

AFRICA

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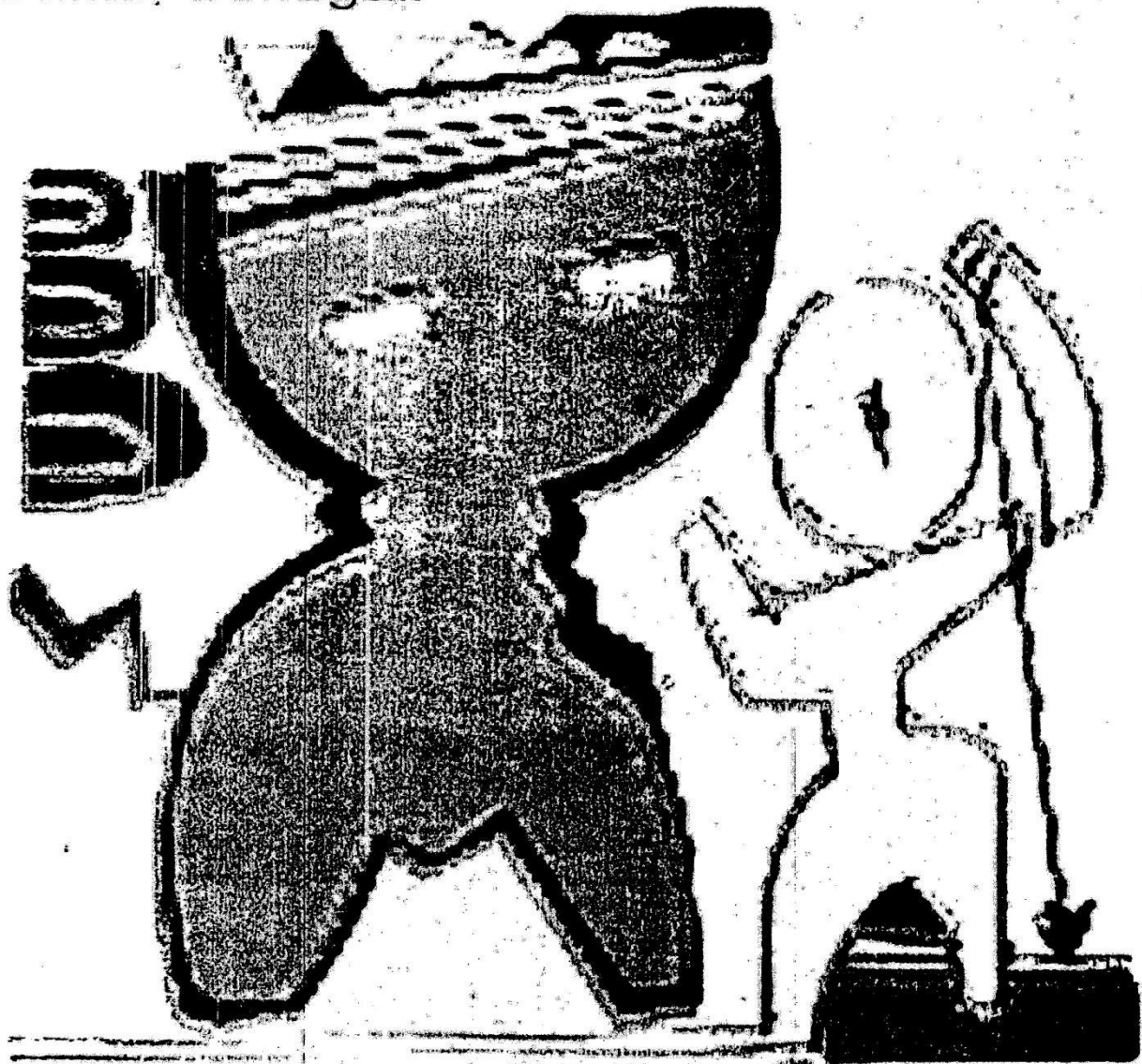
AFRIQUE ET

DEVELOPPEMENT

VOLUME XXVIII NO. VIII OCT, NOV, DEC 2007

ISSN 0850 - 3907

A Bilingual Journal Series of CODESRIA
Dakar, Senegal.



Publie Par: Presse Universite Cheikh Antar Diop
Dakar - Senegal.

