



Retreat to Nationalism in the 21st Century Globalization:

LESSONS FOR AFRICA FROM COVID-19



A Webinar Conference Report

July 16, 2020

While COVID-19 is primarily a health crisis, its impact has been multifaceted, ranging from economic, political, social, and religious to diplomatic. On international cooperation, COVID-19 has developed into one of the worst challenges to globalization in the 21st century



ABOUT US



**Institute of Diplomacy and
International Studies**
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

The Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

(IDIS) is a leading regional postgraduate training institution based at the University of Nairobi. Its core service areas include postgraduate training, research, publication, seminars and conferences, a modern language laboratory, a library and documentation services. IDIS caters for the needs of African countries and international organizations and maintains close links with similar institutions all over the world. The Institute also offers diplomas, post graduate diplomas, bachelors, masters and doctoral degrees in International and Strategic Studies. It has also set up Latin America and South East Asia regional study areas.



The HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies

(the HORN Institute) is a non-profit, applied research, and policy think-do tank based in Nairobi, Kenya. Its vision is a progressive Horn of Africa served by informed, evidence-based and problem-solving policy research and analysis. The Institute's mission is to contribute to informed, objective, definitive research, and analytical inquiry that positively informs policies of governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. Its focus areas include defence and security; diplomacy and foreign relations; governance, statecraft and conflict management; terrorism, violent extremism and radicalization; and transnational crimes and strategic threats.

Organised and Hosted by:

HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies and Institute for Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi



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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AfCTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AU	African Union
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease of 2019
EU	European Union
EAC	East African Community
IDIS	Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies
NAFTA	The North American Free Trade Agreement
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USIU-Africa	United States International University of Africa
UON	University of Nairobi
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

Acknowledgements

The conference was a success courtesy of the strategic leadership of Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo, Ph.D., (Director of IDIS); Mustafa Y. Ali, Ph.D., (Chairman, the HORN Institute), Hassan Khannenje, Ph.D., (Director, the HORN Institute) and Anita Kiamba, Ph.D. (Lecturer, IDIS). Special regards are extended to the joint-organizing team from IDIS and the HORN Institute consisting, in addition to the leaders, of Winnie Rugutt (IDIS), and Roselyne Omondi, Daniel Iberi, Elvis Salano, Joel Otieno, Fauzia Hussein, Mary Ododa, Janice Sanya, Evans Ombisa, and Josephat Maina (all from the HORN Institute).

The Organizing Committee conveys special gratitude to the Chief Guest, Prof. Stephen Kiama, Ph.D., the Keynote Speaker, Prof. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, Ph.D., and panelists: Mumo Nzau, Ph.D., Patrick Maluki, Ph.D., Heba Gamal Eldin, Ph.D, and Nna-Emeka Okereke, Ph.D., and to the more than 200 participants who participated in the webinar.

The Organizing Committee also extends heartfelt appreciation to Hassan Khannenje, Ph.D., and Anita Kiamba, Ph.D. for moderating the sessions.

Executive Summary

The Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) at the University of Nairobi and the HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies jointly organized a virtual conference on July 16, 2020 from 2:00pm to 5:00pm. The theme of the conference was *Retreat to Nationalism in the 21st Century Globalization: Lessons for Africa from COVID-19*. The conference was organized to provide a platform for African scholars and policy practitioners to deliberate on the challenges to globalization occasioned by COVID-19 pandemic and the resultant containment measures. Specifically, the conference set out to achieve the following objectives: Map out the effects of the pandemic on international cooperation in the world and Africa in particular; Assess Africa's foreign policy options in a divided, increasingly nationalistic international system; Understand the impact of an accelerated hostility between leading world economies on African countries; and lastly, Assess the role of multilateralism and international cooperation in the post-COVID-19 world.

Nationalism has manifested itself in international border closures; disruptions in the global value chains; parallel and competing vaccine-making efforts; and sustained attacks on multilateral institutions

Organized into four sessions, the conference featured an opening address by the Vice-Chancellor of University of Nairobi, Chairman of the HORN Institute, and the Director of IDIS. This was followed by a keynote speech on the nexus between globalization, nationalism and COVID-19, followed by four presentations which focused on two subthemes: rising nationalism in the wake of COVID-19, and the place of Africa in international relations in the Post-COVID-19 era. In a nutshell, the conference found that the outbreak of COVID-19 has resulted in a rise of nationalism and protectionism as countries seek to contain the virus outbreak and its social-economic disruptions. Nationalism has manifested itself in international border closures, disruptions in the global value chains, parallel and competing vaccine-making efforts, and sustained attacks on multilateral institutions.

