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**Africa International:
Agency and Interdependency in a Changing World
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Dr. Donna Lee, University of Birmingham

African states and the WTO

African member states have come to play an increasingly active part in the WTO such that African activism has been a contributory factor in the continuing impasse preventing the completion of the current Doha Round. Through various forms of agency, a number of African states have come to play a key role in the WTO and African involvement in the current Doha Round will be central to any future overall outcome. This paper provides an empirically rich account of African activism in multilateral trade governance through three comparative case studies (1) The so called "Cotton Four" African countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali; (2) South Africa; and (3) Mauritius. In so doing it focuses on the impact of a hitherto ignored set of actors in multilateral trade negotiations to enhance our understanding of multilateral trade governance - especially in relation to how weak countries negotiate with more powerful countries - and to explain how institutions like the WTO change in response to African agency level developments.

Dr. Graham Harrison, University of Sheffield

Donors and states: aid as a political practice

This presentation explores the merits of approaching aid as a social relation. There is a large and rich literature on aid. Its key coordinates concern its effectiveness, the impact of donors on statehood, the external agendas and ideologies of donors, and the incentives and moral hazards of reform. These discussions contain many important insights, but perhaps there is a way to look more centrally at the politics of donor-state relations. Here, the question is different: how has aid produced political practice? The notion of production here is evocative of Foucault: aid producing authority, discourses, and practices. Taking a sub-set of highly aid-dependent states in eastern Africa, this presentation looks at the ways in which aid has become political practice. There are two key co-ordinates here: sovereignty and development. These two core aspects of modern politics, it is argued, have come to be (re)produced through repeated interactions between donors and states and enabled through the disbursement of aid. The case studies reveal some of the main ways in which this has happened. The presentation ends by reflecting on what this approach means for recent and emerging aid modalities.

Prof. Paul D. Williams, George Washington University

The Responsibility to Protect and African International Society

This paper analyses the stance of African governments towards the responsibility to protect (R2P) principle. The first section provides a short overview of the scope and focus of the



R2P principle as set out most recently by the UN Secretary-General. It then goes on to describe some of the main areas of contention that still surround this concept. In the second section I map out a spectrum of possible positions that states could plausibly adopt towards the R2P principle. In the third section I examine where the majority of African governments seem to fall along this spectrum. In the final two sections I explore the extent to which perspectives from International Relations theory can help us understand the way in which the principle is being received across the continent and discuss some of the major challenges facing UK policymakers in their efforts to build greater support for R2P on the continent.

Dr. Thomas Kwasi Tiekou, Toronto University

Solidarity Intervention: Emerging Trends in AU's Interventions in African crisis

One of the most celebrated developments in the recent history of Africa was the establishment of the African Union's (AU) peace and security architecture. Academics, policy makers and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) singled out for praise the move by the AU to establish a security apparatus with a right to intervene under certain circumstances. For keen observers of African security, politics, and international law, the peace and security architecture distinguishes the AU from the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU). In the view of some policy makers, the establishment of the Pan-African peace infrastructure marks a major step towards solving the problems that African states have faced for centuries. Despite the warm reception given to the birth of AU's peace and security architecture and the relatively high attention it has received in the scholarly community, only a nascent body of work addresses the distinctiveness or lack thereof of AU's interventions in African crisis. An examination of emerging trends in AU's interventions in conflicts might rectify this lacuna within the International Studies literature on Africa. This paper uses AU's involvement in violent conflicts in Burundi to outline emerging trends in AU's interventions. It does so with a view to showing the strengths and weaknesses of African political agency in the area of intervention. The central claim is that AU's interventions in African conflicts are decidedly shaped by the norm of Pan-African solidarity. The norm has made the AU follow intervention patterns established by the OAU in 1990s. The development has serious policy implications especially for Africa's external partners. The paper will shed light on these policy implications.

Dr. Cyril Obi, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet

Transnational Security and African States

The paper addresses itself to analyzing the response(s) of African states and organizations to the changing nature of security since the end of the Cold war. It examines the capacity of African states operating largely in changing domestic and global contexts to respond to the transnational threats—that exist beneath and beyond the state. Of note is how the changing definition and 'boundaries' of security threats in an inter-dependent, multi-polar and globalizing world impinge on African security. This paper focuses on how African state and non-state actors connect the 'international' at various levels to meet emerging transnational security challenges requiring coordinated policies and actions. It also critically examines the assumptions, interests and policies that underpin international security-cooperation/partnership with African countries. This involves an interrogation of both of the role of hegemonic international interests, as well as Africa's position in a post-Cold war world



order. Beyond this, the paper explores transnational security in an inter-connected world, by examining how African agency and initiatives can be tapped to address the insecurities confronting the people of the continent, as a foundation for adequately addressing the challenges of transnational security in the world.

