources that are required to govern effectively and efficiently are distributed amongst an increasing range of actors (Distribution of governance resources).

Global Governance: Classification Framework

Having discussed the concept and how it has evolved, this module will take readers and practitioners through a framework of effectively discussing the notion of global governance, by using key categories through which we can see and explain it. To understand global governance, we must look at key areas when the concept plays out.

Major Areas of Global Governance

To better understand how global governance functions, we will look at about six key areas namely:

- Global Governance of Economy
- Global Governance of Finance (a subset of the economy)
- Global Governance of Health
- Global Governance of Security
- Global Governance of Migration
- Global Governance of Common Pool Resources

These areas have also been traditionally affected by North–South divisions, with the Global South viewing governance as dominated by the North. The agenda in each area is now being challenged by new groupings, with countries in the Global South often splitting along different interests. Institutions and processes in each area of governance are also being challenged—sometimes directly, and sometimes indirectly by alternative regional and sub-regional systems. New strategic choices for developing countries are emerging in each area.

Global Governance of the Economic Sphere

Global economic governance – (including trade, investment and finance) constitute a vital component of global governance regime. The sharp increase in trade and capital flows make global economic governance

increasingly relevant for development. However, gaps in the international trade, finance and technology regimes have reinforced rather than curbed global imbalances. For example, bilateral, regional and multilateral trade agreements have eroded policy space for developing countries and pose hurdles to technology transfers, while financial market liberalisation has increased their macroeconomic vulnerabilities without necessarily providing access to stable finance.

Achieving a more enabling and inclusive system of global economic governance will, therefore, be critical to overcoming these shortcomings and to enabling sustainable development. Perhaps most importantly, inclusive economic governance entails having a strong and effective UN, the only truly universal and inclusive multilateral forum. But there are also those that argue that for the UN to be stronger, its constituent parts must be strong, giving rise to the role of regional blocks, the emerging powers and others that are becoming the centre of the debate on global governance. Given the recurring and cyclical nature of global financial crises and the pressure that the global financial system has come under in recent years, it is essential to examine a subset of the global economic governance framework – the global governance of finance to which we briefly turn.

Global Governance of Finance

All countries can be affected by international financial crises, with their vulnerability increased or decreased by global arrangements that create rules, pool resources and coordinate actions.

These amplify or constrain strategies available to individual governments. In 1997, when a speculative attack on the Thai Baht rapidly engulfed East Asia in a significant financial meltdown, Thailand tried several strategies. It used up its foreign exchange reserves attempting to support its currency. It then floated the currency but was still overwhelmed. The prime minister sought bilateral assistance from China and Japan, but neither was willing to provide emergency loans.

Finally, the government was forced into the arms of the IMF. Its programme failed to stem the crisis, and soon Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines

and the Republic of Korea were forced to take emergency measures. The crisis highlighted four elements of international cooperation on which countries might ideally rely:

- Insurance against crises caused by others or the provision of emergency assistance in the event of financial crisis contagion.
- The resolution of sovereign debt crises and the regulation of banking in a world in which sovereign creditors are both numerous and global.
- Exchange rate rules and a forum for discussing alleged infractions to prevent 'currency wars'.
- Concessionary funding for development in countries and sectors where the market fails to deliver or sustain adequate or appropriate investment capital.

Cooperation in global finance since World War II has mostly been coordinated through regional and international institutions, primarily the IMF and the World Bank. The 2002 Human Development Report described the system as dominated by the United States and the EU. Not surprisingly, the President of the World Bank has always been an American Citizen, nominated by the US President, while the IMF Chief has always been a European (United Church of Canada, 1997). The US contributes the biggest budgets to both the World Bank, and the IMF, but also to the UN and other international organisations – which is why the country has considerable influence on the goings on of these global institutions.

These appointments are now being challenged by the rise of powerful, transnational NGOs. Determined to hold the IMF and the World Bank to account, these groups successfully put debt relief, poverty alleviation, environmental and human rights concerns, and transparency on the agenda of international institutions. That said, they are predominantly northern NGOs, challenging a northern paradigm.

Since 2002, as emerging economies have become more powerful players in global financial governance, they have taken new places at the tables of discussion and rule-making. They have become financiers. The 2008 financial crisis accelerated shifts that began after 1997. The

crisis originated in the United States and the United Kingdom and soon exposed weaknesses across the EU.

The first wave occurred as the conveyor belt of global finance spread a 'credit crunch' across countries that had opened their financial systems to global banking. Hungary, Iceland, Romania and Ukraine plunged into disarray. A second wave quickly followed, transmitted through the 'real economy', as the credit crunch caused economies to seize up, halting global trade and spreading recession across the world.

This second wave affected African countries which did not cause the crisis, but whose economies are not effectively integrated into the global economy – suppliers of commodities and consumers of finished products! The IMF and the World Bank used the phrase 'development emergency' in their report monitoring the effect of the crisis on the poorest countries (World Bank and IMF 2009). Brazil, China, India and the Russian Federation were called upon to provide emergency backstop lines of credit to the IMF. In turn, they acquired a veto over the use of the lines.

Today, after decades of wrangling over tiny changes in relative voting power, emerging economies have won important advancements in governance. China is set to become the third most powerful shareholder and now has a deputy managing director at the IMF. The World Bank's chief economist is Chinese, and China has become an important contributor to the International Development Association. The G20 has become the world's emergency committee, supplanting (but not eradicating) the G7. It has created a Financial Stability Board and sought to widen participation in host institutions, such as the Bank for International Settlements.

While smaller developing countries have not been formally included in the reforms, the result has not necessarily been further marginalisation, as some predicted. At different moments, the major emerging economies – not always unified – have sought support from developing countries; each has variously held itself out as speaking for a wider group. These changes in governance and active cooperation, however, have offered only a short-term response to the four issues listed above, as revealed by the 2008 crisis.

Global Governance of Security

From the time of the League of Nations through to the UN, one of the key areas of governance of the global community, has always been the area of security. After the destructive impact of World War I and the far-reaching consequences of World War II, the appetite for another war has been thwarted by the idea of diplomacy and consensus. Even though many conflicts involving countries have occurred since the UN was established, there has been a greater desire to cooperate at a global level. Ensuring the security of nations has been a major preoccupation of global diplomacy.

As a result, the post-Cold War period has seen a significant drop in high-intensity political violence, defined as conflicts with 1,000 or more battle deaths per year. (Simon Fraser University, 2010). While this may be considered an improvement in global security, poor countries are disproportionately affected by remaining conflicts (as we can see in Africa, namely in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, Lesotho, Ivory Coast and Nigeria). These are countries that are currently locked in almost permanent conflict and therefore pose greater security risks that threaten to spill over into neighbouring countries.

Civil wars incur an estimated average cost of US\$64 billion each year (Collier, 2008). Developing countries often remain locked in a trap where they struggle to develop after a conflict. If they cannot do so, the risk of a relapse grows. Where conflict reoccurs, it further erodes development. The stabilisation of fragile states has become a priority in international security and development agendas. At the global level, the risk of security spillovers and concern for human development have prompted international interventions in fragile states, especially on the African continent, through formal and informal institutions, and via multilateral and unilateral channels.

The authority of the UN security regime and wider development assistance has been increasingly challenged by failures to deliver effective outcomes and by the growing activities of emerging economies such as Brazil, China, India, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Venezuela. At the regional level, the high costs of state failure are borne mainly by neighbouring states, which are often fragile themselves. Such a situation

provides clear incentives for cooperation within affected regions, but such action is often obstructed by a lack of resources, sovereignty concerns, and conflict or tensions between states and leads to a more concerted international action.

With multiples conflicts in places like Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Palestine, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Libya, Northern Nigeria, Somalia, Ethiopia, Central Africa Republic, tensions in Kenya, in the Korean Peninsula, and elsewhere, global security is currently in a state of flux and considerable uncertainty. The patterns and understandings that evolved in the post-Cold War period are contested.

As a result, global and regional security arrangements often overlap and at times compete. Western ideas about security: 'comprehensive security' and 'cooperative security' dominated in the 1990s but faces challenges as new kinds of conflicts have surfaced in the last two decades. In part, because the War on Terror that began after 9/11 and the more difficult Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Boko Haram, Al Shaabab led terror activities around the globe.

The rise of these armed groups which now possess sophisticated branches and networks, have state-like powers including the ability to collect taxes and run their illicit economies has been game changing – creating huge limits on the global security governance agenda and capability.

Admittedly, US hegemony has been a significant part of the narrative of American foreign policy for long periods in history, and in a clearer manner after the election of President G.W. Bush. President Obama represented a rollback of some of the hegemonic excesses.

Now the shift in global power has led not only to a diffusion of power but also to a diffusion of principles, preferences, ideas and values (Hurrell, 2012), with implications for global governance.

Whereas emerging powers criticise international cooperation as too Western-centric, Western powers themselves are very critical of international cooperation for not harnessing emerging powers and make statements such as, 'China is failing to be part of the solution', 'India is obstructionist' and 'Iran is a rogue state'. Or 'Africa should come to the party'.

For global governance to be effective in this area, it is important to recognise that three factors drive transformation in global security. The first is the quantity and complexity of conflicts dealt with by international organisations. The second is the increased functional and normative ambition of the international community, as epitomised in the concepts of human security, 'the Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) and the security-development nexus. Third, international organisations have found it difficult to formally adapt to global power shifts, even as there is increasing pressure on regional and global stakeholders to adjust to new realities.

At the AU level, for example, the Peace and Security architecture of the continent has become a crucial part of conflict resolution and redress of Africa's security challenges. SADC has the SADC Organ on Defence Politics and Security which has become important in its mandate. These institutions are all designed to give meaning and life to the fulfilment of the global governance agenda around security.

Global Governance of Health

Another critical area of the global governance agenda is the global health sector. Global health governance refers to the formal and informal institutions, norms and processes that govern or directly influence global health policy, and collectively promote and protect health. The essential functions of health governance are generally agreed upon and include convening stakeholders, defining shared values, ensuring coherence, establishing standards and regulatory frameworks, providing direction (e.g., setting priorities), mobilising and aligning resources, and promoting research (Sridhar, Khagram, & Pang, 2009).

The risks to health and development caused by globalisation disproportionately affect people in the developing world, as exemplified by the potential health impacts of climate change and global warming. There are concerns that negative fallout from the global financial and economic crises could include cuts to health budgets of resource-limited countries. Health and education are often the first victims of budget cuts in times of limited funding and competing priorities.

As the crisis originated in the now debt-ridden developed world, Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) has been affected, a particular concern for countries where external resources make up a significant proportion of national health budgets. WHO estimates that 23 countries have over 30 per cent of their total health expenditures funded by international donors. Dealing with the governance of resources that must be directed to the health sector to deal with global health challenge including diseases, generates momentum for working around and with institutions that govern policies, standards and resources.

The threats of epidemics and pandemics continue as demonstrated by the 2008 cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe and the outbreak of Ebola in West Africa in 2014. The combined populations in Angola, DRC, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone provided evidence of the increasingly interconnected and transboundary nature of public health security threats. Furthermore, avian influenza and the plague in Madagascar shows how globalisation has made it easier for diseases to cross borders. Developing countries also have to deal with chronic diseases and injuries, estimated to make up 70 per cent of the global disease burden by 2020.

These factors make global governance essential in dealing with global health challenges such as pandemic disease and healthcare financing, and the related challenges of human migration, conflict, urbanisation, global trade and so on. Today, the two main multilateral organisations working on health are the WHO, the focal body, and the World Bank. WHO was established in 1948 to aid all people in the attainment of the highest possible level of health. It was created to direct and coordinate international health work. It has focused on two activities: providing scientific and technical advice and setting international normative standards. However, WHO is currently struggling to remain relevant; there are pressing talks about how to reform the body to make it useful in the 21st century.

Global Governance of Movement of Persons/Migration

Global governance is rapidly emerging in international migration. In the aftermath of World War II, no coherent UN-based multilateral regime was developed. However, with the subsequent growth in migration, from 70 million people in 1970 to over 200 million today, and given its increasing

significance for both human development and national security, there has been a renewed demand from states to establish international rules.

Migration, by definition, affects more than one state. One state's immigration or emigration policies will inherently exert externalities on another state, and it is beyond the scope of any one country to address migration in isolation. So far, a fragmented set of formal and informal migration institutions has emerged at the multilateral, regional and bilateral levels. Not all states share the same vision of global migration governance, nor are they adopting the same institutional strategies.

Migration is important to study because different countries have distinctly different priorities, and these affect their institutional interests and strategies. In the past, many predominantly migrant-sending states of the South pushed for the development of multilateral responses and formal rule-making to ensure better access to labour markets and improved rights for their citizens abroad. The predominantly migrant-receiving states in the North have generally been far more sceptical about the need to develop binding multilateral institutions, instead preferring to preserve sovereign authority over their immigration policies and to use unilateralism or bilateralism to cooperate on migration. This difference in priorities has often polarised multilateral discussions.

Consequently, there is still no coherent global migration regime or UN migration organisation. The notable exception is strongly institutionalised multilateral cooperation on refugees, through the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the 1951 Refugee Convention (Betts et al., 2012). In other areas – such as irregular migration and labour migration states predominantly act unilaterally, develop bilateral or regional cooperation, or use informal networks referred to as regional consultative processes (RCPs). For both irregular migration and labour migration, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), a body that exists outside the UN system, provides a range of services to states to support managed migration. However, its role is primarily as an implementing organisation. It has almost no normative function.

In 2006, the United Nations convened a High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development to explore prospects for improved multilateral cooperation on migration. The dialogue led directly to the creation of

the Global Forum on Migration and Development, an annual, informal, multilateral dialogue outside the UN system that has taken place annually since 2007.

In recent years with rising conflict in the Middle East and North Africa, the migration 'crisis' has attracted or instead reinforced racism, right wing parties and significant policy shifts in the US, EU and elsewhere. Brexit, the Trump presidency and the emergence of far right parties are all connected to the growing impact of migration.

People on the Move at a Glance:

- By the end of 2016, 65.6 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide because of persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights violations.
- That was an increase of 300,000 people over the previous year, and the world's forcibly displaced population remained at a record high.
- In 2016, there were 65.5 million people displaced who are on the move across the world.
- 34 000 people are displaced every 24 hours.
- 20 people are newly displaced every minute.
- 40, 2 million are internally displaced.
- 2.8 million asylum seekers.

Source: UNHCR Global Report, 2016

In the African continent, South Africa experiences bouts of xenophobic violence associated with migration concerns. The mayor of Johannesburg has made it his mission to get rid of African immigrants from Johannesburg. In late 2017, Namibia expelled one hundred Zimbabwean engineers and cut the contracts of nurses from Zimbabwe even though they were part of a bilateral agreement.

Elsewhere in Africa, tensions and issues of migrants are recorded in most receiving countries. The global refugees' crisis, the crisis of migration and the historical failure to respond to the migration crisis by the global community, has made renewed calls for global governance mandate to be strengthened in this crisis area.

Global governance and the 'global commons'

The recent United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in June 2012 (Rio+20), envisages a more coherent global governance framework that is inclusive, centred on sustainable development, and integrates human rights concerns which address the above shortcomings. It involves conceptualising an international policymaking framework, cutting across all organisations and decision-making entities, where the three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, social and environmental) are integrated in a coherent and balanced manner, while also strengthening political engagement and governance within each of the dimensions and governance on the financing of sustainable development.

