



## Neocolonialism and Imperial Dominance of the Post-Colonial African States

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**Abstract.** The study examines the impact of imperial dominance on the socio-economic development of the Post-colonial African States. There is a core search to the argument that globalizing the world with developing countries, has grossly embedded a horizontal gap among the nation states. The consequences of these interactions and impacts, have incredibly premised such dominant structures on the continent as they are examined to be colonial legacies. These apparently, control a state of international dependency and a culture of corruption within the new states. Imperialism and neocolonialism, created a structurally weak nations in Africa and beyond. Having incessantly exploited the indigenous populations. The political aspects of the menace, have deeply asphyxiating as these weak political structures which were created by the western imperialist nations, received political and socio-economic functions at Independence, which they are not developed enough to handle. Subsequently, after Europe was through by under-developing the continent of Africa, it simply left. No measures were taken to help Africans migrated to self-governance or to be better organized. This of course, was argued that Africa was not prepared for a modern economy that would benefit from industrialization and it consequently plunged the Post-colonial African States into a primarily subsistence farming economy. Hence, the state of economy and socio-cultural values of African States as at the time were not properly structured to govern as this resulted the continent into poverty and civil war. At the end of the Second World War, Europe's two major and remaining colonial powers (French and British) found that they could no longer rule their African colonies as before. For reasons mostly economic but also geopolitical and nationalistic, they were not willing to give them up entirely. Thus, sought mechanisms to maintain control of Africa as the

second wave of colonial rule. Therefore, came in form of 'neocolonialism and imperialism' as these imply the external control and dominance of economic, political, technological, educational and military strength of the continent with respect to a globalizing paradigm.

**Keywords:** Globalization, Imperialism, Neocolonialism, Post-colonial African States, International Dependency

### 1. Introduction

A.G Frank (2008) argues that third world nations particularly those in Africa are underdeveloped today, not because of the incorporation of their economies into the global capitalist system but because of "how" their economies were incorporated. Imperialism and neocolonialism disarticulated and monetized the Post-colonial African economies and made them to be part of the global capitalist economy at a subjugated position. From the out-set, African economies were designed to produce mainly primary commodities or raw materials to service the industries in the Metropolis. The Metropolis or advanced capitalist economies were designed to produce finished goods that are marketable both in the periphery and in the core or center.

The British Sociologist, Anthony Giddens (1991) defines "Globalization as the change of the world wide economy which leads to international transactions". It is a process that makes markets and production of different countries dependent on each other. Globalization is often connected with the advantages of cultural assimilation, economic growth and room for free development. It also involves political components like denationalization,

departmentalization of foreign policy and loss of sovereignty. (Engel, p: 91)

The international regulations guiding the exchange of the raw materials from the periphery and the finished goods from the core are often formulated and executed by the advanced capitalist nations to their advantage, but to the detriment of the Post-colonial African states and other third world countries. The advanced capitalist nations deploy their exalted position in the global economic system to fix the prices of both primary commodities and finished products even though they claim that such prices are not fixed by any country, but rather by the invisible forces of demand and supply which guide market economy. Prevailing realities have revealed that the so-called invisible market forces are very visible and are often manipulated by the advanced capitalist nations using their high influence in global institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO).

International trade is essential to African countries because having been integrated into the global capitalist order, the trade system has become the major source of external revenue with which they could pursue development. However, the problem with global trade is that it is tilted in favour of the industrialized nations. The terms of trade and payment system are always unfavorable to the third world countries particularly the postcolonial African states. The forceful and unjust incorporation of the African economies into the international capitalist economic system at a position in which they produce what they do not consume (cash crops often exported to the industrialized countries as raw materials), and they consume what they do not produce (finished goods such as cars, tea, electronics, information communication technology (ICT) etc. has continued to make Africa vulnerable to this open exploitation in disguise, by globalizing the world including, Postcolonial African States through “imperial prowess” by which the advanced capitalist nations buy raw materials at cheap prices and process them into industrial goods which they sell back to Africa at exorbitant prices. They use their privileged positions in global affairs with the connivance of some African comprador bourgeoisie who could be best described as unpatriotic mercantilists to fix both the prices of raw materials and that of finished goods.