AFRICA DEVELOPMENT
AFRIQUE ET DEVELOPEMENT

**Globalization as a Euphemism of
African re-colonization**

BY

**PETER A. ESSOH
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF UYO – NIGERIA.**

AND

**UKWAYI JOSEPH K.
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF CALABAR
NIGERIA.**

ABSTRACT

This paper perceives globalization as one of the most pervasive phenomena challenging policy makers, economics and politics of Africa (and developing nations) in the contemporary era. While the adverse effects of globalization have been in effect for about five centuries, the scramble for and sharing of Africa by western powers at the Berlin Conference was the highest point of its rather subtle operation. A review of the phenomenal concept encompasses multidimensional issues including de-ideologisation after the collapse of the defunct socialist and communist development around the world, emergence of the World Trade Organization (WTO), General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and related institutional allies, multinational corporations and the technological and economical instruments for driving the process. It is argued that globalization is a mere renaming and transformation of the historical process of exploitation of the Third World, which occurred in political form as colonialism, but has changed into the economic forms: with support from WTO, GATT and regional political blocs (G8). It is shown that the effect of globalization on Africa has been declines in economic, political and social spheres. The efforts of Africa to counteract the adverse consequences of globalization (such as the Lagos Plan of Action and the African Union's New Partnership for African Development) are analyzed and shown to be yet unrealized. It is concluded that far from resolving the prolonged and near-chronic poverty of Africa and less Developed Countries (LDCs), globalization has aggravated the scourge of underdevelopment but simultaneously consolidated economic and political growth of western industrialized nations. Therefore, the need to pursue measures capable of surmounting adverse effects of globalization is urgent and imperative.

INTRODUCTION

The fragmentalization of Africa was one of the basic decisions of Berlin Conference of November 1884 – February 1885. This set the tone for scrambling for and control of Africa and other developing countries through the imperialist powers of the USA and Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium etc. This set the tone also for the formal colonization of countries of Africa which need no restatement in this document.

Unfortunately, scholarly revelations have had to bear its search light on economic activities of African states despite the political independence signified by the hoisting of indigenous flags. This new form of relationship is formed around the world economic order – Capitalism which is subverting most African countries to suffer though, in silence in the face of new forms of colonization or neo-colonisation. The existence of the trained indigenous comprados have assisted Africans to ignore in more entirely African personality and traditional intrigues to eat the crumbs from the world economic order.

In precise terms, one is referring to the process of Globalisation. Globalisation promotes interdependence and competitiveness which have characterized historical developments in global economy that has come to produce, characterize and dominate intellectual discourse. Indeed, due to its varying dimension, ideas, projections and ramification, globalization has been elevated to the centre of international intellectual discourse.

As noted by Okolie (2003: 262) "Globalisation is materialist in content, substance and projections, that throughout recorded history, man has been preoccupied with exploring, appropriating and maximizing the gains therein in global economy. "Throughout production and exchange relations, man has been reaping the gains derivable from interdependence. However, as further argued by Okolie, what gave impetus to the seemingly current surge of trade, investment and financial integration are largely the advancement or revolution in technology and communication; as well as the disintegration of the Soviet Union and indeed the crumbling of the hitherto monolithic socialist block. The later factor is indeed favourably argued to be responsible for enhanced de-ideologization of the international political economy and subsequently vitiated bipolarity and enthroned the seeming dominance of capitalist economy. This confirms the argument posited by Khur (2000) that:

Economic globalization is not a new process, for over the past five centuries firms in economically advanced countries have increasingly extended their outreach through trade and production activities (intensified in the colonial period to territories over the world).

Furthermore, the overall interest of globalization in the Post Colonial era seeks to remove all national and cultural barriers to the free movement of international capital, and to secure for it privileged treatment within the economic domain of every country (Khur 1998:2).

The surveyors of contemporary globalization include: Transnational Corporations (TNCs), International Finance Institutions (IFIs), and government of the industrialised capitalist countries. The motive behind these surveyors conceived globalization as "a process of freeing economies, particularly so that trade between countries can take place more easily".

Accordingly, their views further hold that, globalization is a natural and inevitable part of historical change which will tendentiously increase wealth and prosperity for all countries and peoples, and subsequently enhance world economy.