'Global commons' has been traditionally defined as those parts of the planet that fall outside national jurisdictions and to which all nations have access. International law identifies four global commons, namely the High Seas, the Atmosphere, Antarctica and Outer Space. These resource domains are guided by the principle of the common heritage of humankind. Resources of interest or value to the welfare of the community of nations – such as tropical rainforests and biodiversity – have lately been included amongst the traditional set of global commons as well, while some define the global commons even more broadly, including science, education, information and peace. Stewardship of the global commons cannot be carried out without global governance and has become a major developmental change of the 21st century.

The implementation of the common heritage principle and common responsibilities relate directly to the four key enabling factors which have been identified as cornerstones of the post-2015 development agenda: inclusive social development, inclusive economic development, environmental sustainability and peace and security. Even when most of the resources found within the global commons have not been scarce, access to them has been difficult. However, the advancement of science and technology in recent years and the increased demand for resources is leading to an increase in activities such as fisheries, bioprospecting, navigation, flight, scientific research and the laying of submarine cables.

At the same time, our planet is facing critical environmental challenges, most importantly climate change and global warming, the depletion of the ozone layer, and rapid environmental degradation in Antarctica. If business as usual persists, these trends will likely worsen and will negatively affect the 'global commons' capacity to provide ecosystem systems for human well-being.

The globalisation of Commons has witnessed the adverse impacts of climate change. The adverse effects of climate change are particularly pronounced in developing countries; especially those in Africa. The effects of climate change such as rising sea levels, droughts, heatwaves, floods, and rainfall variation threaten the development and food security in many Sub-Saharan African countries. The global governance of 'commons' has seen the climate change regime comprising states, treaties, standards and the behaviour of formal participants in the circulation of norms and institutions. It is also found in finance in the form of climate change bonds, or in the form of NGO interventions in local land use by rural and indigenous people in various regimes.

African Governance Architecture: Evolution and State of Art

The African Governance Architecture (AGA)

The past few decades in post-independent Africa have witnessed the continent taking some notable and tangible steps to improve its governance agenda which has been epitomised by the adoption of a range of norms and policies. Essentially, the past few decades have witnessed the emergence of some form of a coherent framework of well-functioning, coordinated policies, institutions and mechanisms that are designed to influence the development of governance in Africa. These institutions and norms can be observed at the level of the continental body, the AU, as well as within the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and, of course, amongst different member states.

Admittedly, the AGA has tended to be equated with political governance. However, the AGA must also be viewed as going beyond the political realm to include policies and institutions that enhance governance at every level.

There are several components of the architecture of governance in Africa. These include policies and normative instruments that have been adopted by the AU to strengthen and enhance governance in the continent. One of the key normative instruments providing directions of governance in Africa is the African Charter on Good Governance.

To operationalise these aspirational norms into reality, the AU designed and established key mechanisms and institutional architecture. Chief amongst these is the AGA, which is a mechanism for dialogue between stakeholders that are mandated to promote good governance and bolster democracy in Africa. The establishment of the AGA follows a series of consultations and discussions at the level of the AU, as well as between the AU and key stakeholders about how to bolster and strengthen governance in the continent. Tissi and Aggad-Clerx (2014) note that 'The AGA was designed to be a framework to

coordinate the existing initiatives of different actors in the realm of governance, thereby prompting an integrated continental approach'.¹

There is a nexus between the AGA and the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) as good governance remains critical for the attainment of sustainable peace and security.

The AU, Multilateralism and Global Governance

The African Union is a continental union consisting of all 55 countries on the African continent. The vision of the African Union, which is that of 'an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena'. To realise this vision, the AU seeks to efficiently drive the African integration and development process in close collaboration with AU member states, the RECs and African citizens.

Originally, the African Union was established as the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Its primary objectives were 'To rid the continent of the remaining vestiges of colonization and apartheid; to promote unity and solidarity amongst African states; to coordinate and intensify cooperation for development; to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states and to promote international cooperation'.²

The OAU adopted the principle of non-interference, and understandably so. The OAU member states were keen to safeguard their sovereignty and were wary of any external influence that would lead to the continent's recolonisation.

Since its transition from the OAU to the AU in 2002, the continental body has undergone a paradigm shift. Chief amongst the transformations is

the move from the old OAU doctrine of non-interference to the new doctrine of non-indifference to human rights abuses, mass atrocity and crimes against humanity within its member states. Article 3(h) of the AU Constitutive Act urges member states of the AU to 'Promote and protect human and people's rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments'. Coupled with Article 4(o) of the Constitutive Act, which commits member states to promote and respect the sanctity of human life, the previous article reflects the AU's new security paradigm that pays greater attention to human rights. In general, with the transformation of the OAU into the AU, the objectives of the continental body were broader and more comprehensive than those of the founding organisation. The AU not only seeks to promote greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa, but it also focuses on issues such as the promotion of good governance and peace and security.

The AU, a major site of multilateralism for African member states, has shaped relationships between and amongst the African states and people, and between African states and the global community. Despite the disappointments in many instances, it is the body many Africans legitimately look up to for leadership to end conflicts, deepen democracy and governance, protect human rights and promote economic development in Africa. The transformation of the OAU, an old anti-colonial multilateral platform with its emphasis on non-interference in the sovereign affairs of member states, to the AU and its principle of non-indifference has been somewhat revolutionary.

This transformation has found expression in the AU Constitutive Act, which entrenched the 'Responsibly to Protect' (R2P) Doctrine ably captured in Article 4 of the Constitutive Act. Through its sub-regional groups, RECs such as ECOWAS and SADC, member states are jointly cooperating to solve, peace and security problems, migration, gender, economic development, human rights and democracy, and regional integration issues through protocols, summit declarations and binding policy pronouncements.

The AU is increasingly demonstrating readiness to take the lead in the formulation and deployment of policy and practical responses to the conflict and crisis situations in Africa. A 2015 impact assessment of the

1 Tissi and Aggad-Clerx (2014). The Road Ahead for the African Governance Architecture: An Overview of Current Challenges and Possible Solutions, SAIIA Occasional Paper Number 174, Johannesburg: South African Institute for International Affairs, <http://www.saiia.org.za/occasional-papers/502-the-road-ahead-for-the-african-governance-architecture-an-overview-of-current-challenges-and-possible-solutions/file> (Date Accessed: 1 September 2018)

2 African Union, 2018. "AU in a Nutshell", <https://au.int/en/history/oau-and-au>, Date Accessed (23 January 2018)

conflict-related interventions of the AU reports that the organisation responded to 51 per cent of the violent conflicts on the continent. (Amnesty International, 2017). The report describes the AU and its RECs as ‘irreplaceable actors for assuring peace and security in Africa’. The determination of the AU to take the lead in responding to conflict situations in Africa is rooted in the idea that Africa should craft solutions to the problems it faces; it should take the fate and future of its people in its own hands.

Since its founding, the AU has expressed a commitment to rid the continent of conflicts and asserted that it should take the lead role in the pursuit of this endeavour. It has taken many steps to translate this commitment into reality. The AU has established a relatively comprehensively normative and institutional framework known as the APSA. APSA builds on and improves the structures that the OAU had begun to establish to establish in the twilight of its existence. The transformation of the OAU to the AU also provided the opportunity to improve the regional normative and institutional mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution. The improvement is reflected in the norms and operations of APSA.

African Peace and Security Architecture and African Governance Architecture

The key pillars of the APSA include the Peace and Security Council, the AU Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF), the African Peace Fund and the RECs. The pace of the development of the various components of the APSA has been uneven, but most of them are close to being fully operationalised. APSA is supposed to be complemented in its work by AGA.

Also, the AU has several institutions including the African Court of Justice, ACHPR and the Pan African Parliament, which are critical for the operationalisation of governance. Power dynamics and their influence the politics of the AU

The AGA is the AU’s normative and institutional framework for promoting, harmonising and sustaining three specific ‘shared values’: democracy

good governance and human rights (African Union Commission, 2015). Amongst the AGA platform members are human rights treaty bodies: the Africa Commission on Human and People’s Rights (ACHPR), the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACERWC), and the African Court on Human and People’s Rights (African Human Rights Court) and the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights (Banjul Commission). These specific bodies often respond to human rights violations committed in conflict, in the discharge of their respective mandates.

The commission’s final decisions are called ‘recommendations’ for actions to be taken by the State to provide a remedy. These are not binding judgments as there are no mechanisms or procedures to compel the State to implement the recommendations. The Banjul Commission’s recommendations are non-binding until the relevant commission activity reports are adopted by the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Opportunities for the AU

Having discussed the history, mandate and structure of the AU, this section will reflect on some of the opportunities of the AU in global governance and will examine the value added by a body such as the AU in representing Africa’s interests in the global arena.

Importance of African representation and voice

For African countries to effectively find a voice in global platforms, they need broader representation and a concerted effort. The use of a collective voice is sometimes necessary especially when negotiating with powerful countries and partners. Against this background, perhaps, the AU is best equipped to represent Africa’s interests in global affairs. Like the EU, the AU brings regional-specific interests to global platforms such as the WEF and the UN.

Leverage and Gravitas

There is no doubt that the AU provides much-needed African multi-lateral approaches to mediation and negotiation, bringing leverage and clout to peace processes. In particular, when coordination, cooperation and harmonisation in interventions are achieved and for which the international and regional contact groups may prove decisive.

The African Union Challenges

Gaps between Norm-Setting and Implementation

An analysis of the compendium of the AU declarations, protocols and normative frameworks reveals that the AU has the clearest and well-written legal and policy frameworks. The point must be made though, that despite the normative and institutional advances made so far, questions still abound regarding the effectiveness, consistency and coherence of the AU's response to human rights violations and abuses that lead to and are committed in conflict situations.

Notable amongst the key governance commitments are the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG), the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, Aspirations 3 and 4 of the AU Agenda 2063, which respectively calls for an Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law, and a peaceful and secure Africa.

The recurring feedback is that the AU has not done much to implement the norms and commitments that it set for itself. These include the implementation of the AU African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), which was designed to assist states to introspect on their achievement of good governance. The APRM is a peer review and self-assessment tool that allows African states to analyse the blockages to good governance and to learn from their challenges of not fully implementing the African Charter on Democracy and Good Governance.

While the concept of peer review has its roots in academic practice where peers read each other's work and critique, the use of the peer

review concept has been found to be challenging at member state level. The small number of states who have acceded to the APRM and who have expressed a willingness to be reviewed is indicative of the hesitation by states in Africa to be subjected to a critical appraisal, scrutiny and assessment of all levels of governance by their fellow member states. However, since AU member states voluntarily crafted the APRM, it is important that the AU reflects the seriousness of its founding documents and its Constitutive Act and demonstrates that it is a place for multilateral diplomacy, leadership and common purpose.

Challenges of Coherence and Coordination

While the AU can be credited for working through RECs in its conflict intervention process, it is important for the organisation sometimes to step back and play the role of active supporter and enabler of these processes. Unfortunately, the AU has not always played the role of a back stopper as exemplified in Southern Africa where SADC has consistently played a central role in the DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mozambique and Zimbabwe peace processes.

Notably, SADC took the lead in facilitating mediation processes in Madagascar, Lesotho and Zimbabwe, while it created and deployed the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) in the DRC. Presumably, the AU gave space to SADC to be at the forefront in the management of these conflicts in adherence to the principles of subsidiary and complementarity, but the palpable absence of the AU had profound implications. Indeed, its absence to effectively give support and add a credible voice to the SADC processes may have contributed to the social and psychological distances between the continental body and the populations of this region.

Indeed, it makes sense that the principle of subsidiarity and complementarity allows that much more of the intervention efforts should even be done at the level of the RECs. In this module, we cover a case study of SADC as part of the development of understanding African politics in the context of both global governance and multilateralism.

Putting the principle of non-indifference into practice.

In 2002, the transformation from the OAU to the AU was accompanied by the Constitutive Act, which presented more robust normative and institutional mechanisms for intervention, has been described as a new era of Africa's non-indifference stance to the human rights challenges in member states. Non-indifference indicates that the AU will no longer watch while human rights violations are being committed in member states. The non-indifference clause calls for the AU to intervene where the rule of law is being violated and where human rights violations are being committed.

However, in reality, this non-indifference clause has not been fully and effectively implemented for several reasons. A good example is the AU's silence on the current conflict in Cameroon. The conflict in Cameroon is characterised by government forces committing human rights violations on its citizens in the name of restoration of law and order. Since the crisis in Cameroon began in 2016, the AU has not had a sound reaction, and the continental body has not even attempted to intervene in this conflict, hence the allegation that Cameroon is a forgotten conflict.

Historically, the AU has always regarded the sovereignty of its member states as sacrosanct which explains why the continental body is averse to commenting on or intervening in the domestic affairs of member states. One of the challenges facing the AU is its inaction on internal challenges facing its member states. Even though the AU shifted from the norm of non-interference to non-indifference in 2002, with the coming into force of the AU Constitutive Act, the continental body still struggles to enforce this principle. As a result, high levels of corruption and poor levels of governance in Africa account for the continent's stagnation and to some extent, retrogression.

Disavowal of earlier commitments

In 2014, the African leaders roundly condemned the ICC, arguing that this global court was biased against African leaders. This move came as a surprise because the history of the Rome Statute and the establishment of the ICC had immense backing from African leaders then. The AU's

condemnation of the ICC's indictment of incumbent leaders tends to raise concerns that the relaunched continental body is yet to show signs that it is not controlled by the agenda of the leaders of its member states. Furthermore, in condemning the ICC, Africa heads of state and government seemed to be condoning impunity. They also sent a message that they tolerate oppressive regimes in an era when the AU is supposed to be pro-human security. The AU's formal condemnation of the ICC was not vocal about the court's role in prosecuting opposition or rebel elites in African states.

Hesitation to intervene

One of the challenges relating to the AU is its hesitation to respond to a crisis. While it is understood that the principles of subsidiarity and complementarity require the regional bodies to respond first to crises in their environments, the AU has not shown any appetite to intervene in member states that are guilty of human rights violations. Notwithstanding the alleged paradigm shift from non-intervention to non-indifference, the AU is yet to invoke Article 4(h) to launch a military intervention against a member state even in instances where there are plausible circumstances to do so, such as in Cote d'Ivoire in 2010 and Libya in 2011 (Williams, 2011).

That the AU still regards state consent as key before launching any decisive intervention has led critics to argue that the AU is a club of statesmen who are bent on protecting each other. Even though as a result of mal-governance, political crises and conflict, African citizens continually face grave human rights violations, the AU hardly intervenes. Even in situations of large-scale displacement of people, and refugee flows, the AU at best issues calls for dialogue rather than to military intervention. The only instance where the AU intervened more decisively was the crisis in Comoros in 2011, which again was to support a fellow head of state who had been deposed by a military coup.

According to a 2014 UNHCR report, sub-Saharan Africa was host to about 3,7 million refugees (or 26% of refugees worldwide) in 2014 (UNHCR, 2014. p. 9), who were mostly from Somalia (753,000), South Sudan (615,300), Sudan (627,000), the DRC (487,800), the Central African

Republic (410,400), and Eritrea (239,600). However, despite these cases of evident human security threats, the AU is not keen to take member states to task or to intervene to protect civilians.

The lack of appetite by the AU to intervene in situations of grave violations of human rights demonstrates that the continental body is not yet ready to evoke the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). The AU has exhibited shortcomings in prioritising human rights and security due to its (seemingly) vested efforts to gain the consent of state elites and carry state regimes, which are sometimes the perpetrators of human rights abuses.

Despite the transition of the AU to a human security paradigm which claims non-indifference, the AU has however not met this normative commitment through engaging in interventions that prioritise human rights and security.