The Radical School of thought views globalization as the universalization of capitalism through international economic policies with the aim of deepening the incorporation and dependency of the peripheral states on the developed capitalist nations. “Globalization has come with new alliances that are

purely economic and ideological...the forces that control the globalization process are capitalist with an agenda of promoting economic liberalization and enthroning capitalism on the world stage as the global ideology” (Babawale, 2007). For critics of globalization, it is a well calculated strategy by the North to expand the operations of their Multinational Corporations for profit maximization using the Information and Communication Technology (ICT). This however exploits and impoverishes more the already underdeveloped countries of the world, including the Postcolonial African States. Based on this very fact, they regard globalization as the highest stage of imperialism since it subjugates and controls the third world and Postcolonial African States’ wealth by the West.

Scholastic research had shown and perhaps justified the claim that there is a wide gap between the developed economies of the western countries and the developing economies of the Third World countries in terms of economic development. Hence research revealed that the casual theoretical underpin of globalization is the irrelevant of national sovereignty and national boundaries in terms of world market, and trade in respect to denationalization of capital flows. This theory takes for granted that all nations assumed to be equal including the poor countries to equally benefit as the developed ones, irrespective of their contributions to international trade from the income growth that will arise from such a conjecture.

Post-colonial African States obviously, do not have huge capital to invest into the international organizations. Thus, they need suppliers, which are usually the Western industrialized nations.

Following this conspicuous reason of economic dependency and financial supports receiving from the developed nations, the countries apparently become alienated. Hence, the strict regulations are often imposed on these nations, especially on agriculture through subsidies and import restrictions. And this obviously gives them lesser opportunities and benefits in the international or global economic relations. However, we shall be emphasizing economic and political globalization because their interplay constitutes the subject matter of this research.

## 2. Imperialism and Neocolonialism

Imperialism, according to Galthung (2010) in his book, structural theory of imperialism, is a relationship between a centre (advanced country) and a periphery (third world) nation so that:

1. There is harmony of interest between the center in the center nation and the center in the periphery nation.
2. There is more disharmony of interest within the periphery nation than within the center nations.
3. There is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the center nation and the periphery in the periphery nation.

From the above, it could be seen that the center nation has a bridgehead in the periphery nation. This is established such that the periphery center is tied to the centre with the best possible tie; the tie of harmony of interest, they are linked so that transmission belt (e.g. as commercial firms, trading companies) for value (e.g. raw materials) forwarded to the center nation. The value enters the center in the center, with some of it drizzling down to the periphery in the center. Importantly, there is less disharmony of interest in the center than in the periphery, so that the total arrangement is largely in the interest of the periphery in the center. Within the center, the two parties may be opposed to each other. But in the total game, the periphery see themselves more as the portion of the periphery in the periphery and this is the essential trick of that game. Alliance formation between the two peripheries is avoided, while the center nation becomes more and the periphery nation less cohesive and hence less able to develop long term strategies.

As observed above, it could be seen that there is an obvious case of inequality between the nations, and even within the nation. Political and economic events in third world countries (periphery) are directly related to events in the first world countries or capitalist countries (centre). However, the flow of power and control is from the first world (center or core) to the third world (periphery). Political and economic events in the first world have a huge impact on the politics and economics of third world countries, but third world political and economic events usually have little impact on the first world.

Lenin highlighted the main features of imperialism in his book titled "Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism" as follows:

- a. The concentration of production and capital has developed in such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.
- b. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital; or a financial oligarchy".
- c. The export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities, acquires exceptional importance.

- d. The formation of international monopolist capital associations which share the world among themselves, and
- e. The territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed (Lenin, 1978).

From the above, capitalists in their control of the banks, are placed to allocate money and determine interests. The bank thus becomes a great lender for financing industries. The accumulated finance capital is used by capitalists for investments in other areas of the world, and arising herewith is competition among industrialists. Lenin was of the view that there will be an increase in monopoly in modern capitalism and the capitalist banks shall have a control over the industries. The term imperialism draws attention to the way one country exercises power over another whether through settlement, sovereignty, or indirect mechanism of control" as in the case of British colonization of Nigeria. - Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy "Colonialism" (2017)

Nkrumah stressed in his theory of "Neo-colonialism, the highest stage of imperialism" that African or third world countries are however, economically dependent on external powers who in turn dictate or influence their political policies. Most of these former colonies do not only have to rely on the power (advanced country) for financial aids alone but also for their defense and security. Neocolonialism- to Nkrumah is the most advanced stage of imperialism. The essence of Neocolonialism is that the state which is subject to it, is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and its political policy is directed from outside (Nkrumah, 1974).

Neo-colonialism is the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress. The temporary success of this policy (Neo- colonialism) can be seen in the ever-widening gap between the richer and poorer nations of the world. It is based upon the principle of breaking up former larger united colonial territories into a number of small non-viable states which are incapable of independent development and must rely upon the former imperial power for defense and even internal security. Their economic and financial systems are liked, as in colonial days, without those of the former colonial ruler bourgeoisie-class which Nkrumah categorized into:

- The bureaucratic bourgeoisie who are agents of foreign firms, diplomatic missions, etc. in the public service.