Howbeit, some Afro-centric scholars in line with scholars from other developing economies, are of the opinion that the reformed Bretton Wood's Institutions, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the G8, is rather reproducing negative consequences on the development efforts of peripheral capitalist economies located mostly in the LDCs of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

To be specific, these scholars concentrated on the three general policy measures of globalization viz Privatization, deregulation and trade and financial liberalization which have further left developing economies prostrate and in the those or verge of precipice. Today real income for most African and indeed Nigerians is lower than they were three decades ago; health prospects are poorer and human poverty index is gaining more elastic nature. Like the Khur (1998) argument, this assertion is equally verifiable and as noted by Okolie (opcit), begs from dispassionate systematic evaluation.

In this brief scholarly excursion, we shall attempt to bring to the fore the salient facts and projections of globalization with focus on determining the extent to which Africa's development Agenda is promoted. That is, Globalisation as a Euphemism of African Re-colonization.

GLOBALIZATION DEFINED

Globalization is the term used to describe the growing worldwide interdependence of people and countries. This process has accelerated dramatically in the past decade or so, largely because of huge advances in technology. This period witnessed the disappearance of the divisive blocs of the Cold War. Trade barriers have come down, the world's major financial markets have been integrating and traveling has been cheaper and easier. This growing worldwide integration which has "webbed" the world into a global village has produced a whole series of consequences – economic, cultural and environmental. Unfortunately, some of these consequences can be negative. According to the United Nations Human Development Report 1999, "people's lives around the globe are linked more deeply, more intensely, more immediately than ever before. This opens more opportunities, giving new power to good and bad. Like many human achievements, globalization has both an upside and downside", noted the report.

In December, 1999 the meeting of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) held in Seattle, U.S.A, was interrupted by a riot. Infact, police used teargas, rubber bullets and pepper spray to restore order. Finally, they arrested hundreds of protesters. The report stated that what provoked the so-called "battle of Seattle" was a whole litany of concern of job security, the environment and social injustice. However to put it simply the demonstrators feared globalization – its negative effect on people and on the planet.

Not everyone of course, sees globalization as a threat. While some condemn it as the mother of world's ills, others hail it as the panacea for most of the world's problems. True, this ongoing debate may seem irrelevant to the majority of mankind, many of whom have only a hazy idea of what globalization is all about. These arguments have created two seemingly exclusive groups in terms of their appreciation, understanding and paradigmatic orientations on the subject. The views of the Western School is premised on globalization in terms of a natural and inevitable part of history which has the potency of increasing global wealth and enhancing the development of world economies. On the other hand, a few scholars from the developing economies fundamentally posit that globalization is like a smokescreen for a more rapacious and unabashed capitalist exploitation.

According to Ibeanu (1998), "Globalisation is a paradigm that is different from the old ones on modernization, underdevelopment and dependency. It encompasses and overlaps various usages like, world society, interdependence, centralizing tendencies, world system, universalism,

internationalism etc.” He notes further that the term globalization has been given three different interpretations. These are the Universalist, integrationist and constructionist interpretations. In the Universalist interpretation, globalization signifies phenomena, characteristics, events and problems that are universally present or are becoming so. This, according to Aina (1996) is a meaning of visibility, immediacy and worldwide presence of at least presence in important global centres. The integrationist meaning portrays globalization as a cross-national phenomenon propelling different parts of the world into an identical outlook and culture. Finally the constructionist meaning of globalization sees it as an order and constructionist notion.

Globalisation is a process and reflects attempts to integrate the world's social, economic, political and cultural values. It basically seeks to integrate national economies through trade and financial interaction. Therefore, contemporary globalization aims at removing or weakening territorial and jurisdictional boundaries and barriers of individual states as steps towards establishing a world free market economy and a world open political system in which all nations would participate and operate along sets of rules and conventions. This considered, one sees globalization in a more embracing way as “a rapid internationalization of capital through the adoption of free enterprise economic system and the concomitant spread of liberal democracy as the main political fountain of capitalism on a global scale”.

Globalisation remains a complex and dynamic process and has been analysed from various perspectives. According to the UNDP, Globalisation is a process integrating not just economy, but culture, technology and governance. But the basic and of course underlying element of it is the economic dimension. The concept of globalization ordinary suggests a shift in the spatial form and extent of human organisation and interaction to a transnational or inter-regional level.