AU-RECs Relationships

The relationship between the AU and RECs is one that raises critical questions, especially regarding division of labour; who does what, when, and how. This discussion is primarily underscored by interpretations of the guiding principles of subsidiarity (who should take the lead) and complementarity (what different regional and continental constituencies should do). The issue of how the AU relates to RECs affects peace and security in many ways, and determines the ability of the former to effectively intervene in preventing and resolving conflict in different parts of the continent. While experiences admittedly differ from region to region, RECs have often tended to invoke the principle of subsidiarity, compelling the AU to step back, while they make attempts to resolve conflicts in their region.

This has consistently been a bone of contention between the AU and SADC in Lesotho, DRC, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, amongst others. Similarly, in West Africa and the Horn of Africa, the ECOWAS and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), respectively, have played leading roles in responding to the conflicts in their region, sometimes after prolonged bickering with the AU on who should take the lead. For RECs, often the argument is that being closer to the flashpoint, they should be the first responders to conflicts in regions while the AU

should provide necessary political, diplomatic, resource and logistical backstopping.

AU Donor Dependence

One of the challenges facing the African Union is the fact that the continental body depends heavily on donor funding. More than 98 per cent of the programme support for the AU comes from external actors, which has the challenge of creating externally driven agendas for the continent and the institutional body. Furthermore, the donor dependence by the AU is also frustrating the funders of the continental body, who are now asking the AU to pay its 'fair share'.

The AU's donor dependence is unsustainable, especially as there are complex socio-economic and political developments in erstwhile donors such as the EU, which are causing them to review their priorities. The EU faces the challenges of migration in its environs, in addition to being faced by the UK's impending exit from the European Union. Brexit will leave EU funds for supporting the AU depleted as this European body will no longer have one of its most influential and wealthy member states to contribute to the development aid coffers.

Furthermore, the AU's dependence on it is also problematic from an African renaissance perspective. Leaders on the continent have noticed the lack of pride in the continental body receiving the lion's share from donors. The AU claims that it wishes to reduce its reliance on external support. As a result, during the discussions on AU reforms which are being led by the President of Rwanda, Paul Kagame, several proposals were tabled to facilitate the internal mobilisation of resources.

One such proposal is a 0.2 per cent levy on imports to the continent which is estimated to generate more than USD\$ 1,2 billion per year. Another suggestion towards internal resources mobilisation for the AU includes member states increasing their contributions to the continental body. So far, few African states pay their dues to the AU.

Regional Economic Communities

Overview of RECs – History and Evolution

RECS are the building blocks of the AGA and the APSA. To this end, the interaction with the AU also significantly influences the governance of the African continent, and the capacity of Africa to claim its space in the global arena.

The AU is divided into five regions, East, West, Central, Southern and North Africa, and within these geographical regions, eight RECs are recognised. These are East African Community (EAC); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); the ECOWAS; the IGAD; and the SADC; the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU).

The creation of RECs was viewed as providing the basis for wider African integration, intending to promoting regional and eventual continental integration.

Both the Lagos Plan of Action and the Abuja Treaty recognise that the realisation of mutual economic development amongst African states requires coordination, harmonisation and integration of the activities of the AU and RECs. In 2008, the AU and RECs signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for Cooperation in peace and security, which was then solemnised by the Protocol on Relations between the RECs and the AU (2008). Through the MoU, both the AU and RECs committed to work together, cooperate and 'adhere to the principles of subsidiarity, complementarity, and comparative advantage' (AU 2008b: Article 4.4).

Currently, the relationship between the AU and RECs is supported by many processes and infrastructures. At the secretariat level, examples of processes that have been put in place to foster AU–RECs cooperation on matters of peace and security include the invitation of heads of RECs to AU summits, and the subsequent participation by the AU Commission Chairperson at the extra-ordinary summits of the RECs. Also, the adoption of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in

2001 was also premised on the AU recognising that the vision of an integrated and economically developed Africa could be realised through the RECs. Indeed, NEPAD recognises that the AU and RECs are critical in spearheading the development and integration of the continent.

The AU is divided into five regions, East, West, Central, Southern and North Africa, and within these geographical regions, eight regional Economic Communities (RECS) are recognized.

There has been progress in joint deliberations on development issues, which is epitomised by collaborative consultations between the UN, AU, RECs and NEPAD with key development partners. Nonetheless, progress on advancing the economic development and integration agenda has been slow due to institutional rivalries, competition over status and scarce financial and human resources (Landsberg, 2012). Furthermore, the RECs also happen to be at different stages of their integration agenda, with ECOWAS recording the most substantial progress overall.

Although originally established to push the vision for economic development and regional integration, over the past two decades or so, RECs have increasingly embraced more responsibilities for conflict prevention, management and resolution. This role is in line with their mandate and responsibility for the overall APSA. International and continental normative frameworks provide the prominence of RECs at the forefront of regional conflict resolution and peace processes in Africa. Chapter VIII of the UN Charter provides for regional arrangements to deal with peace and security matters, provided that:

[S]uch matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.³

³ Chapter VIII of the UN Charter: Regional Arrangements, Article 52: 1. For details, see <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-viii/index.html> (Date Accessed: 18 July 2016)

The AU Constitutive Act (2000) also provides the basis for the establishment of RECs. Additionally, the Lagos Plan of Action for the Development of Africa (1980) and the Abuja Treaty (1991) committed to driving the economic development of Africa by promoting regional integration. Most RECs have visions that recognise the need for a shared future and which recognise the importance of regional integration, mutual benefit and solidarity.

Added Value or Rationale for RECs

The purpose of RECs is to provide the basis for wider African integration to promote regional and eventual continental integration. Both the Lagos Plan of Action and the Abuja Treaty recognise that to realise mutual economic development amongst African states; there has to be coordination, harmonisation and integration of the activities of the AU and RECs. In 2008, the AU and RECs signed a MoU for cooperation in peace and security, which was then solemnised by the Protocol on Relations between the RECs and the AU (2008). Through the MoU, both the AU and RECs committed to work together, cooperate and 'adhere to the principles of subsidiarity, complementarity, and comparative advantage' (AU 2008b: Article 4.4). Similarly, the AU Protocol to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council provides for the collaboration between the AU and RECs especially on matters of peace and security.⁴

The attainment of peace and security, especially in the face of AU reforms will require not only strategic guidance from political leaders and states but will also significantly benefit from the inputs by the RECs. These regional structures have repeatedly proven they are concretely and continuously shaping their communities, member states and the entire world, and are therefore critical players in realising the peace and security agenda of the African Union.

⁴ African Union, 2002, Protocol relating to the establishment of the peace and Security Council of the African Union 2002/2003. Addis Ababa. Available at <www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/text/Protocol-peace%20and%20security.pdf (Date Accessed: 20 January 2018)

Through NEPAD, there is implicit recognition by the AU that RECs are critical in spearheading the development and integration of the continent. There has been progress in joint deliberations on development issues, which is epitomised by collaborative consultations between the UN, AU, RECs, NEPAD and other development partners. However, since the adoption of NEPAD, there has not been significant traction for the AU, NEPAD and RECs to advance the economic development and integration agenda.

As mentioned above Landsberg (2012) notes that the reasons for the lack of movement which have cumulatively served to undermine the continent's political and development agendas. Furthermore, different institutions also happen to be at different stages of pursuing the integration agenda. It is critical to recognise, however, the integrationist moves in some sub-regions including ECOWAS, which adopted a common passport.

Another reason for the increasing prominence of RECs is the realisation that collaboration, cooperation and concerted efforts are critical towards resolving a complex problem such as violent conflict. The failures of the United Nations interventions in African crises such as Somalia and Rwanda in the 1990s partially led to the paradigmatic shift by regional leaders, especially the emphasis of African-centred solutions to peace and security.

What needs to be done for the AU to effectively respond to the needs of citizens?

AU institutional Reforms

As should be expected, the ongoing institutional reforms of the AU led by President Paul Kagame places a premium on the need for clear division of labour between and amongst different constituencies; AUC, RECs, member states, and other continental institutions, in line with the principle of subsidiarity. In practical terms, however, the effectiveness of any AU-RECs collaboration on peace and security can only be achieved and sustained when the fundamental weaknesses associated with over-dependence on external funding is addressed.

Internal Resource Mobilisation

Internal resource mobilisation requires the AU, RECs and member states to fully support the operationalising the resource mobilisation strategies that have already been adopted. The earlier it is recognised that the AU–RECs partnership needs some paradigm shift in owning the peace agenda, the better it is for the continent to effectively pursue the tasks of conflict prevention, management and resolution.

RECs – Background

To realise the vision of a *peaceful and prosperous Africa, which is driven by its citizens that represent a dynamic force in the global arena*, the AU seeks to efficiently drive the African integration and development process in close collaboration with the RECs and African citizens. It is not coincidental therefore that the RECs are recognised as the building blocks of the AU and are integral to the successful implementation of the African Peace and APSA. The pursuit and attainment of peace and security within the context of the ongoing reform will require not only strategic guidance from member states but also the active participation of the RECs. These regional structures have, after all, repeatedly proven they are pivotal in shaping developments within their respective communities in ways that add value to the attainment of the AU's peace and security agenda.

As mentioned above, the AU is divided into five regions, East, West, Central, Southern and North Africa, and within these geographical regions, eight Regional Economic Communities and or regional mechanisms are recognised, as follows: EAC; the ECCAS; the ECOWAS; the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); and the SADC; COMESA; the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) and the AMU. The different regional frameworks acknowledge that the pursuit of their core mandate of regional integration and development cannot be achieved, or would take time to realise, as long as the atmosphere for peace and stability is disrupted. By extension, RECs are also critical stakeholders in building sustainable peace as envisaged by the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Peace.

As a complement to the AU, RECs were established to promote the implementation of democratic norms and conflict mechanisms. But the effectiveness of these communities varies significantly according to leadership dynamics, political and cultural cleavages, and the depth of integration. Amongst the existing RECs, ECOWAS, SAD and the EAC have made greater strides in economic integration, the institutionalisation of democratic norms, and peace and security compared to others, such as the ECCAS, IGAD, the AMU, and COMESA. In addition to lacking historical ties of integration, the latter regional institutions face civil conflicts, interstate strife, and an absence of anchor nations to lead integration efforts.

The Role of RECs – Focus on SADC

The SADC is a regional economic community which is located in the Southern African region, and it seeks to promote sustainable economic growth and development through integration, good governance and durable peace and security. SADC is one of the RECS which are recognised by the AU as one of the building blocks of the APSA. Currently, the SADC region constitutes 15 member states,⁵ with a population of approximately 280 million,⁶ making it one of the largest regional blocs in Africa.

The SADC vision is one of 'a common future in a regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa'.⁷

A History of SADC

The formation of SADC was the result of a long process of consultation by the leaders of Southern Africa. As a regional body, SADC is almost 30 years

5 The 15 SADC member states are Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

6 For details, see SADC Summary Facts and Figures, for details see: <http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

7 SADC website

old, and its roots can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s, when the leaders of newly independent states and national liberation movements mobilised together politically, diplomatically and militarily as the Frontline States (FLS)⁸ to unite against apartheid South Africa's expansionism, promote economic liberation and to support further decolonisation.⁹

In 1980, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was born as further consolidation of the FLS, with the primary objective of coordinating development projects in the region.

SADCC was established as an anti-colonial and anti-apartheid institution, whose main objective was to drive regional integration and economic advancement of the region. The intention was to ensure that the struggle against colonialism and apartheid rested on an indefatigable economic pillar. In the SADC region, Tanzania bore the heaviest burden of freeing not only SADC but the rest of the African continent by accommodating liberation fighters in the country, and providing them with logistical and military support. Countries that benefited from such support include Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. At its inception in April 1980, and later during the transformation from SADCC to SADC, the region continued to offer its total support towards the end of apartheid rule in South Africa. Although the establishment of SADCC can be viewed as a political project, the economic intention of the region was an overriding feature of this regional mechanism.

When the regional community was established, member states of SADCC respectively identified economic and development projects that had to be pursued within the context of regional cooperation. Each member state was given a particular economic sector to focus on, for example Zimbabwe was given food security, while Mozambique was given transport and infrastructure while Angola was given energy.

⁸ The Frontline States provided material, logistical, diplomatic and political support to nationalist movements fighting for the independence of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South West Africa (Namibia) and South Africa.

⁹ SADCC was established in 1980 in terms of the 'Lusaka Declaration: Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation'.



Photo: SADC Member states flags (Source: SADC Website: 2018: Public Photo)

Transformation of SADC

Due to the changing political environment, SADCC was transformed into SADC through the adoption of the Windhoek Declaration and the SADC Treaty.¹⁰ It was to signal the movement away from a decentralised approach to more emphasis on regional integration and a common community.

Since its formation, SADC has evolved, and now it is increasingly giving prominence to issues such as democracy, governance, peace and security. The SADC mandate was broadened to focus not only on economic development and regional integration, but also to pursue peace and security objectives.

SADCC was established as an anti-colonial and anti-apartheid institution, whose main objective was to drive regional integration and economic advancement of the region. The intention was to ensure that the struggle against colonialism and apartheid rested on an unwavering economic pillar.

¹⁰ The Windhoek Declaration and the SADC Treaty were signed by the SADCC-leaders, plus Namibia which gained its independence in 1990.

SADC has developed into a regional security community which gives particular focus to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Article 5 of the SADC Treaty emphasises the pursuit of peace and security. Additionally, the SADC Protocol clearly shows that member states support the use of preventative diplomacy and mediation to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts in the region. Since its establishment in 1992, SADC has built an elaborate legal edifice centred on the SADC Treaty, supported by several protocols and declarations focusing on politics and security, trade, infrastructure development, energy, health, education and gender, amongst other issues.

Institutional SADC – Set Up

The SADC Secretariat is based in Gaborone, Botswana. The Secretariat is the principal executive institution of SADC, responsible for strategic planning, facilitation, coordination and management of all SADC programmes. It is headed by the SADC Executive Secretary, who is supported by the Deputy Executive Secretary: Regional Integration, and Deputy Executive Secretary: Finance and Administration. Also, the SADC Secretariat comprises of various directorates and units.

The Southern African Development Community's Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF) is an inter-parliamentary institution, composed of Members of Parliament (MPs) from SADC member states and representing more than 3500 MPs in the region. Launched in July 1996, SADC PF was officially approved, in accordance with Article 9(2) of the SADC Treaty, by the SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government in Blantyre, Malawi, on 8 September 1997.

The SADC PF consists of presiding officers, and a maximum of five representatives elected by the National Parliament of each SADC member state. This forum aims to provide a platform to support and improve regional integration through parliamentary involvement, and promote best practices in the role of parliaments in regional integration and cooperation. The SADC PF has programmes and initiatives, which include the Democracy and Governance Programme and the Parliamentary Capacity Development. The SADC Parliamentary Forum does not have a reporting relationship to the Summit and other SADC Organs, but works closely with these infrastructures on areas of common interest.



Photo: SADC Secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana

Reflection on Peace and Security Role of SADC

Capacity for Rapid Response and Deployment

One of the defining features of SADC's role as a regional community is that it has displayed that it is in perfect position to be a useful and relevant actor in fostering peace and security in the region. This is not surprising given that Article 5 of the SADC Treaty emphasises the pursuit of peace and security.

As a regional mechanism, SADC has put in place some mechanisms that allow for it to respond to a crisis in the region readily and positively. One of these mechanisms is the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (SADC Organ), whose objective is to promote peace and security by coordinating the resolution of inter- and intra-state conflict. In playing this role, the SADC Organ is supported by structures which include the Inter-State Politics and Diplomacy Committee (ISPDC),¹¹

¹¹ The ISPDC is made up of the ministers responsible for foreign affairs, defence, public security and state security from the SADC Member States.

a mechanism that reports to the Ministerial Committee of the Organ (MCO) on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation.