- The coercive officer corps who are within the military and the police that end to uphold neo-colonialist interests.
- Commercial bourgeoisie who accept politics as the struggle to protect private property. The African bourgeoisie class III general strives to protect their class interests at the expense of the working masses - the proletariat (Nkrumah, 1974).

The downtrodden, in Nkrumah's view, are the industrial proletariats who live in urban centre and the peasants who dwell in rural areas. He contends that the class war in Africa was on as the bourgeois class has executed reactionary coups against progressive government. The way forward is the proletariat revolution against capitalism (Nkrumah, 1974).

### 3. Economic Globalization

Economic globalization has not only sustained virtually all the changes between and within nations that imperialism and neo-colonialism engendered, but it has also been generating new issues of its own. Issues of inequality, social and global stratification, environmental pollution, diseases, international crime, terrorism, population, migration and unemployment has come to be regarded more and more as matters of concern to the international community than national governments.

Economic globalization refers to the enmeshment of societies of the world in a common trading, marketing, production and financial system. While technological development and innovations create the basis and infrastructure for economic development, it is as a result of concrete economic processes such as trade that the societies of the world are being drawn into one global system. Trade is the chief economic process that is promoting globalization. Trade has been a major agent of globalization because it is a key mechanism for moving goods and services and interestingly transfers of technology around the world.

Commercial exchange of goods and services goes back to time out of memory, when humans began to produce more than they needed for their sustenance. However, this was for a long time localized. Trading between societies did not really get underway until a few centuries ago. This was due to several constraints especially the low level of technology which terms do not portend any prospect for global competition and technological development.

Justifying the above analysis, is the low standard of living that has the following characteristic which include abject poverty, low life expectancy, misery

squalor, disease and deprivation of the majority of the people of the Post-colonial African countries including Nigeria. The globalized world comprises of the economically developed countries (EDC) made up of a set of countries that live in affluence mostly located in Western Europe, and America, while other live in abject poverty. It is obvious that global inequality has been growing more rapidly. Technologically change and financial liberalization result in disproportionate fast and increase the fortune of extremely rich countries at the expense of the absolute poor nations. The global share income going to the poor of 26% of the world population fell by over a quarter, whereas the share of the richest 15% rose by 39% (World Bank. 2007).

The economic crises that broke out in July, 1997, over the Thai baht, spread from Asia, to Russia and Latin America, threatened the entire world. For ten years, the baht had traded at around 25 to the dollar; then overnight it fell by about 25%, and the currency speculation spread and hit some East Asian countries. (Joseph Stiglitz, 2002, p: 178)

Classical international-trade theorists say eliminating trade barriers improves welfare by reducing the difference between domestic and import prices. However, to find more trade partners, countries have to liberalize their trade policies. For example, after China liberalized its economy, the number of import suppliers of a typical commodity rose from 4.9 to 20.7. Import growth causes an increase of the number of varieties, which decreases the price index because of more competition and after all causes more growth and welfare again. However, making market liberalization work will not be easy. Those who benefit from the current system will resist change, and they are very powerful. But forces for change have already been set in motion. There will be reforms, even if they are piecemeal ones.

Globalization debate has also gone from a general recognition that all was not well with global-dependency and that there was a real basis for at least some of the discontent to a deeper analysis that links specific failures. Experts and policymakers now agree on areas where change has to take place.

Much as some of the agencies that make up the Global Institutions have good side; they have also been criticized and qualified by different scholars as subjects of considerable controversy. (Michel: 1997). One point of controversy here involves the North's domination of the South. For example, American runs the World Bank, a New Zealander head the World Trade Organization (WTO) and a German directs the

(IMF). However, as an evidence of domination, the United States has over 15 percent of the votes in both the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and the International Development Association (IDA). The European Union (EU) and Japan combined account for about another 33 percent of the (IBRD) but 39 percent of the International Development Association votes, gave the countries the ability to easily dominate the two organizations.