In the words of such notables as Mittleman 1993 and others, globalization is conceived as a compression of time – space relations in which there exists transnational networks involving world factories, labour flows, lending facilities, communications, new knowledge, information technologies and cultural norms bridging the boundaries of territorial state with increasing rapidity this informs the fact that economic globalization therefore denotes the widening and intensification of international linkages and interactions in trade, investments and economic policy orientation in the world as noted by (Adejumobi 2002; World Bank 1996; Rosenau 1997). As noted by Adejunobi, (1993), globalization connotes the internationalization of production, capital

and marketing in which the world is integrated into a global factory, global money market and global shopping centre.”

Scholars have identified three basic issues that have arisen in the discourse on globalization; firstly, it focuses on the catalysts or agency of the globalization process. Secondly, it has to do with whether there is anything new about the current process as different from the whole trajectory of capitalist development. That is, is globalization not a new euphemism for internalization, Universalism and Worldism, which trajects in the history of capitalist development? Thirdly, globalization centres on the spatial trade-offs and payoffs of globalization, that is, who suffers the loss and who wins in the process, and to what extent has the process created the world from the wealth of nations?; to the wealth of the world?

Using the first as a point of departure, there exists various complex variables that have facilitated the process of economic globalization which are – collapse of the former Socialist States. In most parts of the world, this intensified the hegemony of liberal capitalist ideology with far-reaching economic policy outlook and orientation. The second is premised upon the unprecedented activities of Multinational Corporations (MNCs), with intimidating phenomena of mergers, acquisitions and interlocking relationships which have affected gradual transformation of global economy. It is indeed an established fact, MNCs control a large share of global trade, production and investment in the world. The third agency of globalization process is the revolution of information technology, which have reduced the world to a global village, and global market place, where ideas, goods and services are fastly and swiftly traded. These circumstances therefore account for the deconstruction of national barriers, facilitating unprecedented financial transactions, currency flow/trading as well as deconstructing the organisation and knowledge base of society. Adejumbi (1993) notes that, the fourth agency of globalization is the rise of market reforms as a global economic creed grounded in a neoliberal ideology. Indeed, this market fundamentalism has become the standard policy framework and economic philosophy, which many nations are linked together and which give the basic definition of the configuration of domestic and international economic policies.

The second issue in the discourse of globalization centres on the original or the whole process. Against the heated debate on what globalization is and what it is not and besides the sectional belief on only a generic form of capitalism, and does not represent anything new; what is perhaps new is the

ideological mystification of the process. Scholars such as Wood (1997) and Held et al (1999) posit that global capitalist system has always been an integrated whole of which neither its structure, organisation nor function has been altered. Their submission is that globalisation is only a phase in the trajectory of capitalist development. This view countered by the trio of Silvandan (1997), Giddens (1997) and Rosenau (1997) is that though capitalist development is a phase in globalization, it brought about qualitative changes in the development of the forces and mode of production, which in turn have induced significant changes in the social relations of production. More so, this phase witnessed the role of national governments as having been drastically reduced in the promulgation of rules of global governance and where financial markets, corporate strategies and consumption patterns have taken a global dimension in an unprecedented level.

According to the UNDP report earlier cited, globalization is not considered to be a new phenomenon, rather it identifies four areas where the process is different.

The areas are:

- i. New Markets – foreign exchange and capital markets are linked globally operating 24 hours a day where dealings at a distance are done in real time.
- ii. New tools – Internet links, cellular phones, media networks
- iii. New Actors – World Trade Organisation (WTO), with authority over national governments; MNCs, with more economic powers than many states and the global network of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and other groups that transcend national boundaries.
- iv. New rules – Multilateral agreements on trade, services and intellectual property backed by strong enforcement mechanism and more binding for national governments and reducing the scope for national policy.
- v. Thirdly, the issue of discourse on globalization is about the spatial pay off and trade-off of the process. Against the arguments, the benefits of globalization which include providing a basis for increased wealth, production, standard of living and ultimately social welfare of the people of the world, the reality, however, is that the process of globalization neither offers a level playing ground for all actors nor radiate its gains on a global scale.

