

Global Power Shift

Gorden Moyo

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni *Editors*

Global Storms and Africa in World Politics

Contemporary Challenges and
Decolonial Responses

 Springer

Global Power Shift

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Ample empirical evidence points to recent power shifts in multiple areas of international relations taking place between industrialized countries and emerging powers, as well as between states and non-state actors. However, there is a dearth of theoretical interpretation and synthesis of these findings, and a growing need for coherent approaches to understand and measure the transformation. The central issues to be addressed include theoretical questions and empirical puzzles: How can studies of global power shift and the rise of 'emerging powers' benefit from existing theories, and which alternative aspects and theoretical approaches might be suitable? How can the meanings, perceptions, dynamics, and consequences of global power shift be determined and assessed? This edited series will include highly innovative research on these topics. It aims to bring together scholars from all major world regions as well as different disciplines, including political science, economics and human geography. The overall aim is to discuss and possibly blend their different approaches and provide new frameworks for understanding global affairs and the governance of global power shifts.

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Gorden Moyo • Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni
Editors

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Responses

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About the Book

This book focuses on ecological, normative, ideological, systemic, institutional, structural, ethical, and epistemic storms that are haunting the Global South and Africa in particular. Africa is an ideal locus of enunciation to examine these global storms. There are many reasons that make thinking from Africa into the world very important. The *first* is how Africa is positioned within the modern world system. As a result of how it was subjected to the transcendental model of power called coloniality, which ensued from the fifteenth century, Africa continues to occupy a subaltern position. This positionality enables a consistent critique of the operations of the modern world system and its shifting global orders. The *second* is that Africa continues to be a site of anti-racism, anti-enslavement, anti-colonialism, and anti-racial capitalism—these being motive forces for reworlding the world from the vantage point of the oppressed and exploited. The *third* is that Africa continues to be represented as a geographical frontier available for conquest, exploration, and handsome financial profit opportunities for investors. The *fourth* is that Africa continues to exhibit fragility and vulnerability to global storms within a context in which it has consistently been made into an object rather than agent of development. The *fifth* is that there is no African problem which is not simultaneously a global problem. By tackling the global storms from Africa's perspective, the book surfaces the historical asymmetries that stand on the way of resolving them, hence its quest for decolonial African agency that is capable of liberating the continent from global structures of dominance.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BASIC	Brazil, South Africa, India, and China
BIPOC	Black, Indigenous, and People of Color
BP	British Petroleum
BRICS	Brazil Russia India China South Africa
CAR	Central African Republic
CDD	Centre for Democracy and Development
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CO ₂	Carbon Dioxide
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COP	Conference of Parties
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease, an infectious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus
CSB	Corn-Soya Blend Plus porridge
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EGPS	Emergent Global Political Society
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDP	Food Distribution Points
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFA	Global Financial Architecture
GHG	Green House Gases
GWL	Global Warming Level
HDP	Humanitarian-Development-Peace
HSCs	Humanitarian Supply Chains

IBSA	India, Brazil, and South Africa
IFI	International Financial Institution
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPC	Infection Prevention and Control
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LICS	Low-Income Countries
LSA	Lean Season Assistance
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MICS	Middle-Income Countries
MMC	Multihazard Mitigation Council
MSUs	Mobile Storage Units
MTAC	Microsoft Treat Analysis Centre
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NFIs	Non-Food Items
NIES	Newly Industrialized Economies
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PIDA	Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
REC	Regional Economic Community
RT	Russia Today
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDRs	Special Drawing Rights
SFDRR	Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction
SIU	Special Investigating Unit
TIKA	Turkish Co-Operation Agency
UN	United Nations
UNCCS	United Nations Climate Change Secretariat
UNDAC	United Nations Disaster Assessment and Coordination
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNDRR	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNWFP	United Nations World Food Programme
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank

WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WHS	World Humanitarian Summit
WST	World Systems Theory

Chapter 1

Introduction: Reflections on Global Storms from African Locus of Enunciation



Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Gordon Moyo

Abstract This introductory chapter is a gateway to the profound discussions about the global polycrisis and its implications for Africa and the rest of the Global South. The chapter locates Africa's experience within the discursive contexts, histories, geographies, biographies, and politics of crises. In this way, it serves a double purpose. On the one hand, it introduces the reader to the global storms ranging from ecological/climatic, normative, ideological, financial, health, unemployment, systemic, institutional, structural, and ethical to epistemic crises that are haunting the world today. On the other hand, it is an invitation to the reader to interact with the ideas, insights, reflections, paradigms, and philosophies that interpret the global polycrisis from decolonial and other heterodox perspectives. To this extent, the chapter is a prospectus of the book you are reading now.