Robust conflict prevention mechanisms

SADC's robust conflict prevention and resolution architecture and the strong mandate from member states makes it an organisation that has significant muscle. One of the defining features of SADC is its strong surveillance system and early warning system and a commitment towards community security and self-defence by SADC member states. As a result, Southern Africa is often considered by many as the most stable region in Africa. These SADC Regional Early Warning Centre (REWC) and the SADC Military Planning Element (PLANELM) structures work 24 hours, seven days a week, to anticipate any need by SADC intervene in its member states' crises situations. This allows for SADC to be able to readily deploy military and other forms of armed interventions that may be deemed as necessary in times of need.

Strong peace and security architecture

Additionally, the regional organisation has generated a SADC Standby Force to be rapidly and readily deployed in any crises situations. Operationalised in 2009, the SADC Standby Force keeps evolving and its capacity continues to improve. A good example is in Lesotho in 2014, where SADC REWC advised the SADC Summit on the situation in Lesotho (attempted military coup). Immediately after receiving this information, the SADC Summit met in Pretoria and within a few days, the regional organisation had authorised the deployment of a SADC Force in Lesotho (SADC Observer Mission) to dispel the crisis. More than half of the member states of SADC contributed the forces that were deployed in Lesotho (police and military). This example reflects critical evidence of SADC's political will and operational capacity to prevent the degeneration of conflicts in member states.

New SADC leaders replacing the founders of liberation movements

Within the framework of peace and security, SADC has some opportunities that are represented by 'new blood' in the form of fresh leadership in some countries. In Angola, South Africa and Tanzania, Presidents Joao Lourenco, Cyril Ramaphosa and John Magufuli respectively, have made fighting corruption a high-level priority. In South Africa, President Ramaphosa has made economic reform and openness one of his key priorities. In the DRC, the announcement by President Joseph Kabila that he will respect the country's constitution by organising elections in which he must not stand offers an opportunity for peace and fresh leadership in a country that has known conflict for more than three decades. These developments are indicative of an evolving and maturing SADC, which is likely to break away from its unresponsive and chequered past. The new leaders still firmly believe in collective action and shared accountability and the vision of a united, prosperous and integrated SADC.

Despite these encouraging signs of relative stability compared to other regions, it does not mean that the SADC region is exempt from socio-economic and political insecurities, like armed conflict, democracy and governance shortfalls, political coups and the ever-present triple burden of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

Furthermore, SADC faces limits and deficits which include historical challenges, particularly the legacy of colonialism which the region is still in the process of shaking off. Except for South Sudan in East Africa which gained independence in 2011, SADC is often considered as the region whose countries gained independence late. These countries include Zimbabwe, whose independence was in 1980, Namibia whose independence was in 1992 and South Africa, whose freedom was 1994. Consequently, it is arguable that SADC's democratic and conflict prevention institutions and norm-setting processes are still evolving.

The Peculiar Political Economy of SADC

Article 2 of the SADC Treaty gave SADC the objectives of spearheading regional economic integration, alleviating poverty, and enhancing the standard and quality of life of the peoples of Southern Africa.

Furthermore, SADC faces limits and deficits which include historical challenges, particularly the legacy of colonialism which the region is still in the process of shaking off. With the exception of South Sudan in East Africa which gained independence in 2011, SADC is often considered as the region whose countries gained independence late

These objectives were to be achieved through increased regional integration, built on democratic principles, and equitable and sustainable development. A comparison of SADC with other RECs in Africa shows that the SADC region has the highest rates of intra-regional trade.

Mashayekhi, Peters and Vanzetti (2016) estimate that intra-SADC trade currently stands at 11% of the total trade for the region. Whereas this figure is still, it is still much higher than the rates of intra-regional trade in other regional blocks.¹² The authors note that exports from SADC countries are concentrated towards the EU and other markets in high income or developed countries, including the OECD. However, it is envisaged that the SADC regional trade could be increased with continued economic integration.

Undoubtedly, many members of SADC are dependent on agriculture. However, there are countries in the SADC region such as South Africa which have diversified their economies to include manufacturing, mining, agriculture as well as retail.

Admittedly, the economic development of SADC member states is at different levels, with some countries being advanced, others being in the middle and yet others being in the least advanced stages of economic development.

Still existing challenges of effective regional integration

Within SADC, there are gross inequalities and imbalances amongst member states. Critics have often pointed out that the SADC project of regional integration has not yet fully materialised given the gross economic

inequalities and imbalances amongst member states. Essentially, South Africa is the dominant or leading regional economy, as it currently makes up about two-thirds of SADC's overall trade and more than two-thirds of SADC region's gross domestic product (GDP). Furthermore, South Africa is relatively strong in manufacturing compared to its fellow SADC member states.

According to the World Bank, South Africa is currently the second largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa, following Nigeria, and it contributes more than 21 per cent of the region's GDP.¹³ South Africa is characterised by economic, political and military might, compared to several African countries. Not only is South Africa influential in SADC, but it also plays a substantial political and economic role in the continent. Because of its unique position, South Africa has been increasingly influential within SADC and even in the AU.

Limited diversification of economies of SADC

Furthermore, one of the challenges affecting the SADC region is the limited diversification of economies. Except for South Africa, which has the most developed and diversified industrial base, and Mauritius, most SADC member states tend to be dependent on commodities or raw materials, while there is a limited degree of industrialisation. Indeed, commodities play an essential role in the economies of many SADC countries. For example, Angola exports substantial quantities of oil and Botswana is a major producer of diamonds.

The political economy of SADC is characterised by massive contradictions which include the failure to promote peace dividends. Some of the SADC states can be regarded as sites of struggles and structural inequalities including unemployment, poverty, gender violence, discrimination and xenophobia in South Africa.

¹² Mashayekhi, Peters and Vanzetti (2016), Regional Integration and Employment Effects in SADC Region, <https://www.oecd.org/site/tadicite/50288660.pdf> (Date Accessed: 20 January 2018)

¹³ For details, see: <https://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/GEP/GEP2016a/Global-Economic-Prospect-2016-Sub-Saharan-Africa-analysis.pdf>

Economic inequalities and hierarchies within SADC

An application of the socio-economic analytical framework into the peace and security discourse in SADC reveals that economic issues have played a role in the capacity of SADC to prevent and manage conflict. One of the most visible features of the economic disparities within SADC is reflected in the high rates of outward migration from SADC member states into South Africa. This high rate is explained by the overdevelopment of South Africa within an enclave of less-developed fellow SADC member states like Zimbabwe, Malawi and DRC, amongst others. South Africa is doing relatively well within the context of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), while fellow members of the Union such as Namibia and Lesotho are heavily dependent on the regional powerhouse.

Even though SADC adopted the Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons within SADC (1997),¹⁴ the mobility within the SADC region is not so easy. The 1997 SADC Protocol was further revised and adopted in 2005, which ensures granting visa-free entry, with lawful purpose, to citizens from other member states for a maximum of 90 days. One of the reasons why the free movement of persons within the SADC region has not yet been actualised is because few member states have ratified the Protocol. Currently, there are SADC countries where citizens from certain fellow SADC member states require a visa to enter, and these include Angola, DRC and Madagascar.

Furthermore, SADC regional integration also faces challenges of member states have overlapping memberships into other RECs. Several SADC member states belong to multiple RECS such as the COMESA, the EAC, the SACU or the ECCAS to address issues of overlapping membership and to ensure harmony in regional integration

¹⁴ Originally, a Draft Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons within SADC was tabled for consideration and adoption, but in 1997, SADC member states ended up adopting the more restrictive Protocol for the Facilitation of Movement of Persons within SADC

Evaluation and Assessment of SADC – Challenges and Opportunities

State-Centric Nature and Inaccessibility of SADC

One of the disappointments that civic groups in the region have of SADC is its relative inaccessibility. There is a sense of 'closed space', bureaucratic arrogance and limited imagination of the role of civil society in promoting citizen-led regional integration. As a result there is a plethora of side events during SADC Heads of State Summit made up of citizens and civil society groups and social movements that are demanding space to be opened for public engagement

In response, SADC is in the process of coming up with a consultative framework to enable some seamless collaboration with non-state actors. The steps towards creating a people-centred SADC include a focus on creating a SADC Summit as a place for engagement and site for interface. Sites for interfacing with SADC includes the SADC Focal Persons and SADC Civil Society Consultative Forum provide examples of avenues through which young people can engage with SADC to influence a regional integration agenda.

Complex relationship between SADC and other institutions

Some challenges are evident from an analysis of SADC and RECs in general. First, the relationship between the AU and regional RECs is one that raises critical questions, especially regarding the division of labour and the principles of subsidiarity and complementarity. For example, the practice of RECs and AU interacting on matters relating to peace and security has often been tenuous and ambiguous, in some occasions. The ambiguity about who should intervene between the AU and RECs has often conflated conflicts in the regions, and subsequently in the continent. Govender, Ngandu and Kartz (2010, p. 22) describe this situation as being 'characterised by tension as there is uncertainty and competition over which organization should take the lead in a mediation endeavour'. Against this background, the imperative for to clarify the roles and division of labour between the AU and the RECs to make the reform processes a reality.

The issue of how the AU relates to RECs affects global governance in many ways and often determines whether the AU can or cannot effectively intervene in preventing and resolving conflict in the region. Tensions, unhealthy competitions and contradictory policies and principles have the risk of undermining the successful and effective efforts for peace and security in the continent. It is against this background that the need for effective modalities of collaboration would be required to bring to life the vision of an integrated, peaceful and prosperous Africa

Experiences differ from region to region; admittedly, RECs have often tended to invoke the principle of subsidiarity, compelling the AU to step back while they make attempts to resolve conflicts in their region. This REC position has consistently been the case in Southern Africa, with the SADC in Lesotho, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, amongst others.

SADC's perceived ineffectiveness

SADC has been noted to take too much of a cautious step when it comes to intervening in crises in its member states. The SADC reluctance to pronounce situations that can be easily labelled as worrisome such as the political crisis in Zimbabwe, the conflict in Mozambique and the political situation in Lesotho has led many observers to conclude that the regional organisations is 'captured'. SADC is averse towards making pronouncements that seemingly denounce its member states or heads of state from the region.

The *modus operandi* of SADC is in stark contrast to the ECOWAS which is much more decisive and interventionist in orientation. In 2017, ECOWAS successfully intervened in The Gambia. The victory after the political crisis in Gambia led observers in Southern Africa to probe the relative ineffectiveness of SADC in promoting democratic values despite its protocols. Some analysts have suggested that 'Southern Africa needs ECOWAS, not the dilatory SADC'. These criticisms capture a host of problems related to the institutionalisation of the Southern African mechanisms for democracy and stability, notably a lack of regional leadership, ever since Mandela and Mbeki exited the stage, the legacy

of liberation movements and the limited experience in carrying out interventions to bring stability and reinforce norms.

Partisan nature and response to political crisis

SADC's history as an organisation which was established to be a bulwark against apartheid South Africa, explains the REC's emphasis on respect of member state solidarity with statesmen from the region. Indeed, the partisan nature of SADC has been observed by many critics. During the period, 2007-2008, the then SADC Tribunal, which was established in 2005, was approached by white Zimbabwean commercial farmers who took the Robert Mugabe government to court to stop the compulsory acquisition of their farms¹⁵ The white commercial farmers, led by Mike Campbell, argued that they should have been awarded compensation when their farms were taken from them. In response, the SADC Tribunal found for the farmers on the basis that they were deprived of their land without the right of access to the courts and the right to a fair hearing, both of which are essential human rights.

In this way, the Tribunal held that the Zimbabwean government breached the provisions in the SADC Treaty, which called for member states to ensure the promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law in the region. The SADC Treaty stipulates that SADC and its members must act as per the principles of sovereign equality of states; solidarity, peace, security, human rights, democracy, and the rule of law; equity, balance and mutual benefit; and peaceful settlement of disputes.

Against this background, the SADC Tribunal ordered the Zimbabwe government to refrain from interfering with the farmers' occupation and ownership of their properties, and to compensate the farmers fairly and duly for their expropriated land.

However, the Zimbabwean government, through a Supreme Court ruling refused to enforce the decision of the court, indicating that the Zimbabwean government's compulsory acquisition of land was done

¹⁵ *Mugabe Says Tribunal Ruling on White Farms 'Exercise in Futility'*, Newzimbabwe.com, 5 Dec. 2008, available at <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/farm77.19109.html>

legally, and therefore continued to engage in compulsory acquisition of land. The land confiscations had taken place under the terms of a constitutional amendment enabling the state to expropriate agricultural land for resettlement and other. Furthermore, the Zimbabwean government dismissed the SADC Tribunal as undue interference in the country's domestic affairs. In 2009, the then Minister of Justice, Patrick Chinamasa announced that Zimbabwean government had withdrawn from the Tribunal's jurisdiction, arguing that the Protocol establishing the SADC Tribunal was not ratified by more than two-thirds of SADC member states, as required by the treaty.

Subsequently, the Zimbabwean government successfully lobbied the SADC Ministerial Committee for the Organ on Defence, Politics and Security Cooperation to support its call to have the SADC Tribunal rendered as null and void. The response by the Zimbabwean government demonstrated the difficulties of regional institutions in enforcing the agreed upon norms and standards. Given the apparent clash between SADC and the Zimbabwean government, and given the challenges of dealing with a sovereign state, the survival of the SADC Tribunal became challenging.

Instead of upholding the SADC Treaty and defending the Tribunal, in 2011 the SADC Summit of heads of announced a moratorium on the SADC Tribunal's hearing of new cases, until the Tribunal Protocol had been reviewed and the revisions approved by the heads of state. The SADC Heads of State directed the Ministers of Justice in the member states to initiate a process of reviewing the relevant instruments relating to the SADC Tribunal. Following these processes, the SADC Tribunal's jurisdiction was subsequently limited as the heads of state in the region agreed that the Tribunal should only hear cases between member states, such as disputes over water or territory, rather than cases brought by individuals against states, such as human rights violations. This limitation effectively bars individuals from accessing the court.

However, the 2011 Protocol limiting the jurisdiction of the SADC Tribunal is not yet binding because it has not been ratified by enough SADC member states. Eventually, the SADC Summit announced that it would not re-appoint or replace the Tribunal judges, whose term of office had ended in 2010 and 2011. This rendered the court inoperative and

disbanded. In 2012, the SADC Summit stated that the mandate of the new body 'should be confined to interpretation of the SADC Treaty and Protocols relating to disputes between member states'.

The SADC Tribunal saga demonstrates the reality that SADC is still far from upholding human rights in defence of citizens at the expense of a member state's sovereignty. The SADC Tribunal case also shows that SADC is an institution which values state solidarity, as evidenced by how the summit came together to acquiesce to the demands from Zimbabwe. The refusal by the Zimbabwean government to implement the SADC Tribunal's ruling aptly demonstrates that SADC states are disinclined to relinquish their sovereignty to regional institutions. The thinking that SADC is a supra-national entity that has the authority to make decisions that are not with the consent of a member state is illusory. Furthermore, the case of Zimbabwean white commercial farmers and the SADC Tribunal demonstrates that the jurisdiction of regional courts derives not merely from their official mandates but also from the response of member states when a court rules against one of them.