There was general consensus that COVID-19 has revived and elevated the role of the state in international relations.

This marks a decline in neo-liberalist international order as realism re-emerges to assert the “anarchical” nature of the world dominated by states pursuing their national interests.

A popular consensus was also reached that the post-COVID-19 era should be characterized by continuous debate on the state of governance in Africa and access to quality basic social services, the growing social inequality as exposed by the pandemic and increased pan-Africanism to enhance the continent’s bargaining power in its interaction with the rest of the world in an increasingly antagonistic international system.

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Introduction

There was rapid spread of the novel coronavirus disease (COVID-19) from Wuhan, China in early January 2020 that prompted the World Health Organization (WHO) to declare it an International Health Emergency (IHE) on January 11, 2020, and later a global pandemic on March 11, 2020. While COVID-19 is primarily a health crisis, its impact has been multifaceted, ranging from economic, political, social, and religious to diplomatic. On international cooperation, COVID-19 has developed into one of the worst challenges to globalization in the 21st Century. The absence of a vaccine or a known cure has compelled countries to turn inward for solutions in an effort to save lives and livelihoods as evidenced by the near universal closure of international borders, restrictions of movement, freeze on export of crucial medical supplies and other lifesaving goods, and parallel vaccine making initiatives.



While multilateralism is designed to resolve international challenges, its failure in building a united global response to the pandemic has been apparent at all levels of international relations. At the United Nations (UN), rivalry pitting China against the United States stalled United Nations Security Council (UNSC) efforts to pass a resolution in support of the UN Secretary General's call for a global ceasefire to enable countries in conflict to focus on

containing the outbreak of the virus. On its part, the European Union (EU) came under intense criticism for its inaction to rally a regional response in support of Italy and other member states that were worst hit by the pandemic. In Africa, the African Union (AU) and other regional economic blocks including the East African Community (EAC) are yet to agree on joint strategies to contain the disease.

The current display paints a gloomy picture for globalization in the post-COVID-19 era. The disease has strengthened the position of nationalists and protectionists in countries, and within the international system at large, thereby threatening the success of other global initiatives aimed at addressing climate change, armed conflicts, and social inequality among other global challenges. The recognition of these realities is what prompted IDIS and the HORN Institute, to organize a webinar conference to deliberate on the potential consequences as well as opportunities that can be derived from the increasing retreat to nationalism in the 21st Century globalization with a view of extracting lessons for Africa. The conference discussed the emerging trends and the shifting waves in global politics, and attempted to identify Africa's place in this changing international environment. The objectives of the conference were:

- i. To map out the effects of the pandemic on international cooperation across the world and Africa in particular.
- ii. To assess Africa's foreign policy options in a divided, increasingly nationalistic international system.
- iii. To understand the impact of an accelerated hostility between leading world economies on African countries.
- iv. To assess the role of multilateralism and international cooperation in the post-COVID-19 world.

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The Conference was organized into four sessions, jointly moderated by Hassan Khannenje, Ph.D., and Anita Kiamba, Ph.D. The discussions in each session included an initial presentation from a panelist followed by an interactive session of question and answer.

Panelists' Profiles



Prof. Stephen Kiama Gitahi, Ph.D., B.V.M., MSc., MKNAS is the Vice-Chancellor, University of Nairobi. He holds a doctoral degree in Structural Biology from University of Bern, Switzerland. He is an accomplished scholar with proven track record in formulating and managing academic programs, as well as research and publications. He has over 16 years' experience in management and leadership positions at the University of Nairobi.



Prof. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, Ph.D., is the Vice Chancellor of the United States International University in Africa (USIU-Africa). He is a professor of Humanities and Social Sciences. He holds a doctoral degree in Economic History from Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.



Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo, Ph.D., EBS, MBS, is the director of IDIS and professor of International Relations and Governance. She holds a doctoral degree in Political Science and International Relations from Dalhousie University. She previously served as Kenya's Ambassador to Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, and Lesotho.