Introduction

Africa is an ideal locus of enunciation to examine contemporary global storms. There are many reasons that make thinking from Africa into the world very important. The first is how Africa is positioned within the modern world system. As a result of how Africa was subjected to the transcendental model of power called coloniality, which ensued from the fifteenth century, it continues to occupy a subaltern position. This positionality enables a consistent critique of the operations of the modern world system and its shifting global orders. The second is that Africa continues to be a site of anti-racism, anti-enslavement, anti-colonialism, and anti-racial capitalism—these being motive forces for reworlding the world from the vantage point of the oppressed and exploited (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2024). The third is that

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Africa continues to be represented as a geographical frontier available for conquest, exploration, and handsome financial profit opportunities for investors (Alami, 2020). The fourth is that Africa continues to exhibit fragility and vulnerability to global storms within a context in which it has consistently been made into an object rather than an agent of development. The fifth is that there is no African problem that is not simultaneously a global problem.

This is why this book provides well-thought-out critical reflections on contemporary global storms haunting the world. These global storms range from ecological/climatic, normative, ideological, financial, health, unemployment, systemic, institutional, structural, and ethical to epistemic crises (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2024). Taken together, the multifaceted and multidimensional crises reflect what Aime Cesaire (1955/2000) correctly termed a “civilizational” crisis. The Western civilization in place, dominant, and hegemonic since the fifteenth century is besieged by crises. Euro-modernity as a leitmotif of Western civilization, has produced a litany of modern problems of which it is dismally failing to offer modern solutions. Cesaire (1955/2000) warned the world about clinging to a decadent and dying civilization that generates numerous problems and then turns away and ignores them. By then, in 1955, Cesaire identified colonialism and the labor questions as the key problems generated by Western civilization, of which it was ignoring.

The problem of colonialism has not yet been resolved. The shift from empires to modern nation-states that was pre-maturely celebrated as decolonization was largely part of the modern world system rebooting and reorganizing itself. This happened within the context of the modern world system that was besieged by anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces as well as under pressure from the two emerging superpowers (the Soviet Union and the United States of America), which were opposed to physical empires. Therefore, the dismantlement of the physical empires was meant to enable a reorganization of the modern world into modern nation-states. For the Soviet Union and the United States of America, their agenda was to break physical empires, which were dominated by Britain and France, who were monopolizing trade. The “capital of capital” was shifting from Europe to North America as Europe had been weakened by the two world wars (1914–1918 and 1939–1945). In this context, a new global order of modern nation-states was ideal for the march of American capital across the world and the spread of American political influence. The Soviet Union was also able to “paint some parts of the world red” ideologically, within the context of the Cold War.

In short, the post-1945 global dispensation was never an age of genuine decolonization. The architecture of the transcendental model of power that emerged in the fifteenth century remained hierarchical, with the United States of America at its apex and the Soviet Union contending with it. Racism, patriarchy, and sexism remained as underpinnings of the hierarchical modern power structure. The hierarchical power structure reproduced itself within the United Nations to the extent that the victorious powers in the Second World War occupied the center of the Security Council with veto powers, whereas the new nation-states from the Global South became a quantity, not quality, within the General Assembly. It was within this context that such African critical thinkers as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (1965) coined

“neo-colonialism” to capture the continuation of colonialism after the dismantlement of the physical empires. It was also within this context that such scholars as Walter Rodney (1972) wrote about how Europe underdeveloped Africa. The conditions of Africa were enabling a critical reading and interpretation of the modern world system from the vantage point of those it dominated, exploited, and repressed.

Racial capitalism continued to make Africa the provider of cheap labor and cheap raw materials. The modern global division of labor still reflected racial, colonial, patriarchal, and sexist logics in which those people who were racialized became the most exploited. Lands that were expropriated *gratis* were never restored to their previous owners except in countries like Zimbabwe, where it had to be taken by force, two decades after independence. For daring to take land and distribute it to its rightful owners, Zimbabwe was accused of having violated property rights, human rights, and democracy. Sanctions were imposed on it. All these are signs of a world that is still underpinned by global colonial matrices of power supportive of a racially hierarchized and gendered modern world system.

Of course, the dominated peoples of the world confronted and fought against the hierarchical modern world system, and they used different grammars of liberation. These grammars of liberation ranged from abolition, decolonization, Africanization, deracialization, feminisms, indigenization, restitution, and reparations to epistemological decolonization (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). The anti-systemic forces for liberation and freedom challenged what James Blaut (1993) termed the “colonizer’s model of the world.” The African anti-colonial nationalists of various ideological persuasions tried to create postcolonial nation-states with their own national economies that serviced the Africans rather than global capital in the 1960s and 1970s. The popular national projects of the 1960s and 1970s were characterized by attempts to turn the colonially created economies, which were outside-looking in the service of global imperial designs, into national economies that were inward-looking and of service to African people (also see Moyo, 2021; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2023).