Challenges of advancing democratic norms

As a result, regional norms in Southern Africa have not taken root and democracy in many countries has steadily declined. Until the military ouster of Mugabe, Zimbabwe's problems symbolised SADC's failure to advance democratisation in the region. Summit after summit had failed to resolve in any satisfactory manner, the prolonged political crisis in Zimbabwe. The reason was that under Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe exerted a disproportionately influential role in SADC decisions that undermined regional norms of democracy and accountability, including a fatal decision to curtail the ability of the SADC Tribunal to arbitrate on cases of human rights violations which resulted in the closure of the Tribunal.

It is fair to argue that, SADC's inability to influence the events that led to the political demise of Mugabe in Zimbabwe, (which many observers saw as a military coup), illustrates its weaknesses in the region. There were placards during the mass protests in support of the military coup, with words to the effect that SADC was not wanted in Zimbabwe to

deal with the coup. In the recent highly contested elections of 2018, aggrieved parties see in SADC a weak institution that cannot stand up to the strong men of the region.

Failure to fully implement SADC Principle and Guidelines on Elections
The SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections provide that if a member state extends an invitation to SADC to observe its elections, such observation shall be conducted according to the existing regional norms, including the treaty as well as the SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation. The SADC Principles and Guidelines on Elections call upon member states to ensure that their elections are characterised by the full participation of the citizens in the political process. It includes freedom of association; political tolerance; equal opportunity for all political parties to access the state media; and freedom to exercise the right to vote and the independence of the judiciary and impartiality of the electoral institutions.

Although SADC has consistently deployed election observer missions in member states, the observation is that these SADC Election Observer Missions tend to always applaud the elections even in the event of challenges and disputes. It is safe to say that the implementation of the *SADC Principles and Guidelines on the Conduct of Credible Elections*, has not been fully executed, as this is discretionary to the member states.



Even though the SADC Elections Observer Mission presented a positive review of the 30 July 2018 elections in Zimbabwe, a significant size of the population felt betrayed by SADC for not challenging issues such as the controversies regarding the voters roll and allegations of voter intimidations and rigging.

Keeping mum on human rights violations

SADC has not vociferously criticised instances of human rights violations in its member states including Swaziland. Even though civil society reports have highlighted Swaziland as a country to watch when it comes to curtailing freedom of expression, SADC has not roundly criticised the government in this Southern African country. Despite several reports of persons being imprisoned for freely expressing themselves, SADC has not got involved. In 2014, the High Court in Swaziland sentenced the editor of *The Nation*, Bheki Makhubu, and human rights lawyer, Thulani Maseko to imprisonment for crimes associated with exercising freedom of expression.¹⁶

High levels of human insecurity in SADC states

One of the challenges facing the SADC region is that some countries in Southern Africa have failed to deliver on their promise of a peaceful and prosperous Africa. This failure explains why migration levels continue to soar as people are in search of greener pastures and security in South Africa. The xenophobia against black foreigners in South Africa reflects the underlying issues, such as the challenges that the country faces in promoting deeper integration amongst citizens of the region. While the region is working towards breaking down colonial barriers by opening up its borders to encourage the smooth movement of goods, services and persons within Southern Africa, the reality is that regional integration at the personal and political level remains a mirage.

¹⁶ An injury to one is an injury to all SADC citizens, *New Era*, 1 August 2014. For details see: <https://neweralive.na/2014/08/01/an-injury-to-one-sadc-citizen-is-an-injury-to-all-sadc-citizens/>

The xenophobic violence against foreign nationals in South Africa indicates that despite the existence of the SADC Protocol on Free Movement of People in the region, the reality is that movement is not entirely free. Although SADC has sometimes voiced its concerns and called for an end to the wave of xenophobic attacks targeting black foreigners in South Africa, cycles of xenophobic violence have continued to be a blight in the Southern African region. These horrendous forms of violence against foreigners in South Africa are an affront to African unity and a threat to the region's long-held solidarity. Despite SADC's pronouncement on xenophobic attacks in South Africa, the region continues to face the threat of attacks on black foreign nationals in South Africa, and the limited political will of South Africa to address this challenge could explain the reasons for the repeated nature of xenophobic violence.

Outstanding pockets of instability in the region

Despite being recognised as one of the most relatively peaceful regions in Africa, SADC still has pockets of insecurity and instability including the DRC. In recent years, the DRC has emerged as one of SADC's significant obstacles in promoting peace, stability, and democratisation. After substantial investments in ending the DRC's civil war in the early 2000s, South Africa and SADC have prioritised securing a stable environment and a friendly government in Kinshasa. As seen by South Africa's endorsement of the DRC's flawed 2011 general elections, which controversially kept President Joseph Kabila in power.



Facing a relentless rebellion in the eastern DRC, Kabila appealed to SADC to intervene in 2013, and this resulted in the deployment of a SADC FIB, comprising Malawian, Tanzanian and South African troops under UN authorisation. The FIB brought relative stability to the region, but SADC did not match these military gains with diplomatic pressure on Kabila to undertake political and governance reforms.

Without regional pressure, Kabila embarked on a campaign to retain power beyond his two-term mandate, which was set to expire in December 2016. His bid to remain in office prompted massive protests that were violently crushed by security forces. To avoid further violence, the Catholic Church mediated a political settlement between the government and opposition parties, which resulted in an agreement on 31 December 2016. The key provisions of the agreement were Kabila's pledge not to manipulate the constitution to obtain a third term and to hold elections before the end of December 2017. But soon after signing the agreement, Kabila reneged on his commitment to hold elections, charging that, 'I didn't promise anything! I'd like elections to take place as soon as possible. But we want perfect elections, not just any kind of elections!'

Jacob Zuma's lethargic leadership saw SADC endorsing Kabila's plan at the 2017 SADC Summit in Pretoria. SADC waited until Kabila felt under more pressure from elsewhere outside of SADC to announce that the regional organization would not recommend Kabila to run again. SADC eventually made this announcement, calling for Kabila to step down during the 38th Summit of the SADC Heads of State in Windhoek in August 2018, following earlier announcements by the United Nations as far back as January 2018.

Failure to observe democratic norms

Observers believe that SADC's tepid support for regional norms has coincided with the deterioration of democratic principles across the region. While many countries have recently applied for membership, such as Comoros and even Burundi, SADC has increasingly displayed a failure to promote legitimate governance consistently and collectively, mainly because South Africa, the region's hegemony, is itself experiencing

declining credibility and moral credentials to be the undisputed leader in this area. Its democracy is undergoing severe testing. Domestic political paralysis has invariably weakened South Africa's leadership on compliance with and the implementation of regional norms, particularly in a region where these norms are not widely embraced. The strongmen of the region, who had sway on the regional bloc are departing, and even when they were there, except for Ian Khama of Botswana, they generally conspired to block progress. Against this background, SADC's journey towards being an active regional body is still unfinished. There is a lot learn from ECOWAS.

Different stages of political evolution

One of the challenges facing SADC is that its member states have yet not achieved the SADC Treaty's objective of 'evolving common political values, systems and institutions'. A critical appraisal of the state of politics and political development in the Southern African region shows that the political dispensations in SADC are diverse and they cover the spectrum which ranges from pseudo-authoritarian regimes to some evolving democracies. The differential political advancement within SADC was corroborated by an analysis. A survey undertaken by Freedom House on political liberties and human rights in Southern Africa reveals the diversity of political systems in the region. Angola, DRC, Swaziland and Zimbabwe were classified as 'not free', while Lesotho, Malawi, Madagascar, Mozambique, Seychelles, and Tanzania were described as 'partially free', whereas Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia and South Africa were described as 'free'.

Hesitance to surrender sovereignty

The SADC region provides a clear case of the challenges of RECs in surrendering their sovereignty to a regional body. In 1996, the SADC Secretariat proposed that the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation should monitor compliance on human rights and the rule of law in member countries. This proposal was dismissed by the Ministerial Committee of the SADC Summit because it was tantamount to interfering in the domestic affairs of member states. Instead, the Ministerial Committee chose a safer option of recommending that the

Organ should monitor state ratification of international conventions on human rights.

SADC has always emphasised that its regional norms and instruments should be able to serve the interests of member states. Nowhere is this clearly expressed than the 2011 statement by the then Namibian Minister of Justice, Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana, who said,

What is cast in stone is our commitment to work together as a regional body, SADC. How we do so is not cast in stone and should suit our collective interest. The instruments serve us, they are for us, and this is not a reversible position.¹⁷

In an international system in which state sovereignty is a paramount factor, the summit and its member states are likely to ignore or discard those regional norms that curtail their sovereignty. This emphasis on the state-centric nature of SADC explains why the summit is quick to dismiss regional instruments which threaten their sovereignty.

Defence of regime solidarity

In addition to respecting the sovereignty of member states, a critical feature of SADC is its unwavering support towards its member states and the solidarity which is demonstrated by the heads of state. Though solidarity in SADC can be viewed as a strength, it can also become inhibitive for the region, especially if it is viewed as being a defence of regime solidarity. This defence of regime solidarity and the unwavering unity of SADC Heads of State against outside forces can be traced back to the history of SADC, and its evolution. Established in 1992, SADC has its origins in the 1980s when the Southern African liberation movements battled collectively against colonial rule, minority regimes, and the Western allies of those regimes.

The history of SADC can be traced back to the formation of the Frontline States, which were a group of Southern African countries that mobilised

¹⁷ John Ekongo, *SADC Tribunal Should Serve Our Interests*, New Era, 27 July 2011

together to act as a bulwark against apartheid South Africa and any forms of colonialism and imperialism. The colonial hangover and liberation war solidarity have always impacted the calculus and decision-making of SADC, primarily because some of the countries such as Zimbabwe and Angola were led by founding leaders of the liberation struggles, i.e. former President Robert Mugabe and former President José Eduardo dos Santos.

Another reason which explains regime solidarity within SADC is the reality that African leaders are expressing their discontent against the Western prescriptions: the platform provided by regional organisations allows them to voice their concerns within the safer context of a group setting. Within SADC, standing in solidarity with a fellow member state is an ideological position and a commitment to portraying a disavowal against Western interference. SADC states, especially at summit level do not take kindly to what they term as political interference from the Global North and in most cases, they tend to rally to the support of those fellow member states that are targeted as not conforming to the international norms and standards on human rights.

The dialectic between solidarity and self-introspection

SADC member states use solidarity to show their disconcertedness with the influential members of the Global North. The most striking manifestation of this tendency to stand in solidarity with fellow member states in SADC happened in the case of Zimbabwe. During the period, 2000-2009, SADC Heads of State stood in solidarity with Zimbabwe and openly called for the Western countries to remove sanctions against Zimbabwe. During this period, Zimbabwe was faced with growing opposition at home and abroad, and the government responded by closing political spaces. Even though the international community, led by Britain and USA imposed a series of restrictions including targeted sanctions against President Robert Mugabe and the ZANU PF government, SADC Heads of State did not hide their disdain of the sanctions regime in Zimbabwe, and they roundly condemned the Global North's condescending attitude towards Zimbabwe and the Global South.

Various communiqués issued by the SADC Summit collectively and routinely criticised these sanctions and accused the Western governments of interfering in the internal political processes of Zimbabwe. On several occasions, during this decade of the crisis in Zimbabwe, the SADC Summit repeatedly stood in solidarity with Robert Mugabe's government. In 2003, at the height of the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, which was epitomised by intense repression, human rights violations and flawed elections, the SADC Summit issued a communiqué which not only rejected the Western sanctions but also 're-affirmed the indivisibility of SADC and solidarity with Zimbabwe'.

The then SADC-mandated mediator of the Zimbabwean political crisis, former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki was very critical of the Western sanctions and accused Western countries of contributing to the land crisis in Zimbabwe. Thabo Mbeki, along with his SADC counterparts accused the West of ignoring the ignominy and legitimacy of the land crisis in Zimbabwe and choosing instead to focus on human rights violations without acknowledging that land was the centrepiece of the human rights situation in the Southern African country.

The decision by the SADC Summit to stand with Robert Mugabe at a time when he was being vilified by the West should be understood in the context of the history of SADC. Mugabe and the ruling ZANU PF party had earned their place of respect in the SADC region for having played the role of assisting South Africa's and other liberation movements in Southern Africa.

Psychological distance between SADC and citizens

SADC has a mandate to ensure that the region complies with the norms and conventions related to democracy, good governance, respect for human rights and promotion of the rule of law. As such, the regional body is expected to ensure that it supports member states in holding credible, peaceful, free and fair elections, in addition to maintaining regional peace and security. However, there has been a criticism of SADC for its failure to ensure that member states deliver their commitments to the citizens. Furthermore, as a result of its closed nature and the regime solidarity stance, SADC citizens do not feel engaged or close to

the regional body. Many times, SADC citizens have openly criticised the regional body of being biased and supporting their fellow heads of state instead of implementing programmes that are citizen-centred.

In the case of Zimbabwe, SADC has often been viewed with scepticism and mistrust because of the regional body's continued protection of former President Robert Mugabe's regime at the expense of the needs, interests and livelihoods of the Zimbabwean people. In November 2017, Zimbabweans celebrated when the military facilitated the ouster of Mugabe. This military-assisted transition was spawned by factional fights within the ruling ZANU PF party. It occurred against the backdrop of intra-party factionalism within ZANU PF and increasing concerns by the security sector about how internal fissures within the ruling party if left unchecked would pose threats to human and state security.

Although people were sceptical about the military's involvement in politics, there was mostly relief at the departure of President Robert Mugabe, who had been in power since 1980. During the military-assisted transition, people marched in Harare in support of the 'Operation Restore Legacy'. The 'military-assisted transition' resulted in the resignation of President Robert Mugabe, who had been in power for 37 years. Thus, after 37 years of misrule with Mugabe at the helm, Zimbabweans were not necessarily endorsing the role of the military in politics but were celebrating the ouster of an oppressive regime.

However, even though Zimbabweans were marching in support of the ouster of Robert Mugabe, they were very clear that they did not want SADC to intervene in favour of Mugabe. This position reflected a breakdown of trust between Zimbabweans and the regional institutions. Zimbabweans were sceptical that SADC would play a fair and constructive role in resolving the country's political crisis. When the then Chairperson of SADC, former South African President Jacob Zuma sent an envoy to Zimbabwe to try to facilitate talks between President Mugabe and the Zimbabwe military, some sections of the populations felt that it was a strategy to keep Mugabe in power and to preserve the undemocratic status quo.

Zimbabweans were tired of another SADC-led intervention, and against this background of mistrust, Zimbabweans went on a social media

campaign to ask SADC to stop interfering in the political transition process in Zimbabwe. Using the hashtag #SADCBackOffZim, several Zimbabweans sent messages asking the SADC to stay out of the ouster, and let Zimbabwe take care of its problems. A petition was set up, and it gathered more than 19,000 signatures.¹⁸ Other Zimbabweans tweeted massively, urging SADC to stay away, while others sent an open letter to SADC, asking the regional body to stay away from the country's political processes.

Dear SADC

The Zimbabweans and International Humanitarian community asked you to help Zimbabweans in their struggle against a dictator and you said, "Zimbabwe is a sovereign state and the people of Zimbabwe must fix their own problems themselves".

WE therefore kindly ask you to allow the people of Zimbabwe to do just that. The Zimbabwe Defence forces is made up of Zimbabweans and the army takeover though not ideal is indeed Zimbabweans fixing their problems themselves. WE are fully supportive of the army stepping in as they should have done many years ago.

As you gather in Botswana today, please drink your tea and biscuits and watch on your TV's the same way you did for 37 years. There is no need at this time for you to do anything but business as usual. We speak for many people when we say we hoped and prayed for this day for long and now that it's here, DON'T mess it up for us. If you love Mugabe so much you can have him all to yourselves, we will even throw in a 50 something year old lady as a bonus. We hope for Zimbabweans you will consider our request. If you take any action, you will be going against the Zimbabwean army and all the Zimbabwean civilians in and outside the country.