Mustafa Y. Ali, Ph.D. is the Chairman of the HORN Institute. He holds a doctoral degree in International Relations and Sociology from University of Portsmouth, Britain. Dr. Mustafa is a scholar of international relations, and a practitioner in conflict transformation. He currently serves as Director for Arigatou International – Nairobi and Secretary General for the Global Network of Religions for Children.



Mumo Nzau, Ph.D. is a Fulbright Scholar holding masters and doctoral degrees in Political Science from the State University of New York at Buffalo. He holds a masters degree in International Relations from USIU-Africa; in addition to other graduate-level training in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies. He is lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies at the University of Nairobi; and has been an Adjunct Faculty at the United States International University (USIU- Africa); as well as the Department of Political Science and Public Administration-University of Nairobi.



Patrick Maluki, Ph.D. is a Lecturer at IDIS. He holds a doctoral degree in Peace and Conflict Studies from Masinde Muliro University, Kenya. Dr. Maluki is a Senior Lecturer and experienced trainer and researcher in international conflict management, international negotiation, international mediation, international political economy, diplomacy, human rights and governance, and peace building issues. He teaches at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi and at the National Defence College (Karen).



Nna Emeka Okereke, Ph.D. is the Research Coordinator, Department of Area and Regional Studies at the Centre for Strategic Research and Studies at the National Defence College, Nigeria. He holds a doctoral degree in Political Science (with specialization in International Relations) from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Dr. Okereke has researched and published widely on terrorism and organized crime in Africa, and is one of the experts facilitating terrorism studies at the Algiers-based African Centre for Study and Research on terrorism. He has also lectured at Igbinedion University Okada.



Heba Gamal Eldin, Ph.D. is currently a Lecturer of Comparative Politics at the Institute of National Planning, Egypt. She holds a doctoral degree in Political Science from Cairo University (Egypt), a Master of Arts in Political Science and a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, both from Cairo University (Egypt). Dr. Heba was previously a professor of Political Science in Cairo University and Misr University for Science and Technology.

Moderators Profiles



Hassan Khannenje, Ph.D. is the director of the HORN Institute. He holds a doctoral degree in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from Nova Southeastern University (United States).



Anita Kiamba, Ph.D. is a lecturer at IDIS. She holds a doctoral degree in International Studies from the University of Nairobi, Kenya.

Session 1: Opening Speeches

This session was addressed by Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo, Ph.D. (Director, IDIS); Prof. Stephen Kiama, Ph.D. (Vice Chancellor, University of Nairobi) and Mustafa Y. Ali, Ph.D. (Chairman and Co-Founder, the HORN Institute). **Prof. Nzomo** opened the conference noting that the webinar conference was necessitated by the observed decline in international cooperation since the outbreak of COVID-19. She explained that the conference was convened in an effort to identify Afrocentric local and international solutions to some of the evolving international relations issues occasioned by the pandemic such as the growing racist and xenophobic attacks directed towards Africans in the diaspora.

She posited that while international law provides for countries to take public health measures in the face of a pandemic, it is not a justification for self-centered approaches. The challenges at hand, she said, require harnessing of different strengths for the sake of human survival, international development, information technology, human security and protection of human rights and democratic governance. She emphasized that the closure of borders on the African continent puts at risk the realization of a borderless Africa and its accompanying projects such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCTA).

Prof. Stephen Kiama, Ph.D., the Vice Chancellor of the University of Nairobi noted that the conference was both timely and strategic as it came at a time of a critical global event that has led to shifts in the practice of international relations. He stated that while the pandemic has generated a multi-sectorial response at all levels of the society, scholars must be at the forefront in shaping the debate of the post pandemic international system. He welcomed Kenya's election to the UNSC for the 2020-2011 period and called on the country to use her newly acquired position and influence to pursue a lasting resolution to the persistent regional security issues in the Horn of Africa.