Rigged Global Financial Architecture

By the mid-1970s, African national projects were failing, and economies in Africa were collapsing. It was within this context that agents of global imperial designs, namely the Bretton Woods financial institutions (International Monetary Fund and World Bank), prescribed structural adjustment programs to African governments. The central logic and message of structural adjustment programs was for African governments to abandon national projects and let economies in Africa continue looking outside and servicing global capital in lieu of economic growth (Moyo, 2024). Economic growth was sold to African governments as though it was development itself. Such conditionalities as deregulation, destatization, desubsidization, decontrol, downsizing, and privatization were meant to allow global capital to march unhindered across the continent and to reap profits. Consequently, Africa underwent a shift from economic development to economic growth.

The result was deep indebtedness of Africa to the bilateral creditors, including the Paris Club, global capital markets, and global financial institutions, in particular the duo of the IMF and the World Bank. The loan offers from these creditors and lenders became a key colonial matrix of power, sustaining a hierarchical model of the global financial system. Today, countries such as Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Sudan, Togo, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are, for all intents and purposes, debt states (Moyo, 2024). These countries have been trapped in a vicious cycle of debt distress where they borrow in order to borrow. Recently the IMF disbursed US\$189 million to Zambia in order for the Southern African country to service its sovereign debt as part of its debt restructuring effort under the G-20 Common Framework on Debt Treatment. Just like the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) programme of 1996, the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) of 2005, and the Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) of 2020, the G-20 Common Framework for Debt Treatments is bound to fire blanks, and countries like Zambia, Ethiopia, and Chad that are fancying resolving their debt conundrum through this truncated global financial architecture will be disappointed like others before them. The fact is that the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) have never confronted the structural factors that have continued to consign African countries to penury. As Kaboub (2023) noted, these institutions have no vision for demperializing finance or decolonizing African economies or addressing the aetiologies and root causes of external financial and economic ills on the African continent and the global South in general.

What is worrying is that African countries are losing more finance capital through a colonially designed global financial system that facilitates mispricing, profit shifting, profit transfers, and tax dodging, among many other modes of capital outflows from Africa and the other economically vulnerable global South economies (Christensen, 2009; UNCTAD, 2020; Inieke, 2021; Moyo, 2021). The money that is lost via capital outflows from Africa is far more than the funds the continent receives in the form of grants, aid, loans, and foreign direct investment. If the Euro-Western powers, as well as tax havens that act as sanctuaries for illicit funds, were to repatriate the stolen money back to Africa, then African countries would not need to borrow, nor would they need aid from their erstwhile ex-colonizers and their juridical institutions. To be clear, the negative net financial flows are the direct result of the role that was historically imposed on the African continent as the geography where the industrialized countries acquire cheap raw materials and where the industrial output from the global North and, more recently, also from the global East, is dumped in a large consumer market (Kaboub, 2023).

Neoliberal scholars such as Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, Ludwig von Mises, and James Buchanan, and many more, present the global North countries and their financial and economic institutions as endowed with messianic qualities, which they generously use to support the poor African countries. Their logic is upside down. In fact, their views have lost theoretical purchase in Africa and the rest of the global South as it is dawning on more and more people that, in fact, Africa is a net creditor to the rest of the world (Ndikumana & Boyce, 2001). There is no harm in iterating that more funds leave Africa to the rest of the world than funds are

received in Africa from the rest of the world per year. This confirms that Africa is a rich continent with poor people. No wonder why some scholars, building on paradigms of racial capitalism, have renovated a research agenda on the “color of money,” “racism in finance,” and “financial apartheid” (see Torkelson, 2020; Morgan, 2020; University of Missouri-Kansas, 2020; Moyo, 2024). What is emerging in this emerging body of literature is that global relations of race and coloniality are reproduced through the hegemony of the market that is sustained by the archetypical Northern financial, economic, and political institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank, IMF, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); international credit rating agencies, including the Big Three, namely, Fitch Investment, Moody’s, and Standard and Poor’s; and multinational corporations (MNCs), among others.

Global Racial Capitalism

The granite fact is that Africa and the rest of the global South are hostages to the coloniality of markets. This position has been perpetuated by structures, institutions, systems, and practices that were established at the time of colonial encounters, and these were not changed at independence. This is one of the reasons why a rupture with a colonial past is urgently required, especially during this era of global storms. Such scholars as Samir Amin (1990), who consistently studied global racial capitalism, suggested “delinking” as a strategy of economic liberation of Africa from global imperial designs. This strategy did not work mainly because the modern world system has devised methods of physical liquidation of those African leaders who were genuinely anti-systemic in their political practices. Examples of Patrice Lumumba of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso come to mind. Others like Kwame Nkrumah suffered from sponsored military coups and were removed from power.