#### 4. Political Globalization

Political globalization refers to the development of regular, extensive, deep political relations and network of institutions whose influence transcends the boundaries of different modern nation-states that constitute the system. This refers to the process of territorial expansion of the reach political power across the boundaries of sovereign national states such that their citizens become open to the influence of the activities and decisions of political forces and authorities operating from other sites of power around the world. Global politics points to the increasing openness of political groups, institutions and organizations that were formerly subject to the rules and control of sovereign national states. The likes of United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), European Union (EU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

In contrast to national government that rules on the basis of constitution, the origins, mode of operation and objectives of these numerous agencies are often based on international regimes. And these regimes regulate any matter-such as security, pollution, poverty alleviation, economic development, trade and investment, culture and tourism and like-on which any number of states may share common interests or concerns. International regimes constitute the basis of global governance, which is carried out by formal institutions and organized for the purpose of implementing the norms and rules regulating the issues on which the nations and organizations that subscribe to them share common International political regimes. Development of international regimes has historically corresponded to growth and expansions in socio-economic relations among nations.

Global law differs from laws of state and international laws. It is made by two or more states for the promotion of their common geopolitical interests and goals; they create legal opportunities, limitations and obligations that transcend the limits of the sovereign claims of states. The emerging

international regimes on protection of the global environment, protection of human rights and regulating conduct of combatants during warfare provides some of the best examples of global laws. Inherent in the present tendency is the likelihood that the forces of globalization will overwhelm and transcend the national-state as we know it today. It is contended that just as earlier changes in the mode of production engendered new kinds of political practises and state form, so will the emergent post-industrialism facilitate the transformation of the structure, functions, autonomy, power and authority of the national state.

However, some of the features of globalization which make some people believe that it would lead to the weakening of the state include the: development of global economy characterized by transnational production, trading and financial systems, and enmeshment of societies and communities of different nation-states in larger global relations; mushrooming of increasingly powerful institutions that exert significant influence that constrains the powers of sovereign states; increasing vulnerability of states and societies globalizing force that compel them to seek cooperation for domestic competence.

However, some scholars seem to be making a mountain out of the molehill of the present phase of globalization by predicting that it would gradually lead to the obsolescence and ultimate withering away of the state. Globalization according to this prediction will engender the development of a single polity. But this view seems to be exaggerating, or at least, inferring too much from the dynamics of globalization. It is opposite to note that there is a difference between the states being transformed and the state coming to end. The fact that the nations of the world have become integrated does not imply that their sovereign power or the authority of their governments will become obsolete. There are also counter forces that are promoting the sustenance's of the difference among nations and reinforcing the vitality and power of the state. Paradoxically the same technological and economic forces that are promoting globalization are also helping to reinforce the survival of old societies and loyalties. This is because while globalization may be promoting global economic integration, it is also perpetuating all the problems of global political economy such as stratification, inequality, exploitation and the like that tend to contribute to the perpetuation of communal, ethics, religious and other forms of sectional identities.

To be candid, post-colonial economies have been linked to the rest of the world in a manner that enforces

its marginalization and underdevelopment. This has been the case since the traces of the integration of world economy become noticeable. This is basically because Third World economies are largely based on the production of raw materials while prices are determined in the northern markets, and as such Third World economies have been facing deteriorating terms of trade, and the implication is that a structural constraint has been imposed on the countries considered to be in the category of Third World economies have been facing deteriorating terms of trade, and the implication is that a structural constraint has been imposed on the countries considered to be in the category of Third World Countries. This situation definitely affects the possibility of attaining sustainable growth and development.

The fact above, explains the nature of relationship that exists in the globalized world, between the Industrialized and Third World Countries an an uneven one, that is, globalization has positive effects on some countries while it is massively disadvantageous to some others. How can these disadvantaged countries get the best out of globalization?

### 5. Globalization and Globalism

Roland Robertson (2002) defines Globalism as the ideologies associated with different historically dominant formations of global extension. It is therefore much more than ideology associated with the contemporary dominant variant, known as neo-liberalism or imperialism. The definition implies that there were pre-modern or traditional forms of globalism and globalization, long before the driving force of capitalism sought to colonize every corner of the globe includes the Post-colonial African States.

Robertson further distinguishes between five phases of globalization that he labels the 'Germinal Phase' (from the early fifteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century), the 'incipient Phase' (from the mid-eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century), the 'Take-off Phase' (from the late nineteenth century to the mid-1920s), the 'Struggle for Hegemony Phase' (from the 1920s to the late 1960s) and finally the 'Uncertainty Phase' (from the late 1960s onwards). Robertson's concern with globalization rests on a specific focus on developments in Europe. Moreover, the typology implies a mysterious teleology of development with such loaded terms as 'take-off).