*Yours sincerely
Zimbabweans*

Figure 1: Open letter to SADC¹⁹

¹⁸ <https://www.sapeople.com/2017/11/17/zimbabweans-ask-sadc-stop-interfering-political-transition/>

¹⁹ <https://www.change.org/p/sadc-stop-sadc-interfering-with-the-political-transition-in-zimbabwe>

The scenario of Zimbabweans' mistrust of SADC needs to be contextualised and historicised. This mistrust had its roots in SADC's failure to help resolve the country's challenges over the past 15 years stemming from previous electoral crises. From 2000-2009, SADC used quiet diplomacy in responding to the political crisis in Zimbabwe, and in some cases, it took decisions that were in favour of Robert Mugabe and the ZANU PF party, against the opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Similarly, from 2009-2013, during the implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA), SADC, which was supposed to be the guarantor of the peace agreement, was slow to caution former President Robert Mugabe when he reneged on the promises and tenets of the GPA. Under SADC's watch, the Zimbabwean government failed to implement the majority of the outstanding issues related to GPA, especially those on creating a conducive environment for free and fair elections. Accordingly, by the time first post-Agreement elections were held in 2013, SADC had not been able to facilitate electoral reforms in Zimbabwe.

The Limits of Global Governance

Post-1945 multilateralism was a supplement to rather than a substitute for inter-state relations (Keohane, 2006). Furthermore, multilateralism was not very multilateral. It was centred on the United States and the industrialised Global North, and largely excluded the developing Global South.

While the transformation of the security landscape has triggered high demand for mechanisms to govern global and regional security, there has been no global institutional reform. The reform of the UN Security Council is a case in point. Although the Council is not necessarily the pinnacle of global security governance, it nevertheless has, according to Article 24 of the UN Charter, the primary, though not exclusive, responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Since the early 1990s, it has been common cause that the Council is overdue for radical reform.

The Politics of the Permanent 5 Powers (P5) has affected ability to have a common approach. Veto Powers have been abused and used for political rather than global peace and security considerations. Having seen the inability to get the P5 to reform how they use power, human rights organisations have persistently called for reform. In its annual state of the world's human rights report, rights group Amnesty International, called for voluntary suspension of veto powers in cases of mass atrocities (Amnesty International, 2016). Many have supported this advocacy position.

for the call for reforms continue to be a divisive topic amongst global and regional stakeholders both from the Global North and South. Despite the smokescreen of summit declarations, there is no agreement on the issue amongst Brazil, China, India, the Russian Federation and South Africa, the BRICS. The interdependence of countries and economies in the global economy poses the issue of the space for national policymaking and development strategies, particularly in developing countries. The problem of national policy space contains at least two main aspects:

Domestic policy space is above all a political vision of national development and welfare for which countries must fight. In this regard, the identification of national and local needs is the key to the formulation and implementation of appropriate national policies. Such a process can be long and painful as it entails local social dialogue amongst different interest groups and a political balance of powers through legal frameworks that balances citizens' rights and obligations. Also, it must be an endogenous process that can neither be dictated nor passed down internationally. One aspect is related to the impact of international rules on developing countries' lack of appropriate regulatory frameworks. Their capacity to regulate according to national needs might be limited because of international commitments that are too demanding.

In concrete terms, this means that international disciplines and commitments shall not be construed to prevent countries from exercising the right to regulate, and to introduce new regulations on the supply of services, including public services, in their territories to meet national policy objectives. Therefore, services provided by central, regional and local governments and authorities (Article I:3 (a) (i) of the General Agreement on Trade in Services – GATS) shall continue to be excluded

from trade negotiations as they remain a central means to maintain social cohesion and redistribution.

The international macroeconomic global framework and conditionality, however, continue to weaken the capabilities of developing countries to regulate internally. It is questionable how developing countries in Africa, exercise their policy space in situations where almost half of them do not have an independent monetary policy, have entered Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) or Poverty Reduction Programmes (PRPs) (revamped version of SAPs) with the World Bank, and are facing the black hole of debt constraints.

A major shift is needed for the present architecture of global governance is to be improved and made politically coherent.. Emphasis should be on redistribution policies that support social and economic welfare of nations rather than on political choices that benefit only an already wealthy minority. The current development fundamentals promote social justice neither nationally nor internationally.

The international division of labour that relegates developing countries to be providers of natural resources and primary commodities must be questioned. While, international trade rules and consumption models that are not environmentally and socially sustainable should be revised to guarantee the attainment of sustainable development and social justice.

At the national level, international decisions and structures have limited governments' capacity to improve both the legislation and implementation of more equalitarian labour policies; further deteriorating female working and employment conditions. This relationship is particularly important in agreements involving advantages provided to multinationals investing in developing countries and employing women without respecting International Labour Organization (ILO) minimum wage and equality of treatment conventions.

Challenges and Pitfalls of Multilateralism

Decline of Multilateralism

The first major challenge is that multilateralism essentially restrains the appetite by bigger powers to act unilaterally. For the longest period in history, multilateralism has always succeeded when there is a 'willingness' and 'leadership' of the greater powers.

In the past few years, however, multilateralism has come under fire, as the world's greatest sovereign power has chosen to disregard that cooperative norm when it has found it convenient to do so. Since 1990, scepticism increased in the US foreign policy community about the value of multilateralism in the country's global engagement.

Arguably, it was disregard more than scepticism that the Bush administration demonstrated in April 2003 when it chose to ignore international consensus and the will of the UN Security Council by invading Iraq. In so doing, the US flagrantly bypassed the multilateral norms and institutions designed to lend authority and legitimacy to such actions. Although the military nature of this unilateral action allowed it to capture headlines throughout the world, the decision to invade Iraq was not the first, and likely not the most damaging, decision in the administration's history of non-compliance.

Assault on multilateralism

Observers of international relations are currently arguing that we are witnessing the most sustained attack on global multilateralism by a superpower, in the form of Donald Trump's policies and style of governance since he was elected in November 2016. But there seems to be continued in Republican approach to international relations than change, with a bit more ferocious attack under Trump than under George. W Bush.

The Bush administration's circumvention of international cooperative norms and institutions notably included the refusal to cooperate with multilateral efforts to govern the global commons to curb the degradation

of our global resources and work towards a sustainable future. In March 2001, President George W. Bush declared the Kyoto Protocol 'dead', signifying his decision to abandon the treaty completely (the United States is the only major carbon dioxide emitter to have rejected the Kyoto process).

The international community responded with the Marrakech Accords – an effort to clarify several details of the treaty, which would have made compliance less burdensome for the US – but President Bush 'shunned' these negotiations. Mr Bush introduced his own domestic air pollution legislation, under the misnomer of 'Clear Skies'.

President Obama returned the US to multilateral platforms and led the US towards cooperative action with other countries, notably in the signature achievement of his foreign policy, namely the Paris Climate Change Accord, the Arms Trade Treaty signing in 2015, the Dodd-Frank Legislation and greater efforts to cooperate via the G20. Now the world is witnessing an obliteration of that multilateral identity of US foreign policy since the election of Donald Trump. He has taken the US out of the Climate Accord, out of trade agreements with other states (NAFTA) and threatens to defund the UN and NATO amongst many other global institutions which have relied on the US funding and leadership in the past.

The international human rights protection system that has relied on a well-funded and supported UN and a degree of some global leadership led by America and the others faces a bleak future. The 'America First' policy has replaced the American leadership of multilateralism, as Trump is carefully building bilateral trade, economic and military arrangements using the language of 'deals' to renegotiate America's relationships with the world, complaining that America has been 'taken for a ride' by other countries for too long.

This retreat from the leadership of the multilateralism that had for a long time been around since post World War II is welcome news for autocrats who, in the absence of effective multilateral systems, can thrive in their dark autocratic corners of the world.

To examine these pitfalls, we will briefly examine two cases, one involving the US and the other Involving Russia as a demonstration of the challenge

that multilateralism faces the importance of reimagining a new kind of multilateralism and global governance.

Alterations to Variations of Multilateralism

As already intimated emerging regional organisations such as BRICS, which give China leverage against the US and EU, the OAS, Arab League and AU, are major organising platforms that are changing the balance in multilateralism. These bodies have become strong, feel stronger and able to work in common purpose and, therefore, pose some considerable challenges to the international order.

The discovery of oil, the rise of the South in general and African economies has altered the balance. Sitting atop this shift is the impact of China on global affairs. Its sheer size, ability to grow even when other economies are declining, its acceptance in Asia, Africa and Latin America and continued growth has made it a critical factor in determining the direction of travel for multilateralism today.

The resurgence of Russia and its ability to influence world policies and global political 'direction of travel' (still to be proved allegations of interference in US elections and other European election contests), has meant that multilateralism led by the US as traditionally understood, has severe limits. The contestation at the UN, the veto power that has regularly been abused by the P5 and the use of economic might to influence votes have become bottlenecks to the systems building an effective regime of multilateralism.

'A la Carte Multilateralism' and US Hegemony

Another weakness or threat to the ideal regime of multilateralism, has been the idea that the bigger powers, especially the US, can choose when to be in sync with the principles of multilateralism and when not to play by the rules. It has meant that there is a disturbing and often damaging selectivity in exercising multilateralism on the part of the bigger powers who often choose when to be in support of multilateralism and when to be unilateral. Support of the latter undermines the world order and

replaces it with a 'new world disorder' in which expediency is paramount.

We see China's role in the South China Sea conflict, North Korea, China and Tibet. We see the US and its stance when Israel is concerned or importantly in the US-led occupation of Iraq under President George W Bush. We see Russia's involvement in Syria. This selfish approach has severely distorted the true meaning and principle of multilateralism and undermined global governance as institutions meant to enforce global rules are systematically attacked and weakened which effects their legitimacy when they want to play an international role.

In 2001, State Department policy planning director Richard N. Haass coined a catchy new foreign policy phrase, 'multilateralism à la carte'. Asked by the New York Times about why the administration of George W. Bush rejected high-profile international treaties like the ICC, he denied that the White House was 'unilateralist' – it was just 'choosy'. Rather than sign up to every new commitment, the US would pick and choose based on which treaty or organisation brought more bang for the buck and limited constraints on the US freedom of action.

In a rather uncritical July 2015 Blog Post for Council of Foreign Relations, Stewart M. Patrick attempts to justify this approach and embraces it as part of a political strategy of *realpolitik*. He opines thus,

A funny thing has happened over the past decade and a half. 'Multilateralism à la carte' has gone global. Not only does it enjoy bipartisan support in the United States, it now influences the calculations of major emerging powers. The implications for international cooperation are profound. In the past, nation-states sought to address global challenges primarily through negotiations within standing, formal, treaty-based bodies with universal membership. Today, global governance increasingly unfolds in a more flexible, fluid, and informal manner, involving narrower coalitions of the like-minded, relevant, and capable. Multilateralism à la carte brings great advantages, allowing governments to break down complex problems into more manageable pieces, to move with dispatch instead of awaiting decisions in sclerotic formal bodies, and create partnerships that

are fit for purpose. Still, this new approach to global governance carries risks. Unless used carefully, it could accelerate the world's fragmentation into competing blocs, as well as undermine the formal, treaty-based institutions that the United States and other countries will continue to rely upon over the long haul. The key for policymakers is to figure out how to reconcile flexible arrangements with standing organizations. (Patrick, 2015)

This approach is highly problematic, as it is available to countries with leverage. Not many countries can practice multilateralism à la carte because they lack the levers of power, resources and influence to do so. They are swayed by votes, promises of economic and political support and constrained by the absence of muscle to think and act independently.

As a result, far from the positive spin painted by Stewart M Patrick, selective multilateralism has tended to reward cliques, selfish politicking and downright opposition to progressive positions because of deeply held relationships between states. As a result, institutions that seek to and were established to promote multilateralism, are much weaker in 2018 than they were when established as different countries.

The veto power used and abused by the P5 at the UN Security Council is the clearest example of this concept. This power is the reason why those who enjoy veto power mount resistance to the UN reforms. Levelling the playing field, limits the practice of selective multilateralism, and removes the inequality between member states. Even when human rights organisations such as Amnesty International called for the Voluntary of Veto powers in cases of mass atrocities, to solve and bring to accountability for those responsible for mass crimes against humanity, they have been ignored.

Under President Trump, we see the continuity of this version of multilateralism. The withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement was followed by a more decisive blow to multilateralism, when President Trump dragged the US out of the global climate change agreement, namely the Paris Climate Change Accord. That simply meant that the responsibility that the US owes to the world to reduce global

greenhouse emissions, support global adaptation and mitigation strategies would now have to proceed without that major superpower. But Trump would then choose to engage on global climate action under his own rules or using his preferred strategy.

Under Donald Trump, the international human rights protection system is under severe threat as the Trump administration threatens to defund the UN systems, demanding all manner of preferential treatment or playing to a restive domestic audience that seemingly have reclaimed the national political process. In each case, the US under Trump believes that it has a role to play in the world, but sees multilateralism, as a stage for bilateral 'deal making' in the hope that such stages can leverage America better.

In the circumstances, international efforts on trade, climate change and development are significantly undermined. Further, the 'withdrawal' of the US and other bigger powers in certain aspects of global affairs, (only to re-emerge when interests are threatened) then creates a leadership gap which hopefully the emerging Global South and other middle power leaders can fill. However, there is little to show that the leadership of the Global South and the East is emerging to fill the emerging post-American world order (The Post-American World, 2008).

The BRICS bloc, ASEAN and other such groupings have not adequately filled the vacuum, provided diplomatic muscle and resources to keep multilateralism intact. They have in turn added fuel to the new world disorder through their version of *à la carte* multilateralism.

Multilateral inaction

'*A la carte* multilateralism' in turn creates its own by-products at the global diplomatic level. One such unintended consequence is 'multilateral inaction' which, for example, is closely related to and connected to the policy that was very visible in Europe, during the post-Versailles Treaty era. It was called the 'policy of appeasement' towards Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini when major powers essentially looked the other way while Hitler went on to annex whole territories and part of countries.

Such inaction is driven by the fear to act and inertia to intervene, because of some notion of restitution, revenge or 'as long as it does not threaten international peace' or that there might be some historical justification to explain the issues that are attracting such appeasement. It effectively is a do-nothing policy, in the false and desperate 'fear induced' hope that somehow history once corrected, can return a region, country or world back to normalcy. As we now know, appeasement was one of the reasons that explains the causes of World War II. It fed the appetite for political aggrandisement, rewarded bad behaviour and demonstrated the need for coherent international action.

Multilateral inaction is almost a conspiracy of silence shared by major powers in the face of genocides, invasions and killings in different countries. Rwanda comes to mind. But we also see this inaction at the AU level, at SADC and the level of the East Africa community when regional powers like South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria are sometimes either incapacitated or simply unwilling and unable to act in defence of regional norms, standards and international law. When inaction becomes policy, ordinary people suffer, for the impact of conflict, war, plunder and human rights abuses. For long periods of time, SADC appeared unable to take a position on Zimbabwe, and inaction became the diplomacy of the day.

Emergence of New Actors, Shapes and Forms of Global Governance

Global South and the Global Governance Agenda

The rise of the Global South is transforming global governance. It is creating new demands for multilateral institutions and jumpstarting regionalism. The result is a new range of strategic choices available to developing countries including African countries, and a new imperative to reform and reinvent multilateral and regional organisations.

Today, global governance has a new challenge. The rise of the Global South and a shift in global power towards emerging economies, China, in particular, has become more apparent. China and other emerging economies have forged deeper and stronger economic relations with neighbours and across the developing world. They have rapidly expanded their global markets and production. As they rely more on global market access, they will increasingly require global rules to protect that access.