The period from 1973 became dominated by the neoliberal project. With its anti-statist philosophies and its projection of market fundamentalism, it wreaked havoc not only on economies but even on institutions of higher education. It enabled global financial capitalism with its particular capitalist epistemology of quantification of things, commercialization, and corporatization. Knowledge for life became knowledge for profits. Education for living became a commodity for sale. Students became customers who needed skills rather than knowledge. Nature became a natural resource available for extraction. Extractivism became the main instrument of making wealth. Money became used to make more money. Development became the “development-industrial-complex” (Murrey & Delay, 2023) with a flourishing “humanitarian industry” at its center. In pursuit of profits and strategic resources, the foreign policies of dominant countries like the United States of America embraced the paradigm of war to invade Africa (Libya in 2011), Latin America (interferences in Venezuela), the Middle East (Iraq), and other parts of the world (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2024).

The current conjuncture is characterized by a plethora of crises born out of inimical global politics and misbehaviors of the dominant powers. Besides Western civilization (1500–2023) being in deep crisis, there is the crisis of the neoliberal project (1973–2023) as well as the crisis of US liberal hegemony (1945–2023). The so-called “rules-based” internationalism is in tatters. There are increased disputations over the control of global colonial matrices of power, taking the form of contestations between “re-westernization” (led by the United States of America and its European Union partners) and “dewesternization” led by China and its “global East” partners (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2023, 2024; Moyo, 2024). At another level, the global South (made up of Global Africa and Global East) is also intensifying struggles for decolonization/decoloniality as an unfinished liberation project predicated on what Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2024) termed “reworlding the world from the global South.” Deep structural issues, including terms of trade, capital flight, and financial subordination, should form the major part of the reworlding project. These structures have served to reproduce the marginalization and dependence of the African continent on external economies, finance, and trade, as well as technology, among other things.

It is within this context that this book was conceived as a timely intervention from Africa that is predicated on critical reflections on the contemporary global storms haunting the contemporary world. The book was conceived before the current resurgence of war between Israel and Palestine; hence it is not covered in this book. But what is emerging poignantly from this book is how the present conjuncture is characterized by resurgences of violence, war, and genocides, with the United States supporting factions rather than working for peace. The Israel-Palestine conflict is not new. It dates back to 1948 when the state of Israel was established within a region where it was not recognized and was deemed as an act of colonialism, dispossession, and displacement. What is clear is the crisis of leadership capable of mediating the conflicts and delivering peace. The United Nations is paralyzed in the face of escalating wars in Ukraine, Gaza, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Syria, and other parts of the world. The United States of America is also failing to pull the rest of the world behind its claims to be a leader of the so-called “free world.”

Russia’s military invasion of Ukraine is a sign of the times just as the genocidal operations of Israeli forces are in Gaza. There are signs of a civilizational crisis within which the paradigm of war is deployed strangely as though it will deliver peace. Military-industrial complexes, as merchants of war, are making massive profits. Previously, weapons were used to fight wars, and today, wars are fomented to sell weapons. Wars are part of what this book terms global storms. As such, the book takes a global historical approach, theorizes about coercive integration of Africa into the modern global system, focuses on the global storms, and decouples technologies of subjectivation that underpin the subordinate position of Africa in the modern global system.

Organization of the Book

The book is divided into four broad parts covering issues of the global financial crisis, global climate crisis, global health crisis, and the Russia-Ukraine War, as well as the renewed spate of military coups in Africa. Part I of the book begins with Chakunda and Chikerema, who discuss how Africa navigates and circumvents some hurdles that affect the continent's quest to reconfigure the global financial system to achieve financial sovereignty. The authors raise a number of issues relating to Africa's marginalization in the global financial system, including the continent's weak global engagement strategy, dominance of Western-centric knowledge and expertise, debt burden, and unsustainable finance. The authors note that in the context of these wide-ranging issues, there is a notable expansion and growing influence of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) and the associated institutions that purport to challenge the existing hegemony of Western supremacy. However, the authors do not explore the degree to which the BRICS bloc and its expanded members, namely Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Turkiye, can be said to be providing an alternative financial architecture that could possibly help Africa to recover its financial independence. Nonetheless, the authors conclude that the continent should prioritize reforms that promote collective action for a more just and inclusive financial system, thus reducing dependency on external financial institutions and creating a more equitable and impartial financial system that supports the continent's development agenda.

