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# John W. Harbeson & Donald Rothchild (Eds.) Africa in World Politics: Reforming Political Order. Boulder: Westview Press, 2008.ISBN 13: 9780813343648

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Sub-Saharan African states have shown signs that they may participate in global politics due to notable economic and political developments that they have attained since their independence in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The end of the Cold War saw African states being integrated into the world economy through multilateral institutions and also applying the new wave of democracy to their systems of governance. This book examines the important trends and developments in the participation of Africa in world politics.

The book is divided into 14 chapters. In the first chapter, authors highlights the political and economic challenges that were being faced by sub-Saharan states soon after attaining their independence. States such as Mozambique, Angola, and Rwanda engaged in civil wars for years, while Zimbabwe was resistant to multiparty democracy. The author argues that since 1990, most Sub-Saharan countries have democratized and conducted multiparty elections, as well as opened doors for civil society organizations. The number of democratizing African countries had risen from 2 to approximately a third of all African countries.

In the second chapter, there is more focus on how colonial heritage shapes African international relations. In the post-colonial era, the colonizers had a great deal of influence over their former African colonies (mainly France). Sub-Saharan states still officialized the language of their former colonizers and adopted their culture. The colonial system created boundaries that brought into play frictional differences, which led to conflicts in post-colonial states such as Ethiopia and Eritrea. The author highlights the dream of African unity coming into play as evidenced by sub-regional bodies such as the OAU, which was later transformed into the AU, ECOWAS, and SADC to try and promote regional political and economic integration amongst member states. Great Britain still maintained economic influence over former colonies by integrating them into bodies like the Commonwealth of Nations. While France continued to have political, cultural, economic, and military connections with former colonies (Francophone), the author mentions the need for African states to eliminate colonial influence by not only attaining political independence but also economic independence.

The third chapter is about Africa's participation in the international political economy. The chapter begins with how Africa has been marginalized in the world economy and its dependence on countries in the Global North. Post-independence Africa had lost its importance in the world market, generating a declining share of world output, and the main commodities it produced were now being effectively produced by other developing countries. The overall gross domestic product of African states declined in the 1980s as its exports were low compared to other developing nations in Asia and Latin America. The author places greater emphasis on the debt predicament (of \$150 billion in 1992) that befell most sub-Saharan countries as a result of borrowing from the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), that is, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, to resolve their economic challenges. This intensified dependency on the Western powers for financial and economic aid. A neo-liberal approach that was put in place by the IFIs had to be implemented in Africa to reform the economy through structural adjustment programs, which did more

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harm than good due to some complex factors such as drought, civil wars, political instability, and AIDS. This made 33 Sub-Saharan African states to be characterized as Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HPIC) by the IFIs due to their inability to repay their debts, and various summits were held by the G8 to address measures that can be put in place to deal with the debt crisis. The author mentions international NGOs advocating for debt cancellation in order to foster development. In 2006, China emerged as a major trading partner for Africa, which had more favorable conditions than Western IFIs.

The fourth chapter is on the relationship between Africa and other civilizations. The author points out that Africa has been culturally receptive, as evidenced by most African states adopting Islam and Christianity religious beliefs as well as Arab, French, and English languages. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the northern part of Africa was conquered by Arabs, which led to the Arabization and Islamization of North Africa due to the spread of Arab as the native language and Islam as the dominant religion. The author also points out the French dominance in the Western part of Africa, which was formerly a French colony, but it has been overshadowed by the English language, which has become the supreme language worldwide, mainly due to the impact of imperial Britain. The other contribution from this chapter is on the influence of Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru's views on African states ability to liberate themselves from their colonizers. Gandhi neglected the use of violence in attaining freedom, while Nehru advocated for non-alignment.

The fifth chapter introduces the theme of African States and the State System. The author focuses on the progress of independent African countries towards the attainment of democracy. Botswana and Mauritius are viewed as the models of democracy in Africa. The end of the Cold War marked the evolution of the wave of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. The author mentions the conduct of regular, free, and fair elections, political pluralism, the presence of a vibrant civil society, transparency and accountability, freedom of association and expression, the presence of the rule of law, and separation of powers as the major tenets of a democratic state. The chapter uses empirical research from Freedom House rankings, Polity IV, and World Bank *Governance Matters* to rank sub-Saharan African states on matters of their progress in the attainment of democracy.

Chapter six examines the rise of rights-based approaches (RBAs) within Africa and their global and local dimensions. These RBAs have been championed by UN agencies, IFIs, NGOs, and civil society organizations that have influenced government legislation. The author exposes the linkage between RBAs and development as they ensure that individuals get access to food, water, shelter, and employment. He further asserts that RBAs foster a shift in thinking whereby development is seen as a need and a right. Influential figures such as Kofi Anan vowed to mainstream human rights through all human rights agencies. The author also mentions civil society and state relations, which are sometimes antagonistic, especially in matters regarding the confrontational nature of pro-democracy groups. Civil society, through their rightbased approaches, has advocated for presidential term limits in countries such as Malawi, where Hastings Banda once declared himself president for life. They have also advocated for the removal of repressive legislatures for NGOs in countries such as Zimbabwe, which wanted to ban NGOs from receiving foreign funding. RBAs have advocated for the relaxation of media laws by the state as well as prioritizing the emancipation of women in the political, social, and economic spheres of life. In countries such as Uganda, laws have been amended to allow women to inherit, purchase, and own land. Civil society has also reacted to environmental matters and challenged states to embark on environmentally friendly programs. The chapter concludes with the challenges that are faced by civil society in their RBA initiatives, such as customary law, which tends to contradict constitutional law.