AFRICANS AND GLOBALISATION: GATT/WTO EXPERIENCE

Claude Ake (1981) and Bade Onimode (1983) in their discourses note that the post colonial state of Africa have been wallowing from one development fad to another in order to meet up with the dictates of global political cum economic interests. Unfortunately, arguments hold sway as scholarly measurements show the levels of spatial inequality, in income and wealth concentration and social injustice which have continued to deepen under the spell of globalization. Africa is the worst hit by the deepening crisis of survival under the glory of globalization. According to World Bank Report (2000: 7-11), "Africa has a per capital income averaging \$315 in 1997 more than 40% of its 600 million people live below poverty line of \$1 per day. In many countries, 200 out of every 1000 children die before age 5, and more than 250 million people have no access to health services. Therefore, Africa represents the poorest of the poor, for which globalization has not served as a link to its development. Indeed, globalization stands for capitalist enterprise that feeds on exploitation and domination, and generates spatial contradictions of wealth and poverty; affluence and squalor, development and its antithesis of underdevelopment.

As noted by Onimode (2000:162) "the major planks of economic globalization are international trade. International trade is not only germane to global specialization, but also increased competition, imposes efficiency on local firms, boost world productivity and increases wealth creation on a global scale". This informs the compelling argument for free trade at the global level. From the idea of David Richard's emphasis on logic of comparative advantage as a cornerstone of free trade at the international level, the Liberal International trade theory is upheld.

As the case may be, maximizing these benefits of international trade depends on nation's specialization on production of goods and services which they have comparative lower costs, and relative expertise to produce. This adversely affects the price of such goods and services at the international market. To this end, Africa's marginal role in the international capitalist system is influenced and reinforced by this ideology of neo-liberalism. Africa's balance of payment and debt problem for the past 20 decades had been alarming while they continue to record this dismal performance on trade and economic development. It is a known fact that the triad of United States, European Union (EU) and Japan are consolidating their grip on global economy. These triad control over 80% of the World Trade. It is obvious to note the regulations such as General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

(GATT), World Trade Organisation (WTO), World Bank and IMF which represent the outcome of inter-war dialogue on the shape of the Post-World War economy which took place between British and American governments, provided driving force, rules and regime of incentive for free trade at the global level. But GATT has, however not presided over a totally free trade regime. The interest of GATT at any point in time, determines where the pendulum of free trade would swing.

This issue of trade liberalization under GATT is uneven nature of the process. That is their effectiveness is limited to trade in manufactured products. In this area, GATT has been quite successful in maintaining the commitment of the leading Western Countries to the system of embedded liberalism by skewing the benefits of trade liberalism in their favour. It is important to note according to Williams (1991:151) that the range of manufactured products that have benefited from trade liberation are products produced in the Advanced Industrialised Countries (AICs). The developing countries which include Africans are always fighting for the inclusion of some issues that affect their interests. This also has led to the conflict between the advanced and developing countries over services and high technology industries that have become intense. Infact, the LDCs are lumped as Primary Product Producers which called for the emergence of the G77 and later the North-South Dialogue. And of course the current South-South Co-operation discussions among the LDCs.

The United States and other developed countries believe that it is impossible for the developing countries to demand greater access to northern markets for their increasing output of manufactured goods unless they are willing to reciprocate by opening their own markets to the service and high-tech industries of the advanced countries. This argument according to Gilpin (1987:201) remains that the LDCs would continually queue behind and depend upon the more advanced economies in the expanding high technology industries.

In the area of Trade Related aspect of Intellectual Property Right (TRIPs), the policies of international trade is therefore, a politics of denial of development for developing countries. This is all about the monopoly rights to invention and technology, which is detrimental to the interest of the developing countries. Whereas an attempt of the globalised economy in the area of Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIM) is providing a safe heaven for western investments wherever they may be with favourable domestic conditions for them to prosper. Moreso, local laws on investments

are being subordinated, to allow a free reign to western capital outflow by developing countries. The formation of WTO in 1995 to take over from GATT did not make any difference to developing countries. All these formed the basis of Uruguay Rounds of Negotiations (URN). According to Bade Onimode (2000:199), the Uruguay Round Table has ushered in a new international division of labour, and a process of de facto recolonization of the developing countries more so our own Africa.

This, according to Amin, (1998:28-29), has been a marked hostility towards the 3rd World Countries. The true objective of the Uruguay Rounds is to block the competitiveness of the industrialized 3WCs, even at the expense of "holy" principles of liberalism, and thus to enforce the five monopolies of the dominant centres. In this area, as in every other time, the double standard prevails.