The following chapter by Gorden Moyo discusses the notion of global financial apartheid that is implicated in the project of sustaining Africa as a Lilliputian of the world. He argues that although the world has changed a lot since the colonial encounters over five centuries ago, the subordinate position of Africa in the global algebra of power, economy, and finance has hardly shifted. Moyo traces the colonial genealogies and biographies of the current financial apartheid regime in Africa back to the structural defects caused by colonialism and extractive dependence. He argues that the global financial system has consigned African countries and those of the economically vulnerable countries of the Global South to dependencies such that they now lurch in the morass of the vicious cycle of financial dependence, financial subordination, and subjugation. He concludes by canvassing for radical transformation in Africa, without which existing patterns of financial dependence, domination, and subjugation will likely continue defining the future of the continent.

Sizo Nkala's chapter delves deeper into Africa's debt crisis from a historical and political economy perspective. He argues that the current debt crisis in Africa has been exacerbated by the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict and the sluggish global economic recovery from COVID-19, the dominance of private lenders, and the emergence of nontraditional lenders like China. Like the other authors in Part I, Nkala calls for radical transformation of the global financial architecture that will give a breathing space for African economies. Part I is completed by Janet Zhou, a debt justice researcher and activist who also takes up the centered theme of debt sustainability in Africa as a pressing concern, with significant implications for the

continent's economic development and social progress. She examines how creditors are contributing to and benefiting from Africa's debt while also exploring how their proposed solutions have exacerbated, rather than resolved, the underlying debt problem in the continent. The author also traces the origins of the crisis back to unsustainable lending practices by international financial institutions, especially the World Bank and the IMF. She argues that the exploitative nature of lending arrangements, such as the issuance of loans with high interest rates, conditionalities, and collateralization of strategic assets, has enabled creditors to extract substantial financial gains while exacerbating the financial vulnerability of African nations. Zhou is critical of the solutions put forward by creditors, such as austerity measures and structural adjustment programs, as conditions for debt relief. These have resulted in social hardships, weakened public services, and hindered long-term development prospects, perpetuating the cycle of debt, as African countries struggle to meet repayment obligations.

Part II is comprised of Chaps. 6–10 that discuss the climate crisis. In Chap. 6, Vincent Chenzi, Nyasha Trishia Murau, and Admire Ndamba examine the role of the western capitalist system on climate change. The authors argue that climate change and its global challenges are intricately linked to the global capitalist system, which is driven by profit, resource extraction, and exploitation. The chapter attempts to respond to the questions: What role has the western capitalist system contributed to the current climate crisis? How has the global capitalist system affected the emergence and management of disasters on the continent? And, in what way are the capitalist-driven solutions to climate change impacting the continent?

In Chap. 7, Mufaro Dzingirai, Tatenda Leeroy Murombedzi, and Anesu Ndoro review the effects of the climate colonialism on climate crisis in Africa. The authors conclude by recommending that governments in Africa should advocate for climate policies that do away with dominant knowledge systems from the global North as well as the power imbalances related to international climate platforms. While Vincent Chenzi, Nyasha Trishia Murau, and Washington Mazorodze in Chap. 8 argue that climate interventions in Africa by the rich countries are part of what some observers have termed climate colonialism. These interventions include neoliberal policies such as carbon offsetting, green policing, natural resource exploitation, and smart solutions to climate change. The authors conclude by canvassing for the decolonization of climate change discourse in order to address the existential threat of climate change in Africa and the other vulnerable global South countries.

Happy Mathew Tirivangasi and Louis Nyahunda's chapter focuses on climate communication. They argue that the entanglement between climate and language creates a difficult challenge for how different people perceive, understand, and respond to the climate crisis. The authors propose that climate change communication should be decolonized and repackaged in the languages of African indigenous communities. Part II is concluded by Gracious Mavisa and Divane Nzima with a chapter arguing that the imperialist world system has perpetuated climate imperialism and climate colonialism that have in turn created a capitalist climate economy. The authors also note that the global powers have managed to keep those most affected by climate change in perpetual dependence on the global North with

limited resources available either for mitigation or adaptation. In short, the authors provide a comprehensive analysis of the adverse effects of climate devastation and how these effects are connected to climate imperialism.

Part III of the book examines the health crisis. While Chaps. 11, 12, and 13 examine the broader issues of vaccine imperialism, Chaps. 14 and 15 offer some country studies of Nigeria and Zimbabwe. In Chap. 11, Ephraim Chifamba deploys Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed and the decolonial lens to examine the linkage between capitalism and the unequal access to Covid-19 vaccines. The author argues that the public health sector has been caught up in the global 'vaccine apartheid, which impedes inclusive delivery of health in the global South generally and Africa in particular. The author views decolonization and de-imperialization of the global health systems as viable options for addressing unequal access to drugs and vaccines between the global North and global South. Similarly, in Chap. 12, Elijah Chambiwa and Gift Sakirai also discuss the notion of vaccine imperialism. The authors note that the distribution of COVID-19 vaccines wrought into existence a highly polarized world that was split between the wealthy global North and the poor global South countries. This state of affairs accentuated a historical imbalance that has been in existence since the era of colonial encounters. The global South is interminably othered and systematically relegated to the periphery of the existential matrix. The authors also note that the Western companies solely focused on Western countries whilst the global South was condemned to a terrible fate of facing the deadly disease without the respite of a vaccine.