Global rules can be made in formal, multilateral institutions, or (as became very popular in the 1990s and 2000s) in informal, standard-setting networks of private and nongovernmental actors. Emerging economies are likely to favour the former. Brazil, China, India and the Russian Federation are state-centred in their governance and guard their sovereignty in international relations. Multilateral institutions can formalise representation and decision-making and respect the power and processes of national governments.

Traditional multilateral institutions are not fit for this purpose, however. For decades, powerful governments have sidestepped the failings of major international agencies. Instead of dealing with out-of-date representation, vested interests, poor leadership and stagnating bureaucracy, they simply created new initiatives to deliver what international organisations could not. In 2018, Donald Trump's administration exemplifies this attack on the international governance system. Brexit is another manifestation of this attack.

Amongst the many examples given in this module are the proliferation of voluntary standards in finance, which substituted for global regulation; the emergence of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria in place of action through the WHO; the rise of informal groups in the UN to bypass a gridlocked or deadlocked UN Security Council; and regional consultative processes on migration and security to make up for a failure to take forward global negotiations.

In each case, some governments have sought to avert the slow, cumbersome processes of multilateral institutions by creating more flexible, informal networks and private-public partnerships. They must now turn their attention back to the organisations. The rise of the Global South is injecting new urgency into reforming international institutions, as is clearest in global finance. Faced with global crisis, the status quo powers, the G7 finance ministers, have had to reach out to emerging economies, including them in the G20, requesting resource contributions and agreeing to give them more voice in relevant international organisations.

However, emerging economies are not yet confident that multilateral organisations will work for their interests as much as for the interests of Europe and the US, so they are also pursuing national, bilateral and regional strategies. As we will see below, instead of relying on the IMF, to which they are now contributing more, they are also amassing their foreign exchange reserves ('self-insurance'), using bilateral credit lines in moments of vulnerability and reinforcing regional arrangement.

Post-2015 Development Framework as Global Governance

Following the decision to succeed the MDGs with a new compact for development, the new global partnership for development in the post-2015 development framework provides the global community, with an opportunity to address these global economic, social and environmental issues in a coordinated, coherent and collaborative manner. In this way, the global partnership can promote a more effective, coherent, representative and accountable global governance regime, which should ultimately translate into better national and regional governance, the realisation of human rights and sustainable development. It is the role and purpose of the SDGs and their 'leave no one behind' rallying call.

The Future of Multilateralism - Proposals and Recommendations

The context described above leads us to the following three international policy recommendations about global governance:

- **Recalibration of the global governance order:** The existing global governance system should be rebalanced. The entry point of such a process should be extensively debated amongst governments' representatives, civil society and parliaments at the national and international levels on the rights-based and justice-based international laws. Such an approach is necessary to counter the adverse proven effects of the so-called adjustment costs occurring because of macroeconomic and trade liberalisation in the world.
- **Reflection on the limits and challenges of unbridled liberalism:** Liberalisation measures proposed by the World Bank and the IMF programmes should not go beyond commitments taken by states in the WTO. An international declaration engaging these two organisations should be made in this respect. The WTO should not push for greater liberalisation prescribed by a raise towards the World Bank and the IMF standards that are not the result of negotiations amongst members.
- **Fostering transparent decision-making processes:** Decision-making in the WTO should be transparent and inclusive at the international level by involving all parties concerned, including the weakest trading partners of the world trading system. Furthermore, as decisions taken in the trade arena do have consequences at the national level, national societies must be appropriately informed and consulted to ensure that domestic policy space is guaranteed as well as the interests of the most vulnerable groups, including women are protected.
- **Strengthening and respecting global governance bodies:** A debate on the strengthening of the enforcement systems and decision-making processes in the UN system should also be launched. The existing system of governance is not only undesirable but also inefficient, as it does not result in development and welfare for all.
- **Reform of the UN system:** Major Reforms of the UN Security Council are needed. They might include voluntary restraint of veto powers in cases of mass atrocities, as suggested by groups such as Amnesty International in successive statements before the UN bodies, the need for changes and reforms of international justice architecture including the Rome Statute of the ICC given massive opposition that has emerged from within African member countries.
- **African Representation in economic governance processes:** Developing countries and emerging powers remain under-represented in the Bretton Woods Institutions, especially the IMF. Against this background, the Bretton Woods institutions which are the bodies that are tasked to oversee global financial reform would need to be reformed to be more representative of developing countries. The World Bank has made noteworthy progress which saw this organisation adding a third executive director for Sub-Saharan Africa and adjusting the voting power on its Board of Governors.
- **African Governance mechanism needs strengthening:** The convergence between the AU human rights architecture and the peace and security architecture when dealing with conflict is a vital part that is required to make the AU work effectively to fulfil its historic mission. Independence of the AU and taking its programme seriously, system and institutions such as the African Court in Arusha.
- **Strengthening RECs:** It is central that a serious integration agenda for the continent, begins with comprehensive and firm architecture and governance of the RECs. In this respect SADC, ECOWAS and EAC need strengthening, cooperation with civil society and a people-centred agenda to retain the trust and confidence of its intended beneficiaries.
- **Addressing threats of Global Climate Change:** African countries continue to assert their voices in global climate change discussions. African voices should address the allocation of climate change adaption and mitigation funds. Recipient countries must be active stakeholders in these discussions to achieve climate change objectives.

African Politics

Conceptualising the New Scramble for Africa

Before zeroing in on the phrase, 'the new scramble for Africa', it is important to examine the history of what can be termed "the original scramble for Africa." The 'Scramble for Africa' can be defined as the occupation, division, and colonisation of African territory by European powers during the period of New Imperialism, between 1880 and 1914. This scramble for Africa is epitomised by several key events that took place within and outside the African continent, including the entry of King Leopold in Congo in the 1870s and then the Berlin Conference in 1884. That conference resulted in the artificial drawing of boundaries in Africa as European powers partitioned the continent amongst themselves.

In the original 'Scramble for Africa', prospective colonisers arbitrarily partitioned Africa into spheres of influence, protectorates, colonies, and free trade areas, following decisions that were made in European capitals, and without involvement or consent of the African countries. The African continent was arbitrarily carved up into colonies by the leading European powers, which violently subjected its people and plundered the continent of its rich natural resources.

More than a century after the launch of the 'scramble for Africa' in the 1880s, the African continent is notably undergoing another wave of strategic exploitation economically, socially and politically.²⁰

The 'new scramble for Africa' describes a similar process of the attempts by external countries to repossess Africa's economic, political, cultural, social as well as strategic resources, without necessarily establishing political authority. The reasons for this 'new scramble for Africa' are manifold and they include the desire to access Africa's natural resources and markets as well as the interest in controlling strategic resources such as ports and security architecture.

²⁰ Lee, Margaret, C. 2006. The 21st Century Scramble for Africa, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol 24 (6), pp. 303-330.

Critics have called this process the recolonisation of Africa because it is fashioned similarly to the original scramble, except for the distinguishing feature of external powers not seeking total political control.

In the original scramble of Africa, the cultural colonisation of Africa was facilitated by different measures, including the use of Anthropologists and Missionaries. The new scramble for Africa now comes couched in different forms and uses the triadic framework of defence, diplomacy and development (3Ds). The new scramble for Africa is different from the earlier phase in the sense that it is now characterised by more actors who are interested in the African continent. It includes countries in the Global North such as those in North America and Europe. It also includes emerging powers like China, Russia, Brazil, India, Turkey and others who seek to consolidate their grip on Africa's oil, its minerals, and other resources, whose worth increases daily because of a massive boom in the price of oil and raw materials.

Compared to the rest of the world, Africa is the best endowed with the richest natural resources the world has ever seen. The African continent has a landmass several times the size of Europe, in addition to being rich in oil deposits, gold, diamond, iron, copper, timber and other precious natural resources (Aja, 2009).

The Role of Emerging Economies like BRICS

The concept of emerging powers is a broad and overarching term used to define those countries that are in the process of strengthening their socio-economic status, as compared to the rest of the developing world. The concept, 'emerging powers' has often been couched in optimistic undertones to depict countries that are doing better than their counterparts in the developing world. These countries are assumed to be undergoing profound socio-economic transformation and growth, and therefore they are also perceived to be doing better than those in the former similar category of developing nations.

The term, 'emerging powers' rose to prominence in the 21st century, following the realisation that some countries in the so-called Global South were growing economically above average, and witnessing some

socio-economic and political transformation. As a result, emerging powers have come to be perceived as influential in the international and global governance architecture because of the power that they are increasingly wielding.

The rise of these emerging powers, especially in the form of BRICS, has resulted in the demand for changes and reforms in the governance of international organisations, which has now supplanted the Group of Eight (G8) as the world's economic club of nations. Demands for a 'second Bretton Woods' were heard after the 2008 global financial crisis. The prominence of emerging powers in socio-economic and political governance landscape has led to the rise of new groupings such as the G20.

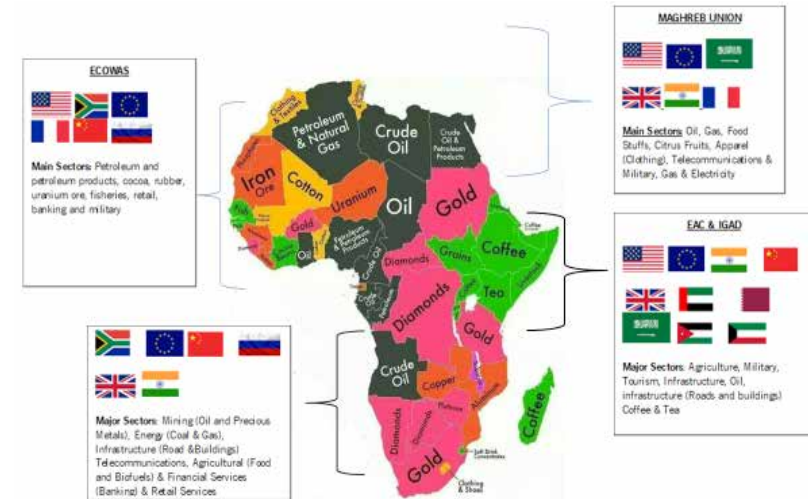
Despite the rise of emerging powers and the initial optimism that they would reform the World Bank and the IMF, these powers are mostly continuing to engage with Africa in similar hierarchical fashion. The fulcrum of the involvement of emerging economies in Africa is about access to resources and markets. For example, South Africa might not be able to avoid the label of a regional hegemon. It is noteworthy that continued perceptions like these might lead to antagonistic relations between the country and its regional and continental neighbours.

Resource Implications of the New Scramble for Africa

The new scramble for Africa is also evident in the resource exploitation that is taking place within the African continent. Forms of natural resource exploitations that are notable include land rushes and grabbing, as well as the prominence of infrastructure for resources deals, which have witnessed the return of barter trade. The resource implications of the new scramble for Africa include the mortgaging of Africa's future.

The voracious appetite for Africa's resources is leading to a new scramble for the continent, a scramble that is ruthlessly exploiting resources undermining the virtues of sustainable development as there may be nothing left for future generations.

THE NEW SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA



Role of China in Africa

For the past five decades, China's rocketing influence in Africa and its ubiquitous official development assistance flowing into the African continent. One of the reasons for China's prominence in Africa is because of its growing population and the subsequent demands for consumption that are created. A key feature of China's engagement with Africa is its emphasis on flexible engagement which is characterised by a non-conditional approach. Unlike traditional donors from the Global North such as the IMF and the World Bank, China does not give political prescriptions to its aid recipients. When engaging with African countries, China tends not to give preconditions for democracy, human rights and the rule of law to its aid recipient. Indeed, China has been labelled an 'all weather friend' by many African countries.

However, despite the glowing praises of China by African governments, concerns have been raised about the impact of such practices.

Military Presence in Africa – A Feature of the New Scramble for Africa?

The new scramble for Africa is also realised through military presence in the continent. Several foreign forces have made Africa their theatre of operation, sometimes in the name of defence and security cooperation, peacekeeping and the fight against terror, amongst others. The USA has deployed its troops in several African countries, under the auspices of several programmes, including security and defence cooperation.

Although figures vary, the USA has close to 50 military bases in Africa. The USA troop presence has been recorded in all regions of Africa, including countries such as Burkina Faso, Burundi, Liberia, Botswana and Ethiopia, amongst others. The US African Command (AFRICOM), which was established in 2007, is an example of USA strategic military presence in Africa. Furthermore, the 'war on terror', also explains why there are many foreign troops in Africa, mainly against al-Shabaab in Somalia, Islamic State in Libya, and the likes of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) in Niger.

The US military presence in Africa is explained by an increase in the focus on counter-terrorism, particularly in the Horn of Africa and the Lake Chad basin. The foreign troop presence in Africa, while it has helped to secure territorial integrity and to help ward off some terrorist groups and insurgents, this has been criticised for only bringing short-term gains in countries like Somalia and Nigeria, while causing further civilian casualties.



Figure: Map showing USA military bases in Africa and other areas of access (2002-2015) Nick Turse/Tom, Dispatch, 2015

Other foreign troops in Africa include France in the Central African Republic, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Gabon and Mali, amongst others. Other states with a military presence in Africa include India and China. Economic interests have shaped China's Africa policy but its need to protect business investments has pushed it to engage in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Mali and, more particularly, in South Sudan. Apart from pursuing security interests, the proliferation of foreign military presence in Africa has tended to follow the growing commercial presence of those countries here, suggesting many are protecting their business interests

The disconcerting issue about foreign troop presence in Africa is that most of these are not coordinated or controlled by a regional or continental body. The AU is not in overall control of most of the foreign troops in Africa, bilateral agreements with host countries usually guide their presence.. In essence, the decision to host a foreign military base is a sovereign decision, and since the principle of respect to sovereignty guides the AU, its leverage in trying to control or coordinate the foreign troop presence is quite limited.

Nonetheless, the AU has endorsed regional initiatives, including the two largest – the G5 Sahel Joint Force and the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF). The G5 Sahel Joint Force is a partnership amongst Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Chad to fight al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. Both the AU and France, for different reasons, are hoping eventually to substitute it for France's Operation Barkhane, allowing the French troops to leave. The MNJTF comprises Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria, is fighting Boko Haram in the Lake Chad region.

Multi-national companies in Africa

During the past four or five decades, debates on global governance, multilateralism, international development and political economy have centred on the role of the multinational enterprises in the third world. While some scholars such as Tunde (2012) contend that multinational corporations (MNCs) bring jobs and foreign direct investment to Africa, a considerable amount of literature is concerned that MNCs undermine the sovereignty of nation-states in Africa, through political means.

Scholars such as Eze (2011) argue that because of the size of MNCs and their control of the economy, they could be used to undermine the sovereignty of states through political manipulations and through meddling in local politics. Chukwuemeka and Obingene (2002) argue that in Nigeria, during the Biafra war, MNCs which had about 75 per cent foreign investments in the country, supported the Federal Government of Nigeria to crush the Biafra rebellion to safeguard their investment in that region.

Critics also argue that multinational enterprises could be used as a foreign policy instrument of their home governments. Indeed, in general, there is a trend that shows how MNCs are agents of the international economy which end up creating enclave economies in Africa. In the new scramble for Africa, multinational enterprises often use their leverage of bringing the much-needed foreign direct investments to compel African governments to grant them concession that may yield them huge profits which they often repatriate to their home countries. In addition to negotiating for tax concessions, some MNCs operating in Africa are guilty of engaging in illicit financial transfer from the continent. Simply defined,

illicit capital flows are funds that rightfully belong to the fiscal pool of African and other developing countries, but instead, are channelled out through aggressive tax planning by multinational corporations.