There are notable exceptions across the field of international relations, international political economy, sociology, and social theory in defining and

periodizing globalization. Globalization is a tendency to focus on changes in either the market or the area of information exchange. The contemporary form of globalization is driven by matrix of modes of practice, including changes in modes of production, exchange, enquiry, organization and communication. Susan Strange (1996) provides an interesting perspective to exaggerate the role of communication. She uses the categories of security, credit, knowledge, and production as the basis for analyzing changes to systems of power in globalization. In the contemporary period, the dominant mode of production is computer-mediated and less dependent on 'labour-in place' or single-site integration'. Exchange is increasingly dominated by the manifold processes of commodity marketing and abstract capital trading. Enquiry is techno-scientific and rationally decontextualizing of locality. Organization is abstract and governed by rational bureaucratic modes of decision making; and communication is dominated by electronic interchange, including mass broadcasting whose content is sourced across the globe. Changes in each of these modes contribute to the extensions of globalization.

In April, 2003, Robert Murdoch closed a \$US6.6 billion contract to buy US pay television group Direct TV, thus giving the News Corporation- Fox Entertainment nexus the first global pay television satellite network, including Star Asia, Star Plus (India) and British Sky. This is an empirically powerful illustration of globalization in action" (Paul James, 2005). It tells us much about the political nature of the process, or about the relationship between the local and the global. For example, Fox News succeeded in winning the largest cable- audience share in the United States during 'Operation Freedom for Iraq' (2003), presenting the war through a matrix of gung-ho nationalism. The stars and stripes fluttered in the top left-hand corner of the screen while presenters such as Bill O' Reilly spoke a language of 'us' and them', 'good' and evil. The O' Reilly factor had a daily US of 5.4 million viewers in the first week.

However, local, national, regional or global, the media is globalizing in its interconnections, points of reference and technological sourcing. Whether it is Fox News, CNN, or even Aljazeera, the dominant telecommunications systems are satellite-based, cross-referential, and watched by more than their local or national audiences.

Turning from communication to exchange, we can quickly see how the various modes of practice are bound up with each other. Concomitant with the development of electronic, computerized, and

mediated codification as a new dominant means of communication, the overlaying of coinage and paper money by electronic exchange systems has been fast, confusing and increasing integrated with the modes of production and organization. The concept of 'dominant forms' for across human history, we have seen the uneven intersection of at least four different forms of integration from the local to the global.

First, there is 'face to face' or embodied integration where persons are readily present to each other in a physical sense. Second, there is a form of 'object-extended' integration where objects from gifts to commodities carry a relationship between individuals beyond the immediacy of embodied integration. Third, there is form of institutionally-extended' integration where agents of different institutions and corporations extend the possibilities of social relationships. Fourth, there is a form of 'disembodied' integration where social relations are abstracted from any agencies of mediation.

These forms of integration are quite independent of globalization and pertain to the constitution of all forms of sociality. However, they are useful as a way of giving analytical precision to processes of global extension that are uneven, trans-historical and changing.

Hackett (2008) refers to the way that movements of people extend across the globe in a way that binds world-space. In a trivial sense it could be argued that this is the oldest form of globalization and was the unintended outcome of long processes of human movement conducted long before any self-conscious subjectivity of globalism was possible. It could simply be used as the name for human beings spreading out to settle the globe. However, to the extent that we want to treat the process as integrative, embodied globalization needs to be understood as extending lines of lived interconnection. It is relevant today as the patterned movements of refugees, emigrants, travelers and tourists act to integrate the globe through transnational diasporas of known others drawing lines embodied connection sustained by stories, memories and visits.

The second form, object-extended globalization, involves the movements of objects, in particular traded commodities, as well as those ubiquitous objects of exchange and communication: coins, notes, stamps, and postcards, traded global commodities today range from the objects under the gaze of the World Trade Organization.

The third form, institutionally-extended globalization, depends upon the movement of the agents of institutions such as multinational corporations and states, beginning with the legions of expansionist Roman Empire and the proselytizing agents of Christendom, and today including Shell Oil, McDonald's Coca-Cola, Greenpeace and the United Nations as they administer their respective projects across the known world.

Finally, disembodied globalization is characterized by the interchange of immaterial things and processes including images, electronic texts and encoded capital. This is the only really new form of globalization, at least in its synthesized reach and intensity, but it has taken on an unprecedented generality with the intersection of electronic communications, computerized exchange, techno-science and casino-capitalism. Despite the volume of literature on globalization, one could argue that scholarship in this area is still in a formative stage. It is still searching for adequate definitions, for ways of periodizing history that do not reduce the diversity of phenomena to crudely demarcated epochs, and for a theoretical approach that can make sense of the complexity of globalization without giving it a strange life.