On globalization, **Prof. Kiama** observed that while it is possible for countries to set aside their interests for common good, its future is not clear in the post COVID-19 era. He noted that the pandemic had led to the renaissance of nationalism and warned that this is likely to impede the realization of contemporary globalization agenda and the moral values of neo-liberalism. He highlighted that stringent implementation of immigration policies will adversely affect the ease of movement and business including the advancement of science and education. Further,

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he noted that COVID-19 has a devastating impact on the global economy and worsened Africa's debt burden. He called on participants to weigh in as to whether African countries will be served better with moratoriums on debts or write-offs altogether. He concluded his speech by cautioning that the current affront on global institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the WHO by leading world powers will erode public faith in multilateralism.

In his speech, **Mustafa Y. Ali, Ph.D.** said that the conference was a start of a process by scholars to generate analysis and policy recommendations in the area of statecraft, governance and security to aid policy makers resolve the challenges brought by COVID-19. He argued that globalization in the 21st Century had been affected severely by the 9/11 terror attack in the United States, and the subsequent global war on terror, and now the outbreak of COVID-19. He noted that these two events had significantly challenged the notion of a freer, united and globalized world.



REBUILDING GROUND ZERO

He concluded by pointing out that that unilateral approaches adopted by states in the fight against COVID-19 highlight the rising retreat to nationalism.

Session 2: Globalization and COVID-19

This session was moderated by Dr. Hassan Khannenje. It featured a keynote address by **Prof. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza**, the Vice Chancellor, and USIU-Africa.

Prof. Zeleza's presentation focused on unmasking nationalism, regionalism, and globalism. He began by noting that the COVID-19 period is historic and marked with complexities and contradictions. He noted that the pandemic had significantly exposed the structural deformities of international relations that had been in existence for a while. He observed that the massive disruption of the pandemic on political economies at national, regional and global levels had raised tensions between nationalism and globalization.

Nationalism, Prof. Zeleza contended, manifests itself in ethnic, civic, cultural and religious dimensions. That it is often constituted at multiple spatial scales from the local to the transnational and diaspora nationalism such as pan Africanism movement

He proceeded to expound on the concepts of nationalism, regionalism, and globalism noting that there are various typologies of nationalism, regionalism, and globalism which are both historical processes and ideological projects. Nationalism, he contended, manifests itself in ethnic, civic, cultural and religious dimensions. That it is often constituted at multiple spatial scales from the local to the transnational and diaspora nationalism such as the pan Africanist movement. He pointed out that nationalism exhibit diverse ideological tendencies that could be pegged on national liberations, revolutionary struggles, or liberal, conservative and populist ideals.

On regionalism, he explained that it exists in different forms on the basis of economic, historical and geographical consciousness. On the economic forms, he cited the examples of the numerous regional economic communities in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas. For historical affiliations, he mentioned commonwealth, francophone, and Organization of the Islamic States which were formed on the basis of a shared colonial history and religious leaning respectfully. Geographical formations, he said are seen in associations formed by countries connected by a significant ecology such as trans-boundary

Prof. Zeleza said that globalization could date back to more than **50,000-70,000** years with the start of modern human migration from Africa but modern globalization, marked in three waves, emerged at the start of the 20th century



river basin organizations like the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

Globalization, he said is informed by ideological and theoretical paradigms. Ideologically, he contended that globalization has both its advocates, antagonists and 'ambivalents'. Theoretically, he argued that globalization is analyzed from the points of view of liberalism, marxism, constructivism, post- modernism, feminism and realism among others. He added that globalization is a historical process that entails time space compression as reflected in extensive connections and intensified flows across the world communities, countries and continents. These flows are "the 3Cs" (communication, commodities, and capital), 3Is (ideas, images and identities), 3Ps (people, plans and problems) and the 3Vs (violence, values and viruses).

On phases, Prof. Zeleza said that globalization could date back to more than 50,000-70,000 years with the start of modern human migration from Africa but modern globalization, marked in three waves, emerged at the start of the 20th century. The first wave, he said lasted until 1914. It was characterized by massive growth in world trade, migration, and transport and communication technologies. It came to end with the start of the First World War and the Great Depression. The second wave began after the Second World War. During that time, international trade and travel expanded significantly, and new technologies, regional and global institutions emerged. This phase came to an end with the end of post war boom in the 1970s. The third wave began at the end of the Cold War period in the early 1990s. It marked the onset of digital revolutions and the triumph of neoliberalism.