The Panama Papers and the Paradise Papers were two massive revelations of how companies (and individuals) are guilty of syphoning away capital from the developing world, including Africa. These papers highlight that tax havens have helped multinational companies hide their immense profits overseas, thus perpetuating tax avoidance. In 2015, former South African President Thabo Mbeki presented a report on the illicit financial flows in Africa, and the report estimated that about US\$50 billion dollars are syphoned annually from Africa through illicit means by multinational corporations. The UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) presented a similar report in 2017, highlighting that this figure had doubled to US\$100 billion dollars.

Illicit financial flows out of Africa have become a matter of significant concern because of the scale and negative impact of such flows on Africa's development and governance agenda. The negative impact of MNCs in Africa becomes more pronounced when there is collusion between state and capital. As a result of corruption and lack of strong institutions to monitor and account for Africa's resources, African governments are also cited as parties that are responsible for the impunity of MNCs in the new scramble for Africa.

Development Aid and the New Scramble for Africa

The new scramble for Africa is also aided by the architecture and shape of development aid in Africa, which often involves the use of soft power and diplomacy. Development aid or development assistance comes in the form of operational, managerial and financial assistance which is given to NGOs and governments of developing countries.

A constant narrative that is told is that the world's rich countries give generously of their wealth to the poorer nations of the Global South, to help them eradicate poverty and push them up the development ladder. A report from the OECD (2017) indicates that countries in the Global North give more than US\$125 billion in aid to Africa annually.

Since the 1960s, foreign economic and development advisers descended on Africa, and they were excessively preoccupied with a Marshall Plan menu for Africa, which included an emphasis on capital, technology and capacity transfers, accompanied with a generous supply of economic development advisers.

Since then, several development prescription packages have been developed in the Global North for implementation in Africa. These include Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs), Community Development Programmes (CDPs) as well as Rural Reconstruction and Development Programmes (RRDPs), amongst several initiatives. Development aid can build people's assets, support good governance and enhance skills and capacities to bring about transformation: the negative side of unbridled aid is its potential to contribute to dependency and further underdevelopment of Africa.

Nothing summarises the impact of development aid more succinctly than the words of David Karanja, a former Kenyan member of parliament, who said:

Foreign aid has done more harm to Africa than we care to admit. It has led to a situation where Africa has failed to set its own pace and direction of development free of external interference. Today, Africa's development plans are drawn thousands of miles away in the corridors of the IMF and World Bank. What is sad is that the IMF and World Bank experts who draw these development plans are people completely out of touch with the local African reality. (Ayittey, G.!998. p. 275)

Economic development theorists propagate the idea that development aid remedies poverty in Africa. However, despite the more than six decades of being recipients of development aid, African countries have not managed to climb out of poverty. Studies indicate that more than a quarter of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa are poorer now than in 1960 and that these countries show no sign that foreign aid, however substantive, will end poverty there



Figure: AFP/ Getty Images

Critics of development aid such as Dambisa Moyo (2010) have argued that foreign aid underwrites misguided policies and feeds corrupt and bloated state bureaucracies. The reality that development aid programmes in Africa were badly monitored and often stolen by corrupt bureaucrats compounds this view. Furthermore, much of the money that comes into Africa under the guise of development aid ends up being spent on administration, training and salaries of development officials and advisers.

Furthermore, in the post-independence eras, African states became weak pawns in the world economy, subject to Cold War rivalries, their path to development blocked mainly by their debilitating colonial past. Most scholars agree that development aid has left Africa more crippled with debt. The West has choked Africa with an onerous debt regime, forcing many nations to pay more in interest on debts to the World Bank and IMF than on health care, education, infrastructure, and other vital services combined.

The World Bank evaluated the performance of about 30 African countries to which it had provided more than US\$20 billion in 'structural adjustment'

loans between 1981 and 1991. The bank's report, Adjustment Lending in Africa, concluded that only six African countries had performed well: The Gambia, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. That gives a failure rate of more than 80 per cent. The World Bank went on to conclude that, 'No African country has achieved a sound macroeconomic policy stance'. For obvious reasons, it is evident that Zimbabwe, The Gambia, Nigeria are no longer on the World Bank's list of success stories.

How can Africa develop strategies that effectively advance its agenda?

Africa is undoubtedly a vast resource to external actors and to itself. The reality is that Africa's growing population can be considered a demographic dividend, especially because this huge population could help facilitate regional trade growth. With a population of over one billion people, Africa is not only a huge market, but it also provides extensive technical and innovative capacities. Indeed, the continent has its population who can be vehicles for increased productivity, regional trade and integration. In addition to its population, Africa has abundant natural resources which are attractive to foreign interests.

Given the reality of the new scramble for Africa, there have been discussions regarding what Africa needs to do to develop effective alternatives to deal with foreign interests. These strategies are informed by existing global normative architecture such as the Lagos Plan of Action and the Ezulwini Consensus, amongst others. The following are proposed recommendations that can be used by Africa to advance its agenda within the context of global governance realities and developments.

- **Developing internal resource mobilisation capacity:** Currently, most of the funding for the AU and RECs operational activities come from international development partners. A donor-driven governance framework and political system are untenable. It is a precarious position for Africa to be in because it means that the continent will not effectively be able to chart its course and champion its governance agenda.

- **Developing a common African position on critical issues:** For Africa to make a meaningful impact on the global governance landscape, there is an enormous need for the continental institutions, member states as well as key organisations to have common positions on fundamental issues affecting the continent. These include issues like the global food crisis, climate change, international trade, peace and security and the relevance of bodies such as the ICC. Addressing the issues of a common African position on the global governance agenda will ensure that when needed, Africa can speak with one voice.
- **Advancing regional integration:** The greatest opportunity for Africa to advance its agenda in the global governance order is often overlooked. The strength of the continent lies in its ability to trade and do business with itself. Africa's development must be underpinned by further regional integration. Even though the rest of the world becomes increasingly fractured and disparate, Africa can create ways to integrate better its fragmented markets which have long constrained growth and provided barriers to trade. Regional integration which is epitomised by intra-African trade will be critical towards outwardly cementing Africa's place in the global economy.

Enhanced trade between African countries will also provide the pull factor towards attracting foreign investment. By working towards a regional imperative, Africa will ensure that its economies grow in a manner that drives sustainable and inclusive growth for the continent. Regional integration will be achievable when there is improved connectivity across the African continent. Thus, through the AU and RECs, African leaders must fully implement initiatives as the AU's Continental Free Trade Area. According to the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2017), implementation of the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) will grow intra-Africa trade by more than 100 per cent within the next decade.

- **Investing in mechanisms that facilitate AU-RECs collaboration:** There is urgent need to ensure that the institutional relationship between AU member states, the AU and RECs is not only guided by normative frameworks and documents but also includes the investment in structures of collaboration. It requires putting significant human, technical and financial resources towards institutional mechanisms that seek to promote collaboration and cooperation between the AU and REC. To this end, AU-RECs Liaison Office need

to be adequately resourced, and both the continental body and the Regional Mechanisms should also consider internal resource mobilisation strategies that outlive the dependence on the African Peace Facility funding.

- **Investing in infrastructure development:** There is no doubt that security Africa's place in the global agenda will benefit from investments in infrastructure, including transport and communication systems. The reality is that Africa currently is losing out from global processes, such as trade, security and politics because of poor infrastructure. Furthermore, the rising trend of urbanisation has added to putting pressure on already inadequate infrastructure. Against this background, there is the urgent need for greater investment in the improvement of infrastructure if Africa is to reclaim its place in the global agenda, and if the continent is to enhance the living standards of its growing population.

What should I do as an activist and young leader?

Having exposed young leaders to the structure, nature, opportunities and challenges of the global governance system, it becomes imperative to emerge from this course with some actionable strategies that young people can embark on to effectively engage with the global and local government infrastructures. The following are some of the examples that young leaders and activists can do, armed with the knowledge of the complexities of global governance structures, systems and processes:

- **Think globally and act locally:** One of the benefits to be derived from this Global Governance Module is that it encourages young people to appreciate that global events, initiatives and infrastructure impact on seemingly local processes. The first step that young leaders in Zimbabwe can do is to start thinking more globally while grounding their action in local realities and context-specific nuances. Young leaders learn to appreciate how their actions can have far-reaching regional, continental and global consequences by thinking globally and acting locally. More importantly, it also demonstrates that the personal is political and that there is no binary distinction between micro-level process and macro-level processes. To assist themselves in thinking globally and acting locally, young leaders should start

by auditing accountability internally and externally. They should be able to see how their personal integrity or lack of it contributes to the sordid nature of the relationship between Africa and the global world.

- **Engaging in Active participation:** Young leaders emerging from this course can engage in electoral processes, civic and political processes, in addition to championing for social change, and advocating for critical issues, organising peaceful protests. They can also engage in policy influence, for example, by engaging MPs or local government officials and structures to build local democracy and accountability.
- **Engaging in Awareness raising:** One way of highlighting insights from the global governance course is through using their voice to express themselves. It is imperative for young leaders in YLT to not only be fully informed of current affairs, for example, reading the news and keeping abreast of current affairs but also to play the role of educators of the general public by engaging in discussions (online and offline).
- **Develop and implementing personal development plans:** The YLT graduates emerge from the course on global governance with their personal development plans that highlight their leadership journey and the steps they will take towards reaching their desired political, socio-economic and personal destinations. It means that young activists learn to develop milestones for themselves and to identify mentors and coaches who can assist them to reach their personal and professional goals. The personal development plans should also include an outline of what the young leaders will do to develop Social Accountability skills.
- **Participating in civic engagement:** One way to ring to life the lessons from this course is for participants to become acquainted with citizen engagement continuum which ranges from being an aware, informed, involved and community contributing citizen to a citizen who wants to promote social justice and address inequalities. The Global Governance Module not only ensures that participants are aware of global processes and regional developments that have a bearing on their activism, both locally and nationally, and initiatives but also drives participants to make a difference in their communities.

- **Becoming more informed:** At the end of the global governance course, it is anticipated that participants should become more informed about current events and political issues and should be able to monitor government and policymakers decisions. For example, young leaders in Zimbabwe should have an interest in unpacking and deconstructing the deals that come out of Zimbabwe's participation in the Forum on China and Africa (FOCAC) meeting to see how much of the deal a loan is and what amount is a grant. So they can work with principles of loan contraction and debt management as stated in public finance management legislation and related oversight arrangements.
- **Becoming a more responsible citizen:** The global governance course compels students to be more self-introspective to review their own leadership skills, expertise and levels integrity. Since the global governance course exposes the inequities in the leadership of global, continental, regional and national institutions, it behoves participants to check the extent to which their own leadership and personal conduct contributes to the continued state of decay in the governance arena. A responsible citizen is one who not only acts with integrity, and in accordance of the law, but is also one who engages in civic duties such as engaging in voting and voter education, amongst others.
- **Become a more involved community member/citizen:** At the end of the global governance course, participants should aspire to contribute to their organisations and communities. Leadership begins at home, and it can be practised through influencing organisational and community development processes. An involved young leader in Zimbabwe is expected to participate in community forums, public discussions as well as in meetings that have an impact on the entity that manages their ordinary affairs.
- **Becoming a community contributing citizen:** One of the ways through which participants can take forward the lessons from the global governance course is through contributing to community engagement and civic processes. It includes performing - voluntary community services, coordinating civic engagement processes and contributing to the common good of the community.
- **Becoming a social justice oriented citizen:** A key and admirable outcome of the global governance course is that it ignites passion, zeal and excitement and energy in the participants so that as young citizens, they can act to address injustice, inequality and exclusion.
- **Establishing and sustaining interlinkages with other youths:** The global governance course exposes young leaders in Zimbabwe to infrastructures and architecture of governance at national, regional, continental and global levels. One of the ways to ensure cross-fertilisation of ideas and peer-to-peer learning is through engaging in inter-linkages and networking with other youths in different contexts and countries. Participants can network through regional forums and similarly-minded youth networking platforms. It is important for young leaders in Zimbabwe to mobilise the support of other youth groups so that they can make use of their collective voice and solidarity to undertake more prominent initiatives that are regional and global in outlook.
- **Engaging in cross-cultural, geographical and cross-regional learning:** A key observation is that most often when people are inward-looking, they tend to be daunted by the challenges before them. However, regional solidarity movements such as the YLT Alumni Networks are credible and useful avenues for collective policy influence and activism. Young leaders can take a leaf from the stories of fellow African youth activists such as the 'Fees Must Fall' movement in South Africa to take lessons on mobilisation and movement building. One area where lessons on movement building abound is in the liberation movements and trade union movements of Africa. These movements have always capitalised on the opportunities presented by regional solidarity to amplify their voices. These organisations have mastered the art of networking by continuing to meet and share ideas and strategies.

CONCLUSION

In this module, we have examined the concepts of multilateralism and global governance. We also traced the evolution of global governance and multilateralism and examined the forms and shapes of such processes. The module aptly illustrates that global governance thrives in the presence of legitimate global institutions that are representative and that global governance institutions are expected to be active and efficient. However, this module has also demonstrated that global governance is value-laden: actors in the global sphere are driven by different histories, goals, interests

The module has been designed as a critical tool to expose the dynamics, frameworks and mindsets of the global governance agenda, including eliciting discussions and reflections on how well the global governance agenda is working particularly for Africa. The module has exposed the tragic reality that the global political and economic governance system has hardly been a benign force in shaping Africa's fortunes. Global governance systems are very influential and decisive on processes and developments in Africa, including the rise of the new scramble for Africa.

During the module, we also discussed the power asymmetries between Africa and the rest of the world, and how African is often under-represented or marginalised in major global institutions amplify the marginal voice of African nations. We explored issues related to global governance and international politics, and also provided some initial thinking on what needs to be done for African to adopt both local and global perspectives in reflecting on current affairs and issues that they see every day in their country, communities and outside of their own state. The module has reiterated the call for Africa to pay more focused attention on how to craft its destiny rather than depend on external actors. The role of internal resource mobilisation remains critical in cultivating the African renaissance.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Martha Mutisi is an academic and a practitioner with more than 15 years of experience working at the intersection between peace, security, governance and development, including a focus on gender issues. Dr Mutisi has experience working programmes seeking to strengthen citizens' roles in decision-making and leadership. Currently a Senior Programme Officer in Governance, Security and Justice, Dr Mutisi

has experience of working in countries in the Global South, providing strategic support in governance, security, justice and peacebuilding. Dr Mutisi has experience in the fields of mediation, preventive diplomacy, peacebuilding, conflict transformation and leadership development, and has worked with civil society, governments and multilateral institutions.



Deprose Muchena is a governance, human rights and public policy specialist with experience drawn from international development, bilateral, philanthropy and civil society vocation. Over the past 19 years, Muchena's work has spanned the arenas of Democracy Building, Governance and Human Rights; Economic Justice, Public Policy and Political Economy; Development Management and Executive Leadership.

Muchena currently provides strategic, policy and organizational leadership at Amnesty's Southern Africa Regional Office, working with a team of human rights experts, researchers, communication and campaigns specialists and fellows to achieve human rights impact.



Founded in 1925 as the first German political foundation, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) is a private, non-profit organisation committed to the value of social democracy. The Foundation bears the name of the first democratically elected President of Germany, in 1918, Friedrich Ebert, and seeks to preserve his political legacy: the promotion of freedom, solidarity and social justice. The Foundation pursues these aims through its programmes of political education, international co-operation, scholarships and research in Germany and abroad.

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