Moreover, globalization can take fundamentally different dominant forms across world history, or even within one historical moment, but without that form coming to characterize the period. In any particular period, globalization ranges from embodied extensions of social, such as through the movements of people, to disembodied extensions, such as through communications on the wings of textual or digital encoding. Across human history, and into the present era, the dominant forms of globalization range from traditional forms (primarily carried by the embodied movement of peoples and the projection of traditional intellectuals) to modern and even postmodern forms (primarily carried by disembodied practices of abstract extension). Studying globalization in a systemic fashion therefore, requires a new interdisciplinary thrust that will see international relations scholars working more closely with disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and history.

## 6. Understanding the West and Africa

In the 1980s, African countries turned to the IMF for help. They were provided with assistance-typically loans rather than grants-accompanied by conditions designed to assist their 'structural adjustment'. Too

often, though, the conditions were misguided the projects for which the money was lent misconceived.

“World Capitalist expansion is responsible for the development of underdevelopment of the Third World Countries” (Andre Gunder Frank, 1979). Developed or industrialized countries cannot be exonerated as part of the root causes of the Third World Countries’ economic crises. In the 1970s Petroleum prices and attendant inflation in prices for Western technology, struck nearly every part of the Africa continent, impairing agricultural development and bringing starvation to many areas.

Third World Countries, especially African states were compelled to divert currency from development projects to import goods for their swelling populations at the very time that falling world prices for agricultural commodities and metals diminished the market value of Africa’s major exports and the sources of foreign currency. Liberalization opened up African markets to goods from foreign countries but had little to sell abroad. Opening up capital markets did not bring an inrush of capital; investors were more interested in taking out Africa’s bountiful natural resources. Often, the IMF requirements brought fiscal austerity; While much further than necessary. It imposed constraints that prevented the borrowing country even from making good use of the limited amount of foreign assistance it received. In Ethiopia, for instance, the Fund went so far as to demand that the country ignore foreign assistance in assessing whether its budget was balanced; in effect, foreign assistance went to increase reserves, not to build hospitals or schools or roads.

In the 1990s, many of the African countries, including Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia and Ghana, found themselves with new leadership and the new leaders seemed more committed than the old to pursuing good economic policies. Deficits and inflation were brought under control. Some, such as Olusegun Obasanjo in Nigeria, Yoweri Muzeveni in Uganda, Benjamin Mkapa in Tanzania, and Meles Zenawi in Ethiopia, took strong stands against corruption even if it was not eliminated entirely, remarkable progress was made. Uganda and Ethiopia had periods of growth: Ethiopia grew at more than 6 percent annually between 1993 and 1997, when war broke out with the neighboring Eritrea; Uganda grew on average more than 4 percent annually from 1993 to 2000. Several countries made major strides in improving literacy, and were not for the AIDS epidemic there would have been more great advances in health and life expectancy.

With increasing urgency, the problem of underdevelopment then became permanent, although essentially academic, debate. Despite much debate, the unity of the Post-colonial African states remain hypothetical and expressed mainly from the platforms of international conferences. Foreign aids, and indeed all the efforts of existing institutions and structure, have failed to solve the problem of underdevelopment in Africa. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held in New Delhi in 1971, suggested 1 percent of the national income of industrialized countries should be devoted to aiding the third world. That figure has never been reached or even approximated. In 1972, at Santiago (Chile) UNCTAD set goals of a 6 percent economic growth rate in the 1970s for the underdeveloped countries. But this, too, was not achieved. The living conditions endured by the overwhelming majority of the people who inhabit the poor countries of Africa have either not noticeably change since 1972 or have actually deteriorated.

Whatever economic development that has occurred in the Third World, it has not been distributed equally between countries or among population groups within them. Most of the countries that have managed to achieve substantial economic growth are those that produce oil: Algeria, Gabon, Kuwait, Iran, Libya, Nigeria, Oman, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirate and Venezuela. They had the money to do so because after 1973, the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC), a cartel, succeeded in raising the price of oil drastically. Other important raw materials are also produced by underdeveloped countries that have tried to form cartel similar in form of OPEC.

All international agencies agree that drastic action is required to improve conditions in Third World countries, including investment in urban and rural public work projects to attack joblessness and underdevelopment, institutional reforms essential for the redistribution of economic power, agrarian reform, tax reform and the reform of public funding. But, in reality, political and social obstacles to reform are part of the very nature of the International Order and of most of Third World government.