In Chap. 13, Wehnam Peter Dabale provides a case study of a global storm from a local perspective. He examines the factors that influence the acquisition of external capital and their correlation with the success of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Nigeria following the COVID-19 pandemic. The author discusses a number of obstacles that small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) encounter when seeking external financing, including the issue of elevated interest rates and rigorous collateral prerequisites, among others. The author concludes by suggesting that customized financial strategies be put in place to make it easier for small and medium-sized businesses to get external funding in the post-COVID-19 era. On the other hand, in Chap. 14, Shepherd Gudyani argues that the COVID-19 outbreak exacerbated the need for humanitarian assistance in Africa and the rest of the world. The author argues that the global logistics management concerns made it difficult for humanitarian attempts to contain the COVID-19 catastrophe in Africa. This chapter provides a case study of the role that mobile storage units played in Zimbabwe's response to the COVID-19 epidemic.

The final chapter of this part of the book discusses the fragility of health systems in Africa (Chap. 13). Idah Moyo and Benny Moyo note that the global South is characterized by fragile health systems, underfunding, manpower constraints, medicine, and other consumable shortages. These challenges were glaring during the COVID-19 pandemic. The authors note that whilst a large number of people were vaccinated in the global North, only a small minority were fully vaccinated in Africa and the other countries of the global South. Like other authors in this section, Moyo and Moyo note that the western-owned pharmaceutical companies were selective in

their distribution to the North; as such, the authors conclude by calling for Africa to work on developing its own pharmaceutical companies and vaccines to avoid similar vaccine imperialism in responding to future pandemics.

The last part of the book (Part IV) addresses the challenging issues of the Russo-Ukraine War as well as the recent spate of coups that is sweeping across Africa. In Chap. 16, Charles Mutasa discusses the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war on Africa's major and smaller nations. The author takes a critical look at the policy of neutrality that has been adopted by countries such as South Africa. The biggest questions tackled are: Is this war widening the rift between the Global North and Global South? What should be done to keep global unity and cooperation, considering the current impact and aftermath of the Russian-Ukrainian war? The author concludes by looking at possible future international cooperation scenarios and recommendations. At the same time, Dylan Yanano Mangani and Ntsikelelo Benjamin Breakfast (in Chap. 17) attempt a futuring study of Russia's international choices towards the global South after its war in Ukraine. The authors note that various interpretations surround Russia's invasion of Ukraine, including NATO's unmitigated expansion towards Eastern Europe and the subsequent security dilemma this posed for Russia. The chapter contributes some insights into Russia's recalibration of its foreign policy in the global South in search of allies, hegemonic status, and ontological security by taking advantage of resources at its disposal, such as military and natural resources.

In Chap. 18, Divane Nzima, Mubarak Aliyu, Herbert Mba Aki, and Gordon Moyo discuss the growing anti-French sentiments in the West and Central Africa regions. The authors focus on the recent coups in West and Central Africa in the context of the emerging global geopolitical makeup since the Russia-Ukraine war, given the acceptance of Russian private military groups in Africa. The authors also decouple the anti-imperial stance taken by coup leaders and supported by masses against the position taken by regional bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). They conclude that while the political direction of military governments is controversial, the wind of revolutionary victory against neo-colonial forces in the Sahel region cannot be escaped. In the same vein, Funa Moyo and Sihlanganiso Khumalo in Chap. 19 discuss the naturalized, universalized, and conveniently abused Euro-modern concept of 'coup d'état'. The authors conclude that although the main causes of coups are painted local, in reality they have qualities of a global war, with a heavy influence of the former colonizers. The authors recommend decoloniality of governance as a possible conversation towards free decolonial pluriversal genial futures.

In Chap. 20, Aaron Rwodzi provides a damning critique of the local conditions in Africa and the incessant role of Western and Eastern international actors in providing coup leaders and their executors a helping hand towards the finish line to consolidate putsches' power. The author addresses four key questions: What explains the sudden plethora of coups in West and Central Africa? Why have coups been sanitized as if they represent basic characteristics of goodwill towards the collective good of the nations where they take place? Can soldiers who successfully organize the putsch be regarded as saviors of the people against recalcitrant regimes

that do not yield to election results? What is the future of democracy amidst recurrent coups in Africa? The author concludes that continental and international legitimation of coups in Africa points to the failure of western democracy and heralds new perceptions about the futility of elections, particularly when, as is generally the case, they retain unpopular incumbents through chicanery.

