

The Changing International Order: Emerging Powers



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This edition of *FOCUS* continues the exploration of the changing international order, which was first considered in *FOCUS 84*. Here, the spotlight falls on emerging powers. China obviously plays a central role in these reflections. A particular concern is the impact that China will continue to have on Africa, and especially South and Southern Africa. This is not to argue that India's role, for example, should not also be considered. But China looms large, both on the international stage and our consciousness.

Chris Alden addresses the broad question of emerging powers in Africa and Africa's place in the new international order. His article examines how emerging powers use the past to foster, mobilise and explain their contemporary engagement with Africa. There is a difficult past, one in which the contours of contemporary globalisation were framed, layered over engagement stretching back to antiquity and up to the onset of the harsh realities of colonialism. China, India, Brazil, Turkey and South Korea project upon Africa a moral purpose to explain their role which, in many ways, echoes the European discourses on Africa that accompanied their engagement in an earlier age of imperialism.

John Keane tackles the realities of the new Chinese "empire", which are far more complex than many of its critics have so far supposed. The term 'phantom democracy' is developed to describe an authoritarian state in which the very fear of democracy forces a "democratic style" of political management and leadership. What is emerging as China's phantom-democratic political order will have consequences for international constitutional democracy.

Stephen Chan explores the dynamic of resistance to hegemonic norms (not always because of the norms themselves but because of the nature of hegemony), touching on China, ISIS and the decolonial movement. The search for new thought, norms and anchors for society is exposed as an urgent but highly complex endeavour. Asking what resistance to the norms of the Liberal International Order means for "international morality", Chan charts a global path towards "normative equality" as 'a staging point for something better'.

William Gumedé draws lessons from the "East Asian Tigers", which have successfully used aspects of their traditional cultures to combat corruption, make company cultures more inclusive and foster a common national identity. It is argued that these countries offer alternative models for development, which could be adaptable to countries like South Africa.

Charles Simkins considers the economic outlook for emerging markets. The term 'emerging market economies' to describe a group of countries has been around for nearly forty years. It is vague and unsatisfactory in many respects, but it has endured for lack of a better description. This study offers criteria by which to delimit the group, and discusses their growth prospects over the medium term. In doing so, it addresses issues of the convergence of emerging markets and advanced economies and, among emerging market economies themselves, the distribution of fundamental characteristics and the risks they face.

We end with book reviews by **Dan de Kadt** (on Francis Fukuyama's *Identity*) and **Dennis Davis** (on John Dugard's *Confronting Apartheid: A Personal History of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine*).