To complicate things even further, there is also controversy over what actually constitutes development. For some, it is economic growth or progress towards democracy for others it involves greater empowerment and dignity. There are also differing views on why progress toward development has been uneven. The West tends to see the problem as stemming from poor governance, institutional

weakness and failure to embrace free-market principles. Critics from the Third World cite the legacy of colonialism and the nature of the international political and economic structures as the reason for a lack of development. In any case, lumping together the 100-plus nations that make up the developing world obscures the disparities in size, diversity, and host of other indicators that make it difficult to categorize and generalize about this large, diverse group of countries.

Despite their diversity, most nations of the developing world share some characteristic. Developing countries often have large population with annual growth rates between 2 and 4 percent. Although there has been some improvement, poverty is widespread in both rural and urban areas, with rural areas often containing the poorest of the poor. While the majority of the developing world's inhabitants continue to live in the countryside, there is a massive rural-to urban migration under way, and cities are growing rapidly.

Wealth is unevenly distributed, making education, employment opportunities and access to health care luxuries that few can enjoy. Corruption and mismanagement are common. With very few exceptions, these nations share a colonial past that has affected them both politically and economically. Moreover, critics charge that the neo-colonial structure of the 37 international economy and the West's political, military and cultural links with the developing world amount to continued domination.

Developing countries continue to struggle to improve their citizens' living standard. Despite the economic success in some areas, poverty remains prevalent, and over a billion people live on less than a dollar a day. There is some indications depending on how the data is measured, that the number of poor worldwide is declining but poverty is still a major feature of the Third World. There is also growing economic inequality between the industrial countries and the developing world. This is especially true of the poorest countries that have become further marginalized due to their fading strategic importance since the end of the cold war and their limited participation in the global economy. Inequalities are also growing within developing countries where elite access to education, capital, and technology has significantly widened the gap between rich and the poor.

Although the gap between rich and the poor nations persists, some emerging markets saw significant growth during the 1990s. However, even these countries experienced the harsh realities of the global economy. The 1997 Asian financial crisis demonstrated the potential consequences of global

finance and investment, and investors remain wary of investing in all but a small number of developing countries.

## 7. West and Asia

For the past two decades, with the exception of economic crises in the early 1990s, India—a country of some 1.1 billion people has been growing at 5 percent a year or more. In 2006, it was expected to grow at 8 percent. For decades after independence, socialist doctrines prevailed and economy stagnated. But even in this era, the government was sowing the seeds of future success. The emergence of Bangalore as the capital of India's information technology sector can be traced back to the founding of the Indian Institute of Science there in 1909, on land donated by the Maharaja of Mysore and endowed by the industrial baron J.N. Tata.

The Green Revolution of the 1970s, which promoted the use of better farming techniques and new seeds, increased yields enormously. Growth did not really take-off, however, until the early 1980s, when the government ended its open hostility to business and removed many of the restrictions that had stymied the private sector. The advent of the internet proved to be the most important turning point. New technology meant that at last India could reap the benefits of its long-term investment in education, and inadequacies in infrastructure were less of a hindrance. Opportunities created by America's bubble economy of the 1990s helped too, in an indirect way. While technology brought down the costs of communication, massive over-investment in telecommunications brought it down even further, as excess capacity in the cables that line the floor of the Pacific and satellites drove down the communication cost further. Typically, firms thinking about investing in a developing country have to weigh a long list of advantages and disadvantages: wages may be low compared to developed countries, but a lack of infrastructure frequently means higher transportation costs, as well as an unreliable and expensive supply of electricity and communication services. India's success, in fact, has much in common with that of China. In both, there is emerging a middle class of several hundred million that is beginning to enjoy the bountiful life that those in the West have had for so long, and in both countries, there are still huge gaps between rich and poor. Comparatively India did far less well than China in reducing poverty but it has

done far better in preventing the rise of inequality, the disparities across regions and between the very top and the rest.

### 8. West and Latin America

Unlike the East Asia that demonstrated the success of a course markedly different from the Washington Consensus, with a role for government far larger than the minimalist role allowed by market fundamentalism. Latin America embraced the Washington Consensus policies more wholeheartedly than any other region (indeed, the term was first coined with reference to policies advocated for that region). Together, the failures of Latin America and the successes of East Asia provide the strongest case against the Washington Consensus.

In earlier decades, Latin America had notable success with strong government interventionist policies that were neither as refined as those did not employ in East Asia nor as subtle, being focused more on restriction of imports as to encourage the development of local industries- a strategy often referred to as import substitution. While its success did not match that of East Asia, Latin America's per capita income still grew at an average of more than 2.8 percent annually from 1950 to 1980(at 2.2 percent for 1930 to 1980). Brazil, whose government intervened most aggressively in the economy, grew at an average of 5.7 percent for the half century that began in 1930.