The seventh chapter is on the effects of the AIDS epidemic on the African continent. Sab-Saharan Africa has been mostly affected by the disease, and it is mostly transmitted through heterosexual intercourse as well as mother-to-child. The author points out those southern African countries, i.e., Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, which have had the worst epidemic in the entire world. AIDS currently has no cure,

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but there are antiretroviral drugs that an infected person can take to lessen the impact of the disease and live longer. The epidemic has increased infant mortality rates and reduced life expectancy for those infected. It has some negative effects on the economy, as evidenced by the study undertaken by the World Bank, which indicates that the epidemic can lower the economic growth rate by 0.56 to 1.47 percent. International bodies such as the UN have responded to the disease through various initiatives aimed at treating millions of people with AIDS, such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS (2001). There are several debates surrounding African governments relying on external support in the fight against AIDS, as it may enhance the dependency syndrome and undermine governments' ability to face their challenges.

The eighth chapter is on the growing private actor involvement in the conduct of international relations in Africa. This has been mainly influenced by IFIs and international NGOs. This author mentions how this privatization is fundamental to the shared global elite project of redesigning African states to play a more active role in integrating the continent into the global political system. Privatization calls for more foreign direct investments.

Chapter nine is on inter-African negotiations and the reforming of political order. The main theme is the existence of violent conflicts between and within states, as well as the pacific methods to resolve them, such as negotiations, conciliation, good offices, and mediation. Bilateral as well as multilateral negotiations have to a laser extent been successful within the region, as some created factions within the African continent, which further intensified disputes. The author also mentions internal conflicts that have destroyed some states in countries such as Somalia, where big powers like the USA have also intervened. Negotiations have also led to cooperation among nations within the same region, which created multilateral institutions such as ECOWAS and OAU NEPAD to improve in areas of political and economic security. The author concludes by mentioning that negotiations are indispensable to African conflicts, as most of these states (e.g., Algeria, Zimbabwe, and Namibia) attained independence through some form of negotiation.

Chapter ten is on the role of the USA in promoting peaceful African relations. Armed conflicts have caused millions of deaths, large numbers of refugees, and displacement on the African continent. The author points out the need for foreign intervention by other states outside Africa to minimize the conflicts. The US has been very instrumental in intrastate as well as interstate conflicts through sending peacekeeping missions as well as facilitating negotiations between the conflicting parties, such as the Hutu and Tutsis in Rwanda in 2004. The imposition of economic sanctions is another tool that has been used by the US government to punish regimes that are undermining peace within the region, and this method has been successful to a minor magnitude. Direct and indirect mediation tools have also been carried out by the US government, leading to peace accords in states such as Mozambique.

The eleventh chapter is on the fight against terrorism in Africa. The US is the major international actor in efforts to combat terrorism in Africa. The author points out that diversity of cultures, ethnic and religious backgrounds, unequal distribution of oil resources, and poor governance have been the major triggers of terrorism in countries such as Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, Nigeria, and South Africa. Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda has also influenced terrorist activities in the Horn of Africa. Efforts have been put in place through organizations such as the Combined Join Task Force Horn of Africa, EUCOM, and AFRICOM to try and combat terrorism within the African region. In the conclusion, the author postulates that terrorism will be difficult to end as African democracies are too fragile and a lot of groups still remain marginalized.

Chapter twelve is on European and African relations. The relations mainly stem from trade, migration, and conflict management. In a bid to negotiate economic relations and interregional trade between African and European states, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement was signed in 2000. This has encountered challenges in that African economies are in various regional groupings, such as COMESA and SADC. The author mentions the EU's fundamental role in conflict resolution with agreements such as the Cairo Declaration and the Cairo Plan of Action signed between the AU and OAU to allow the EU to play a key role in arms





dealing and post-conflict reconstruction. The author also mentions the problems emanating from the illegal immigration of Africans into Europe in countries such as Spain.

The thirteenth chapter is on China's engagement in Africa. It also analyzes the economic and political repercussions of Chinese foreign policy on the continent. China's policy is that of non-intervention in African politics, unlike her Western counterparts. Oil has been the major national interest of China, with countries such as Nigeria, Sudan, and Angola being her main suppliers of oil. China, as an emerging economic superpower, considers herself a mentor to African states, as evidenced by the cancellation of African debt and the offer of support for fairer global trade. China has become a huge trade partner for states under Western-imposed sanctions, such as Zimbabwe. In the conclusion, the author mentions the trade imbalances existing between China and Africa, which have damaged some key sectors of the economy, such as the textile industry.

The fourteenth chapter, which is regarded as the final chapter, focuses mainly on reconciling sovereignty with responsibility. The author mentions the prevalence of intrastate conflicts that have occurred soon after the Cold War. Such conflicts have undermined the legitimacy of the government and its ability to deal with them. In such a case, there is a need for foreign intervention from other nation-states. In some cases, such conflicts may result in a massive humanitarian crisis where many citizens die. For example, in Sudan, nearly 400 000 people died in the Darfur conflict. The author indicates that the absence of good governance, inequitable distribution of resources, and disrespect of fundamental human rights by the states are some of the causes of intrastate conflicts. He goes on to mention that if the state is failing to respect the fundamental human rights of citizens, there is a need for foreign intervention, hence undermining sovereignty. Subregional, regional, and international bodies such as the SADC, AU, and UNSC must always be on standby to intervene in countries where conflicts are occurring and are posing humanitarian threats. There should be peacekeeping mechanisms in place.

This book is a must-read for International Relations, Political Science, Peace and Security Studies, Development Studies, and History students as it analyzes Africa's international relations. It provides an indepth analysis of the role that the African continent has played in world politics. It also covers economic and social issues that have affected African states due to their integration into world politics.