He said it was marked with rise in world trade and interconnectivity. This phase was slowed down by the great recession of 2008-2009 and now the COVID-19 outbreak. He concluded that globalization is not a new phenomenon neither is it a linear process. Each phase, he held, is characterized by a specific regime and logics of accumulation, technology, governance and institutional arrangement, ideology and identity, social relations and hierarchies, consciousness and mindsets.

On the impact of COVID-19 on nationalism, regionalism and globalism, he warned that all observations thus far are only indicative and not definitive as the pandemic is still unfolding but the following trends are emerging:

- i. COVID-19 and its containment measures have bolstered nationalism and weakened neo-liberalism.
- ii. Realism has made a comeback as the reigning theory of international relations as the role of the state increases while faith on liberal international order which has been dominant since 1980s wanes.
- iii. The global panic created by COVID-19 has heightened nationalism and protectionism as the state attempts to protect its healthcare systems and economies from the effects of the pandemic. He pointed out the following as examples of manifestations of nationalism:

- In Europe, countries reasserted control over the management of borders and internal movement.
- In North America, the USA, Mexico and Canada limited the operations of NAFTA by closing their borders.
- In Asia, while the 10-member regional organization adopted a regional policy its implementation was hampered by lack of national capacities to handle the pandemic and thus containment measures developed by individual states became supreme.
- In Latin America, the low-key response was aggravated by the denialism of Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro.
- In Africa, just like the rest of the world, regional coordination efforts yielded little progress despite several inter-governmental meetings. In East Africa, each country adopted radically different approaches to the virus. In ECOWAS, the responses largely focused on linking the scientific communities in each country while in SADC the emphasis was placed on the procurement of essential medical supplies and equipment. He said, however, that the African Union attempted to be more proactive by coordinating its pandemic mitigation through the African Center for Disease Control by deploying common technological platforms on testing and contact tracing across the continent.

In essence, the objects under attack are globalization as an ideological project of neoliberal capitalism and globalization as an historical process of increasing technological, cultural, economic, political interconnectedness and interdependency

iv. The resurgence of nationalism has intensified the recession of globalization whose antagonists, the right-wing adherents, view as a dangerous undemocratic assault on nationalism while those on the left castigate it as reactionary exploitative and unaccountable perpetrator of social economic inequality in the world and within countries. However, both sides have been united by COVID-19 in their mission to end globalism and reverse the process of globalization. In essence the objects under attack are globalization as an ideological project of neoliberal capitalism and globalization as an historical process of increasing technological, cultural, economic, political interconnectedness and interdependency.

He concluded his remarks by cautioning that it is premature to conclude that globalization has come to an end. Instead, its future will be informed by:

- a) The likely recovery trajectory of global economic collapse.
- b) Changes in supply chains policies.
- c) Hegemonic rivalry between the US and China.
- d) Ongoing technological shifts fast-tracked by the pandemic.
- e) Public opinion on social inequality.

Session 3: **Rising Nationalism in the Wake of COVID-19**

This session was moderated by **Hassan Khannenje, Ph.D.** It featured two panelists: **Nna Emeka Okereke, Ph.D.** and **Patrick Maluki, Ph.D.**

Panelist 1: **Border Restrictions and the Nation State**

Nna Emeka Okereke, Ph.D. started by noting that COVID-19 has significantly transformed the world. He noted that in the absence of a vaccine and with little resources, the African continent has managed the challenge fairly well in contrast to projections by different models. He agreed that the outbreak and the resultant containment measures have dealt a big blow to liberalism while boosting realism. He observed that border closures had been undertaken at three levels:

- i. Intra-country closures: This occurred by restrictions of movement into and out of most affected regions within a country. He cited the examples of lockdowns imposed on Lagos and Abuja cities in Nigeria, Kumasi and Accra in Ghana and Mombasa and Nairobi in Kenya.
- ii. Inter- country border closures: This occurred when neighboring countries restricted movement across their borders except to movement of cargo and critical services.
- iii. Closure of international borders: This was characterized by suspension of flights and ships services at the early stages of outbreak in the continent

Dr. Okereke added that the closure of borders had exposed the fragilities of states, stretched the capacity of governments and raised ethnic and class hostility. This should revive the debate of nation building and development and enhancing governance in Africa.