Howbeit, most developing countries, especially Africa, played and still play marginal roles in the activities of GATT and also currently of WTO. These African countries are mostly sidelined, as issues pertaining their economic interest are rarely put up for discussion and negotiation. As noted by scholars, the urgency of economic development which forms the primary goal of those countries is of little relevance to those organizations neither is the imperative of securing a meaningful share of World Trade, especially for the poor countries. The decision-making mechanisms of GATT/WTO are skewed in favour of developed countries that have voting power and control of those organizations. The developed countries play the politics and shift the rules in both GATT/WTO; talks of free trade when it is convenient but plays the card of protectionism in the name of regional integration. The perception therefore is that GATT/WTO is a club of the rich, one of the mechanisms for perpetual imperialism and a serious conduit for the recolonisation of LCDs especially those in Africa. This philosophy perhaps explains the ease with which the US gets in and out of Somalia, Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan – more so its South-Darfur currently in conflict with its centre, Liberia taking on Charles Taylor and the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria (NDR) over all oil and in combat with youths seeking development reforms to their advantage.

One can unequivocally state that the interface between GATT/WTO and globalization is that they are predicated on the same ideology of neo-liberal free trade of capitalist expansionism. An open-door trade policy, in which trade barriers are dismantled, national borders are deconstructed and capital, goods and services are allowed unfettered access in the global economy. As an agency of globalization, GATT/WTO also creates structural

inequalities and imbalances in the global economy. The agency further reinforces the spatial dialectical twist of development and underdevelopment; affluence and poverty, accumulation and mistery between the developed and underdeveloped parts of the world mostly Africans – hence leaving the African leadership cap in hand in search for development partners as portrayed in NEPAD (New Partners for African Development).

AFRICANS AND GLOBALISATION: THE WAY FORWARD

Africa is seen as the most embattled continent on mother earth, dramatizing all the indices of socio-economic decline. This sad predicament is not as a result of lack of ideas or efforts from the African people and its leadership on how to halt the drift and initiate sustainable development in the continent. African leaders and scholars have articulated various ideas, proposals and numerous blue prints developed on the path to economic development in the continent – Africa. The post-independence African idea of continental unity set the tone for a collective effort towards lifting the continent out of economic morass to sustainable development. Besides this lofty idea of unity championed by Kwame Nkrumah, one of Africa's most outstanding leaders in the 1950s and 1960s whose reign as President of Ghana made great strides towards continental unity. Another major step taken by African leader in order to settle the face-off with underdevelopment was the economic blueprint of the Lagos Plan of Action for Economic Development of Africa (1980-2000) and Final Act of Lagos 1980. Indeed, the Lagos Plan of Action came up with the goals of self-RELIANCE and Self Sustaining Development based on the creation of integrated and dynamic national, sub-regional and regional markets as typified in Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), East African Community (EAC), etc. Though this plan sought for the adoption of inward (local) content or pattern of development strategy, how successful was the plan?

The plan, from all indications, is described by scholars as Africa's economic Magna Carta. This according to Adedeji (1985:9) marked the first time in the history of the continent and, for that matter, of the entire international community that 50 independent states, which differ markedly in their levels of economic development, in their political ideologies, adopted a common development strategy. This plan is also regarded by Professor Adedeji as African's regional approach to economic decolonization of the continent. This is because it provides a long term basic for its social cum economic restructuring and development.

The lofty dream of the LPA (Lagos Plan of Action) was hindered by international economic politics. The fact that state control of national resources was promoted by Africa's strategy, the west were quite uncomfortable because the plan repudiates the whole logic of liberal economic theory about efficacy of international trade and external markets.

Another hinderance to the LPA was the festering economic crises in Africa during the 1980s and 1990s. The period witnessed most African countries struggling with economic crisis of debt burden, serious trade deficits, rising unemployment, industrial collapse and social unrests. They had no best alternative rather than take to the available choice of International Financial Institution (IFI) of the World Bank and the IMF for financial support. The IFI conditionalities were parallel to the goals of LPA. SAP was adopted as the best option where dependency was increased through trade liberation and externally oriented development strategy. Indeed, these two decades (1980-2000) were referred to as decades of economics failure for Africa.