Dr. Julia Gallagher, School of Oriental and African Studies

Britain 'doing good' in Africa: what opportunities for African agency?

British government policy towards Africa shifted under Tony Blair, coming increasingly to focus on the idea of 'doing good'. In framing such an approach, British policy overtly attempted to distance itself from the pursuit of more conventional political or economic foreign policy objectives. As a result, British work in Africa came to represent an 'ideal' or an 'ethical' policy, one that apparently rose above national interests and politics. This paper will do two things. First, it will discuss the ways in which the recent British approaches towards Africa have deviated from more conventional forms of foreign policy – exploring the origins and anatomy of a foreign policy that is about 'doing good'. And second, it will consider how this deviation might work to enable or disable African countries shaping their own foreign policy.

Dr. Giles Mohan, The Open University

Dr. Marcus Power, Durham University

African relations with China and the other 'rising powers'

China, in its quest for a closer strategic partnership with Africa, has increasingly dynamic economic, political and diplomatic activities on the continent. Chinese leaders and strategists believe that China's historical experience and development model resonate powerfully with African counterparts and that the long standing history of friendly political linkages and development co-operation offers a durable foundation for future partnership. This paper examines the changing historical position of Africa within Beijing's foreign policy strategy and its vision of the evolving international political system and looks in particular at China's bilateral and state-centric approach to working with African partners. In terms of African agency we argue that the approach of African governments has changed. Although the idea of China as some kind of rapacious dragon and Africans as passive in this relationship is overblown it is true that some African states have accepted uncritically whatever new finance is on offer. However some African states are taking a more proactive stance on managing relations with China as they have come to realise that wider multipliers were limited. Crucially China's revived interests also permits a triangulation in which African states can play off donors and investors in ways they could not during the heyday of the Washington Consensus. We argue that International Relations, therefore, has to take the plural forms of the African state seriously as well as disaggregating the Chinese state, which clearly no longer, and possibly never did, act in a unified way. We also argue that part of this involves examining the discourses and practices of Chinese foreign policy which are fragmenting as the long-standing principle of 'non-interference' is gradually being refashioned.



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Professor David Black, Dalhousie University

Canada, the G8, and Africa: the rise and decline of a hegemonic project?

At the Kananaskis G8 Summit in 2002, the Canadian government orchestrated a collective G8 plan for African recovery and development. This emergent “new deal” for Africa covered a comprehensive range of issues and manifested a high level of normative consensus. Seven years on, Africa has continued to figure prominently on G8 Agendas but results have been disappointing and consensus has frayed. This paper sets out first, to explain why the G8’s ‘Africa project’ failed to achieve the results and coherence it aspired to. Second, it isolates Canada’s role, tracking its path from animator to also-ran and reflecting on the significance of this country’s Africa policy retreat to the overall G8 result. Finally, it speculates on what may be expected of a new Canadian government on African issues as host of the 2010 Summit.

David Frost, Director for Strategy, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Policy-Making and Academia: how they relate and can we do better?

The paper will reflect on the different challenges that face policy-makers and academics, and suggest some reasons why the relationship between the two is not always as deep as it could be. It considers whether there are aspects of this which are specific to Africa policy, notes the existing strengths and weaknesses of the FCO on Africa, and suggests some possibilities to improve the situation.

Prof. David M Anderson University of Oxford

Africa – whose research, whose policy?

Research capacity in the social sciences has declined markedly in Africa’s universities over the past two decades. At the same time, the consultancy-led focus of the majority of independent research institutes based in African countries has diminished African agency in determining research agendas and priorities. Research in Africa is often done by Africans, but at the behest of others. And those seeking scarce funding for research within Africa must comply with external agendas to win support. There is undoubtedly a great deal of research being carried out in and on Africa, but whose research is it and whose policy is it intended to inform? This paper outlines the main characteristics and implications of this problem, but goes on to suggest possible innovations and developments that could strengthen African ownership of the research agenda both within the tertiary sector and beyond.