Panelist 2: **Challenges to Regional Cooperation**

In this session, Dr. Patrick Maluki, focused on the resurgence of nationalism in the wake of COVID-19 and its implications for regional integration agenda in Africa. He said that tensions experienced due to responses to COVID-19 in the EAC region had revealed that the block has not entrenched its motto of the people centered and

Dr. Maluki said that tensions experienced due to responses to COVID-19 in the EAC region had revealed that the block has not entrenched its motto of the people centered and market driven process as elites are still demonstrating nationalistic tendencies



market driven process as elites are still demonstrating nationalistic tendencies. He noted that Africa has very elaborate integration framework that includes:

- The Abuja Treaty of 1991 that called for creation of an African economic community.
- The establishment of the African Union and its agencies in Durban in 2002.
- The adoption of Agenda 2063 and its aspirations.
- The establishment of the African continental Free trade Area in 2019 to promote intra African trade and development.

COVID-19 had exposed the weakness of the African Union Peace and Security Architecture. Citing Alfonso Medinilla, Bruce Byiers and Philomena Apiko (2020) paper: *African Regional Responses to COVID-19* he said the following three factors had informed Africa's response to the pandemic.

- Weak health care systems and shortage of medical equipment.
- The impact of containment measures instituted and managing mobility of people.
- Economic vulnerabilities of states and limited fiscal space.

Dr. Maluki concluded by positing that the responses of African countries were premised on the theory that the international system is anarchical and disorderly and only a states themselves are capable of saving themselves. This is contrary to the neo-liberal thoughts which inform regional integration.



Session 4: Post COVID-19 Africa and Its Place in International Relations

This session was moderated by **Anita Kiamba, Ph.D.** It featured two presentations from **Mumo Nzau, Ph.D.** and **Heba Gamal Eldin, Ph.D.**

Panelist 3: USA-China Power Dynamics in Africa

On United States-China power dynamics in Africa, **Dr. Nzau** began by discussing the relationship matrix that involves China, Africa and the USA. He said the African experience is described by:

- i. Its historical experiences such as slavery, imperialism and the legacies of neo-colonial era.
- ii. Its own post- independence challenges such as the Cold War dynamics, and nation building and governance challenges.
- iii. Its global appeal, access and exploitation potentials either singly as countries or collectively as a continent.

Dr. Nzau added that China and USA have huge spheres of influence that range from military, technological, social-cultural, and economic. The United States, he said, is a dominant world power that has for long enjoyed various spheres of interaction with Africa during the pre-colonial, decolonization, Cold War and post-Cold War intrigues. The Africa-USA relations has, on one



Dr. Nzau contended that power dynamics is about access, control and exploitation latitudes of the ways and means that influence international decisions, structures and processes to the strategic advantage of one state ...

hand, existed for long, and they are either historical, exploitative, mutual or symbiotic. On the other hand, China is a new entrant into Africa matrix but a cumulative gainer from common historical experiences and opportunities that has made her to have strong ties not just with Africa but with the rest of the developing world and beyond. **Dr. Nzau** further argued that currently, both China and the USA want to tap into African markets and resources while on her part Africa is interested in the technology, financial and material resources and markets and investment promises of the two powers. He, however, contended that the advantage is still skewed in favor of these big powers.

In conclusion, **Dr. Nzau** contended that power dynamics is about access, control and exploitation latitudes of the ways and means that influence international decisions, structures and processes to the strategic advantage of one state either militarily, economically, technologically, or social culturally. He added that this definition has not changed, the only change has been the means and the ways that the dynamics play out. He further said that the likely outcome of the ongoing world powers dynamic could either be war, co-optation or a new status quo following a power transition. He called on Africa to capitalize on its collective strength and bargaining power and remain focused on its morals and ideals to gain from the relations with the two countries.



Panelist 4: Future of Globalization

On the future of globalization, **Dr. Heba** argued that countries have put blame on free movement for the fast spread of the disease and thus the rationale for the closure of borders. This, she said, has led to the clash of nationalisms and globalization as states focus on their priorities and national interests while neglecting their global responsibilities, she pointed out has been evident in the apparent reduction of financial support to global institutions. She concluded by saying that the future of globalization will be in doubt due to deterioration of USA power who will fight for their historical sovereignty but with new tools by creating new colonization era.