The last chapter of this book by Mbongeni Nhliziyo draws the attention of the reader towards the brewing storm of the US–China contestations and their impact on the global response to developmental challenges such as climate change, peace, security, and health emergencies (Chap. 21). The author concludes that Africa must develop its own policy maturity, diplomatic adeptness, political leadership, and policy capacity in order to effectively engage with the US and China.

What the book does is to connect the dots of what constitutes global storms from an African vantage point. It is a timely study of the present conjuncture. Whenever a civilization and its underpinning global order are in deep crisis, conflicts, violence, and wars become inevitable. The global North is resistant to the rise of the global East. The global South is rejecting a subaltern position and being pulled behind United States Atlanticism as a hegemonic project. One emerging debate is on a polycentric world with China as its *primus inter peres* its leader. The lingering question is, will China preside over a still hierarchical model of power, with problems of racism, patriarchy, and sexism still unresolved? How prepared is China to enable genuine decolonization, depatriarchization, de-Cold War, and demperialization? How will the new polycentric world deal with global financial crises and ecological problems? Will China just take control of the global colonial matrices of power and only shift the capital of capital from North America and Europe to Beijing?

Of major concern is that the voting powers of China, Brazil, Russia, and India in the IMF Board of Governors have been increased at the expense of those of Africa in general and South Africa and Nigeria in particular. For example, while China's voting power increased by 35%, Brazil, India, and Russia increased by 23, 11, and 8 percentage points, respectively, Nigeria and South Africa had theirs reduced by 41% and 21%, respectively (see Moyo, 2024). This is despite the fact that African countries campaigned together with their emergent and emerging global South friends (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) for the IMF reforms, but when Africa got nothing out of the resultant reforms, its powerful global South friends looked aside and walked away. Again, there are concerns that poor countries seeking to access more than 30% of their borrowing quota from the New Development Bank (BRICS Bank) are obliged to first sign up to an IMF structural adjustment program, thus amplifying neoliberalism rather than eroding it (Moyo, 2024).

More worryingly, African countries are now more indebted to China than to any other bilateral lenders, including the US, the EU, the UK, Germany, and France, leading some observers to argue that China and other emerging powers are merely seeking accommodation in the global house of capitalism rather than seeking a fairer global governance order. Lastly, there are also questions of Chinese and Euro-Western elites seating in each other's corporate boards and strengthening their mutual global capitalist interests, especially during their Davos annual meetings.

The contradictions presented by these geofinancial convergences of global East and global West business elites, on one hand, and the geopolitical divergences represented by global East and global West political actors, call for a more nuanced role of Africa in the emerging multipolar global system. These contradictions should be part of the ongoing debates about how Africa should increase its global agency in order to avoid what Olukoshi (2023) described as the danger of moving from one unhappy partnership to another.

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Part I
Global Financial Architecture and Debt
Crisis

Chapter 2

Decolonising the Global Financial Architecture: Towards Financial Sovereignty in Africa



Arthur Fidelis Chikerema  and Vincent Chakunda

Abstract The global financial architecture has been shaped by colonial legacies and power imbalances that have generally disadvantaged the Global South. The present international monetary system emerged from the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. The Bretton Woods Institutions promoted the acceleration of globalization and the Global South's economic dependence. The existing global financial system perpetuates deeper fragmentation despite multipolarity and geopolitical competition. The expansion of the BRICS brings a critical dimension to global financial and decoloniality discourse. The block's economic strength, demographic weight, and geopolitical significance challenge the dominance of the Western hegemony in shaping global power dynamics. Guided by a desktop approach, the chapter is underpinned by the decoloniality paradigms. The major issues emerging from the analysis relate to the continent's weak global engagement strategy and the dominance of Western knowledge. The chapter recommends reforms that promote collective action for an inclusive financial system that supports Africa's development agenda.

Introduction

The global financial architecture has been dominated and defined by the global north, perpetuating historical legacies of colonialism and neo-colonial economic practices. Arguably, this global financial system is wired to promote Eurocentric epistemologies that seem to propagate economic disparities and hinder the global south's progression. The structure of the global financial system has been viewed as alien to the global south's developing aspirations, leading to a growing movement towards advocating for the decolonization of the system and promoting financial sovereignty in Africa. The emergence of what is known as Developing and Emerging