The future of Africa to cope with world challenges is anchored on the African Union (AU) which came into effect in July, 2002 and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) which came into effect in 2001 inspired by the duo of Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Tom Mbgeki of South Africa. Indeed, NEPAD has been the second major attempt by African leaders, after the failure of the Lagos Plan to Action, to muster a collective will to engineer economic development in Africa. With the adoption, the long term major objective by African leaders of NEPAD is distinct from every other Development Plans because African leaders seem to be more committed politically to the NEPAD project. There exists a monitoring mechanism, the new set of Africans who give direction to the project are democrats and the emphasis of NEPAD is not only on mere economism, but also on politics, issues of good governance, peace, unity, security and continental stability. As noted by Nyongo (2002: 5-6), NEPAD represents a major political breakthrough in search for Africa's development. He states further that

... The political issues, which NEPAD seeks to confront, have never been done so frontally by any other indigenous document. Issues of democracy, good governance, peace and security, which NEPAD not only touches upon but also seeks to set up institutional mechanism to achieve, are highly commendable."

It is a truism that economic development can only take place if political authoritarianism is deconstructed or mellowed down. This makes Nyong'o cited above suggest two alternative means of escaping the recolonization strategy of the West on Africa. According to the world constraints of the world economic system which NEPAD documents is fully conscious of, which places potential for Africa's development, he openly admits engagement into the system as the only realistic way out, also suggests partnership rather than dependence and subservience as the mode of this engagement. Another area of strength noted by Nyong'o is the fact that NEPAD documents do not celebrate victimhood or the role of the West in Africa's underdevelopment. This of course might have been avoided as possible causes of unnecessary self-pity.

Critically, NEPAD talks about debt relief strategies in line with the World Bank initiative of debt relief for highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) but minimum required is Debt Forgiveness. This is because the over delaying of the debt is a serious problem to Africa's development and most African countries do not have the capacity to repay those debts. This explains, in part, why Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala as Nigeria's Finance Minister, with her experience from the IMF as staff, had to do all within her very capable power to obtain exit and relief for Nigeria in Nigeria's debt burden to the West – mostly G8 that form the bulk of membership in the PARIS and LONDON CLUBS.

NEPAD has heavy reliance on foreign to achieve its aim. Information at our disposal holds that about \$64 billion annually is required by NEPAD so as to achieve 7% growth rate in Africa's economy, the bulk of which is to be sourced from outside the continent. Should this be so, is Globalisation as embraced by the peoples and leadership in Africa not a sure channel of African recolonisation – from whatever perspective one considers?

CONCLUSION

Our submissions from studies of Globalisation and Africa's peripheral participation in it is that it has been noted that Africa is the worst by the deepening crisis of survival under the phenomenon called globalization. It can also be deduced that the structure of capitalism under globalization, which has gotten more sophisticated and penetrating, makes global exploitation and domination less arduous, but more profound. In the telling terms of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) (2000:2) –

Globalisation is splintering many societies and doing little to eradicate poverty. Grudgingly, the International Finance Institutions have conceded that the neo-liberal model has harmful consequences. But they prefer to mask the damage rather than to shift to more humane – and more productive forms of development.

African countries are facing the dwindling share of World trade and plundered resources by external actors, especially of war torn countries, such as Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Liberia, Sierra Leone etc. where war merchants are making a fortune out of the misery of Africa at the depth of economic and political despair and frustration. This has indeed played down the integrity of Africanism and of Senghor's Negritude. There is no more self confidence and African ability. Howbeit, the responsibility for Africa's development lies primary with African's most outstanding Statesmen – Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as Nigeria's President and immediate past Chairman of AU (i.e African Union) – for development partners across ideological divides.

It is of truth that the wave of current global development and ideology and interest of the dominant powers have largely influenced the new development thought of Africa. The fact that global market is an arena of power and political struggles, where dominant forces call the shots, Africans must look inward and develop strategies for expanding domestic and regional market as she is currently striving in its bid for a South-Sough Co-operation – spearheaded by Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo, South Africa's Tom Mgbeki and the Brazillian Leader.

They should promote intra-African trade of developing factors inputs as well as encouraging local industrialization and role for the state in the economy and social sectors so as to promote economic development in Africa.

NEPAD must incorporate in its document the reality of nationalist approach by placing the challenges of African development and de-colonization as a result of globalization on the shoulders of Africans who look inward for African contents in culture, politics, economy and world view.

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