Dr. Heba argued that countries have put blame to free movement for the fast spread of the disease and thus the rationale for the closure of borders

Conclusion

For Africa, it was clear from the discussion that the continent must reinvent herself through the existing frameworks and fast-track the process of continental integration, and self-reliance to position herself at strategic vantage point in its interaction with the rest of the world in the international system

The conference provided participants an opportunity to deliberate on the rising nationalism and its impact on globalization in the wake of COVID-19. It is notable that critical reflection was given to emerging threats to globalization and multilateralism occasioned by the pandemic such as border closures, heightened power dynamics, declining regional and international cooperation and the likely future of globalization in the post COVID-19 world. It is worth noting that there was a consensus that proponents of neo-liberalism and believers in the existing world order must develop stronger arguments to counter the rising influence of realists if the status quo is to be maintained or bettered.

For Africa, it was clear from the discussion that the continent must reinvent herself through the existing frameworks and fast-track the process of continental integration, and self-reliance to position herself at a strategic vantage point in its interaction with the rest of the world in the international system. Also, the continent is better placed to address the unfolding COVID-19 pandemic and its resultant impact and other challenges jointly as opposed to single state efforts. This, the conference noted the African Union and the regional economic blocks are well positioned to provide leadership by integrating their strategies and visions with individual African states development plans.



Recommendations

1. International cooperation is key to addressing global challenges and as such, the practice should be strengthened and not weakened.
2. African States should shun protectionist policies and embrace collaboration in containing COVID-19 outbreak and its social-economic impact.
3. Scholars and practitioners should develop newer, concrete arguments in support of a neo-liberal international order to remedy its flaws and counter arguments that nationalists have rode on for their own political interests. Further, targeted recommendations will be included in a yet to be published policy brief on the lessons for Africa from COVID-19.

Annex

WEBINAR PROGRAM

JULY 16, 2020 | 02:00PM – 04:30PM | EAT

SESSION 1:	OFFICIAL OPENING
02:00pm – 02:05pm	Welcoming introductory remarks by the Convener; Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo, Ph.D., EBS, MBS , Director, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (KENYA)
02:05pm – 02:15pm	Opening Remarks by Prof. Stephen Kiama Gitahi, Ph.D., B.V.M., MSC., MKNAS , Vice Chancellor, University of Nairobi (KENYA)
02:15pm – 02:20pm	Remarks by Mustafa Y. Ali, Ph.D. , Chairman, HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies (KENYA)
SESSION 2:	GLOBALIZATION AND COVID-19
02:20pm – 02:30pm	Presentation 1: Keynote Speaker: <i>Retreat to Nationalism in the 21st Century Globalization: Lessons for Africa from COVID-19</i> by Prof. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, Ph.D. (KENYA)
02:30pm – 02:40pm	Presentation 2: <i>The Future of Globalization</i> by Prof. Gilbert M. Khadiagala, Ph.D. (SOUTH AFRICA)
02:40pm – 02:55pm	PLENARY SESSION AND Q&A (Moderated by H. Khannenje Ph.D.)
SESSION 3:	INCREASED NATIONALISM IN THE WAKE OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC
02:55pm – 03:05pm	Presentation 3: <i>COVID-19 Border Restrictions and the Nation State</i> by Nna-Emeka Okereke, Ph.D. (NIGERIA)
03:05pm – 03:15pm	Presentation 4: <i>Challenges to Regional Cooperation</i> by Maluki Patrick, Ph.D. (KENYA)
03:15pm – 03:30pm	PLENARY SESSION and Q&A (Moderated by A. Kaimba, Ph.D.)

SESSION 4: POST-COVID-19 AFRICA AND ITS PLACE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- 03:30pm – 03:40pm **Presentation 5:** *US-China Power Dynamics in Africa* by **Mumo Nzau, Ph.D.** (KENYA)
- 03:40pm – 03:50pm **Presentation 6:** *Africa in the 'New' World* by **Prof. Heba Gamal Eldin, Ph.D.** (EGYPT)
- 03:50pm – 04:05pm **PLENARY SESSION AND Q&A** (Moderated by H. Khannenje Ph.D.)
- 04:05pm – 04:15pm **RECAP** and Closing Remarks by **Hassan Khannenje, Ph.D.**



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