### 9. Conclusion

Neocolonialism and Imperialism can hardly engender sustainable development in Africa. This is because most of the Post-colonial African States, are mono economy countries that structurally lack the capacity to participate effectively in the globalization enterprise or cushion the effects of the adjustments of the process, at least in the short run, on the marginal groups in the society. Given this premise, globalization as a contemporary paradigm of the west, further entrenches economic and social polarization in the Post-colonial African States, by creating opportunities for a few rich individuals to take control of the commanding heights of the economy through privatization and the retreat of the government from the economic sector.

Incidentally, democracy in Africa has not responded effectively to the realities confronting the polity. Rather than addressing the socio-economic problems facing the ordinary citizens, the democratic experiment in the continent has been pockmarked by ethno-religious conflicts, political marginalization and

deprivation. Even though globalization may engender democracy it can only impact on development when the democratic dispensation addresses the fundamental problems of poverty and social exclusion facing the majority of the citizens. Some critics have blamed the perennial military coups in the last three years in Africa on poverty and bad leadership. Countries like Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Sudan, Niger and most recently Gabon, have said to have experienced the political upheavals due to the marginalization and conspiracy of some of their kleptocrats with West.

Therefore, the notion (which is one of the driving forces of globalization) that democracy reduces socio-economic inequality and ameliorates poverty has so far not worked in Africa. Considering the advantages and disadvantages of globalization for Third World Countries and Africa in particular. In the light of the analysis that has been done in the context of this study, the argument is that much as globalization may be inevitable, its consequences for Post-colonial African States and other developing nations are devastating. It has therefore been a contention that, there is the need for an appropriate response to emerge from Africa with a view to understanding the dynamics that will hopefully help to evolve measures that will reduce the devastating effects of globalization.

This poses the question: what is to be done? Do developing countries require a response informed by their own historical development? For Africa to get out of this entrapment it needs to delink its dependency on the western powers and that their systems of independent states need to be recomposed. Given the foregoing, what are the alternatives left for the states in the Third World Countries particularly Africa, in view of the rampaging menace of globalization and the seeming helplessness (due to debt burden) of the states and the citizenry? In other words, what are the ways out? Even though, these questions on the surface appear unanswerable, it is essential for Africa's survival to move from the current state of helplessness. This is particularly necessary, Charlick (2000) claims that the position of the World Bank in the late 1980s, that development could be improved through the betterment of "governance" regardless of the type of macro-political system operating in Africa, has been substantially discredited.

Clues have been given as to what Africa and her people must to do "counter the centrifugal forces of globalization" and emancipate themselves from its manacled claws and institutional rationalization. A possible way out according to Tandon (1998), who draws upon Amin's (1987, 1990) earlier works, is the

subordination of external relations to the logic of internal development.

Through this, African revolutionary and activist classes (could be) actively engaged in building alternative structures of powers for organizing production based on new values of humanity and care for the environment. The need for this, among other factors, could probably be identified as one of the catalysts for the theme, "Globalization, Democracy and development in Africa" developed by African Association of Political Science, Twelfth Biennial Congress, which took place in Dakar, Senegal, in 1999.

According to this logic, developing countries should retain the idea of an active state in reacting to the effects of globalization (Ohiorhenuan, 1998: 14). That is, African citizens must not resign themselves to Fate vis-a-vis the manacling claws of globalization and, they must realize that it is always better to be a king in a "jungle" than a deprived and malnourished messenger in a "city". They must cease to be mere "onlookers"-who, according to Frantz Fanon (1961), are either cowards or traitors-on issues affecting their economic, political and socio-cultural well-being. Instead, they must sever the apron-springs<sup>82</sup> of domination by developed world by categorically and practically resisting the inequality inherent in a villagized world. Thus, according to Ake (1996: 122-123) "the people of Africa will have to empower themselves to repossess their own development". This, could, in addition to other mechanisms, be done by rebuilding their national images, 'fighting corruption and, by insisting on their own cultural preferences, and terms of membership in the village. This will only be possible through a sincere, committed without these conditions; it will be difficult, if not totally impossible, for Africa and Africans to talk about political and economic integration, improvement and, above all, emancipative development in the twenty-first century.

The developing states should try and embrace their cultural heritage. Thus, needs to also limit their consumption of foreign goods and try to plan locally, encourage local participation and protect local industries. With this developing countries and Nigeria, in particular, can benefit from globalization.

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