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Economies (DEEs) has signified one of the most momentous transformations in the global fiscal landscape in contemporary eras (Alami, 2022). For instance, by 2010, China had assumed the position of the world's leading exporter, while by 2018, foreign direct investment (FDI) flowing into DEEs had exceeded that directed to developed nations (UNCTAD, 2019). Despite their increasing economic influence and prominence in the global economy, DEEs have not managed to alter their subordinate status within global fiscal markets. This is evidenced by recurring instances of abrupt exchange rate devaluations and financial instability, often influenced by conditions prevailing in international financial markets (Naqvi, 2019). Nevertheless, the financial subordination of DEEs extends well beyond sporadic crises, significantly shaping everyday economic interactions that carry extensive implications for the development prospects of the global south. These implications range from decision-making processes to industrial advancements, urban development patterns, spatial reorganization, class dynamics, distributional conflicts, and the movement of value transfer across borders (Rey, 2015). Although growth rates higher than those in the global north have been achieved in numerous DEEs for particular periods, very few have managed to sustain this process long enough to witness per capita wealth reach the levels of developed countries (Rey, 2015).

This chapter posits that financial subordination seems to be a structural impediment contributing to persistent global inequalities. Evidence echoes Rey's (2015) contention that DEEs are increasingly subjected to a global financial/liquidity cycle over which they have no control, and which renders many domestic policy levers irrelevant. Furthermore, for Reys, the decoloniality movement seeks to address the structural imbalances and power dynamics that have marginalized global south economies and empower the global north to determine their own economic policies and development conduits. During the colonial era, global South economies were primarily exploited for the benefit of colonial powers, leading to the extraction of resources and the establishment of economic structures that favored external interests (Nkrumah, 1965). Authors such as Walter Rodney have argued that the global north developed through plundering and exploiting resources from the global south, resulting in the skewed geopolitical arrangements of the core and the periphery. The geopolitical arrangement was couched and dominated by Western modes of economic, political, and epistemic productions, which universalized "European" values over other development paradigms. According to Nabudere (2013), the contradictions of capitalism in 'Europe have been transplanted to other parts of the world in an attempt to promote economic accumulation at the expense of cheap labor.

Following independence, most African nations inherited financial systems that were designed to serve the interests of the global north, perpetuating economic dependence and limiting their ability to pursue sovereign and indigenous development models hinged on the local context. The current global financial architecture, dominated by Eurocentric institutions—the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank—has often imposed straitjacket approaches and uniform economic policies on African countries, without contextualizing their unique needs and circumstances (Nkrumah, 1965). The decoloniality movement calls for the global south to integrate, cooperate, and explore geopolitical and multipolar systems'

comparative advantages to amplify their collective voice and influence in global financial governance. The major objective of the movement is for the global south to delink and reclaim financial sovereignty and have the power to redesign their economic policies and institutions, reducing reliance on the core. The chapter is divided into various sections. It explains the background of the global financial institutions to understand the dynamics of global monetary processes, debt policies, and the position of the Global South, Africa to be specific. The second aspect will deal with the explanation of the decolonial terms and paradigms that relate to international political economy. Finally, the paper will explain the contending issues that emerged from the review and analysis of international financial subordination and dependency literature and previous research.

Context of Global South's Financial Dependence

The theorization of colonialism and imperialism by Frantz Fanon (1967) in his book "Wretched of the Earth" led to the development of the decolonial theoretical praxis. Fanon described colonialism as the process of "mental demonization" or dispossession of the people of color by the colonial forms of cultures and knowledge production. For Fanon (1967), colonialism was more than physical; it reflected the mental discourse whereby the people of color are subjected to rages, referred to as *damnes/wretched of the Earth*. The section is hinged on two theories, namely, decolonial theory and theories of financial dependence. Decoloniality is a theoretical framework that emerged as a response to the ongoing legacies of colonialism and seeks to challenge and dismantle the structures of power, knowledge, and representation associated with colonialism. The decolonial theory originated from post-structural analysis of being, self, and society liberation. The theory emphasizes the disbandment of structures and institutions associated with the Enlightenment era, which was premised on the dominance of rationality, individualism, progress, and the pursuit of universal truths (Amin, 1974). Trans-modernity proposes an alternative framework that seeks to address pluralism and diversity of human experiences, cultures, and knowledge systems, emphasizing the acceptance and coexistence of multiple perspectives and rejecting the notion of a single universal truth or way of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2018). Evidence notes that the world needs to depict the hybrid nature of contemporary societies and the constant intermixing of cultures, identities, and ideas, promoting the idea of interculturality, where different cultures interact, exchange, and learn from each other, fostering dialogue and understanding. The theory underscores the importance of contextualizing and localizing funding and development policies, rejects the idea of universal solutions (SAPs), and calls for context-specific approaches that take into account local knowledge, histories, and conditions (Mignolo, 2013). Broader thinking (Anzaldúa, 1983), delinking (Amin, 2009), and decoloniality (Mignolo, 2013) shape the trans-modernity methodological approach in dismantling the existing global coloniality of power, thought, and being. The theory defines the world as a Eurocentric construct depicting conditions