



## **INR411**

### **The New World Political and Economic Order**

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## **Introduction**

This is a compulsory but interesting course unit for all students in Political Science, Economics, Law and Diplomacy, History and International Studies, International Relations and Strategic Studies, etc. The course begins with conceptual clarifications and the theoretical framework of analysis. This is quickly followed by the analyses of contemporary issues on political and international economic relations including the theories of diplomacy and the problematiques of development as conceptual variables. The work captures vividly, lucidly, very clearly, the demands of third world countries from rest of the world. This course work is very easy to read and not difficult to understand. In short, it is reader-friendly. It is simple. But not necessarily simplistic!

## **What the Student Will Learn in this Course**

What you will learn in this work has been grouped into four major terrains of related scholarship derived from the thematic preoccupations cited above and captured in four distinct modules.

## **Course Aims**

The aims of this course, inter alia, are to widen the intellectual horizon of students on the scholarship of THE NEW WORLD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER in relation to the contemporary dynamics of political and international economic relations as they affect the people of third world countries. In doing this, efforts were made to ensure that all issues raised and positions taken can withstand the rigors of theoretical verifications and empirical validation.

## **Course Objectives**

The work is divided into four modules. Each module has four units. For each unit, efforts were made to state, very clearly, the objectives of that particular unit, which sums up to what, in precise terms; the student is expected to know at the end of that specific unit.

This is the micro analysis of the objectives of this work. At the macro level, at the end of this intellectual inquiry students will be more informed of the place, role, challenges and prospects of the third world nations in political and international economic relations in the new world system.

### **Working through the Course**

It is advised that you carefully work through the course studying each unit in a bid to understanding the concepts and principles in international law and how the discipline evolved and has continued to develop. Knowing the theoretical debates to this study will also be very useful in having a good grasp of the course. Your questions should be noted regularly and asked at the tutorial classes. It is recommended that students also engage new ideas generated from unfolding events around the world that International Law principles can be applied to and romance these ideas among one another and the tutorial master.

### **Course Materials**

1. Course guide
2. Study Units
3. Textbooks
4. Assignment file
5. Presentation schedule

### **Study Units**

The arrangement of all study units are such that the thematic preoccupation of each unit compliments the preceding unit and also provides a fillip for intellectual comprehension of the next unit. All units must be read by students.

## **Textbooks and References**

Each unit contains a list of relevant reference materials and text which can help enhance your reading and understanding of this course. It is important to note that conscious effort has been put to developing this course guide, however, it is in your interest to consult these relevant texts and many others not referenced here so as to widen your horizon and sharpen your own ability to be versatile and creative. This instruction crucial as it will go a long way in helping you find solution to assignments and other exercises given to you.

## **Assessment**

There are two types of assessment involved in the course: the Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) and the Tutor Marked Assessments (TMAs) questions. The SAEs are intended to prepare you on your own and assess your understanding of the course since you are not going to submit it. On the other hand, the TMAs are to be carefully answered and kept in your assignment file for submission and marking. It is important you take it seriously as it accounts for 30% of your overall score in this course.

## **Tutor-Marked Assignment**

The Tutor Marked Assessments (TMAs) that you will find at the end of every unit should be answered as instructed and put in your file for submission afterwards. This account for a reasonable score and so must be done and taken seriously too. However, this Course Guide does not contain any Tutor Marked Assignment question.

## **Final Examination and Grading**

There will be a final examination at the end of taking this course. The examination duration is three hours carrying 70% of your total score and grade in this course. It is highly recommended that your Self-Assessment Examination and Tutor Marked Assignments are taken seriously as your examination questions will be drawn from the question treated under these assessments.

## Course Marking Scheme

The following table sets out how the actual course marking is broken down.

<b>Assessment</b>	<b>Marks</b>
Four assignments (the best four of all the assignments submitted for marking).	Four assignments, each marked out of 10%, but highest scoring three selected, thus totaling 30%
Final Examination	70% of overall course score.
<b>Total</b>	<b>100% of course score.</b>

The hall mark of erudite scholarship is humility. This is often expressed through responsible academics and proper acknowledgement of diverse sources of information. This is ideal because no scholar is an intellectual hegemony. Accordingly, references were properly given in this course work. There are some areas where there are very little or practically no published works. In such circumstances, we have to rely on social media by visiting the internet. In doing this, however, efforts were also made to ensure that all relevant websites and allied references were cited. Relevant contributors were acknowledged.

### **Tutor-Marked Assignments/ Self-Assessment Exercises**

There are 20 Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAs) in this course. You need to submit at least four assignments of which the highest three marks will be recorded. Each recorded assignment counts 10 percent towards your total course grade. Three recorded assignments will thus count for 30 percent. When you complete your assignments, send them including your form to your tutor for formal assessment on or before the deadline.

Self Assessment Exercises are provided in each unit. The exercises should help you to evaluate your understanding of the materials so far. They are not to be submitted.

However, answers are provided or directions given as to where to find answers within the units.

### **Final Examination and Grading**

There will be a final examination at the end of the course. The examination carries a total mark of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will reflect the contents of what you have learnt and the self-testing and tutor-marked assignments. You therefore need to revise your course materials before the examination.

### **Course Overview**

There are 20 units in this course. You are to spend one week on each unit. One of the advantages of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) is that you can read and work through the designed course materials at your own pace, and at your own convenience. The course material replaces the lecturer that stands before you physically in the classroom.

All the units have similar features. Each unit has seven items beginning with the introduction and ending with reference/suggestions for further readings.



## Course Marking Scheme

The table below shows the breakdown of how students course assessment is done

Assignment	Marks
Assignment : There are 20 assignment	Four assessments, best three marks out of four count @ 10% each = 30% Course Marks
Final Examination	70% of overall Course Marks
Total	100% of Course Marks

### Summary

This section is not the course work for the study of *The New World Political and Economic Order*. This is merely a course guide. Obtain the main course work and study it with a mind attuned to critical inquiry. All we have done in this guide is to outline the aims, objectives and overall modus operandi of this course unit. The course work will help you pass the TMA and prescribed examination. It will also serve as a useful reference material on *The New World Political and Economic Order* even after you may have graduated. This is essentially because, in relation to *The New World Political and Economic Order*, the course work has explanatory value, analytical utility, descriptive merit, prescriptive power and sophisticated predictive capacity. Now, consider yourself an expert in the New World Order.

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**Module 1: Political and International Economic Relations in the New World: Conceptual and Theoretical Clarifications**

Unit 1: The New World Political and Economic Order: Some Conceptual Clarifications

Unit 2: Theoretical framework of Analysis

Unit 3: Economic Diplomacy and Diplomacy of Economic Development

Unit 4: Development of Underdevelopment in the New World

# **UNIT 1: The New World Political and Economic Order: Some Conceptual Clarifications**

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## **1.0. INTRODUCTION**

In this unit, we shall examine with minds attuned to analytical inquiry, the world political and economic order from the perspective of epistemology. Epistemology is a concept in the scholarship of philosophy. Simply put, epistemology is a theory of knowledge. For the specific requirement of this course work, the desirable knowledge is the knowledge about the new world political and economic order. The starting point in our desire to grasp the basic, fundamental epistemology of this course unit is to have a clear, precise and lucid understanding of the concepts often used by scholars in this field of study. These concepts are not difficult to understand. These concepts are not new to us. These concepts are simple, but not necessarily simplistic!

For a brief moment, let us pause and ponder: why do we have to begin this course unit with such conceptual clarifications? The answer again is simple. Can we imagine a farmer who goes to his farm without any tool? Even in our wildest imagination, can we think of a farmer in his farm without a matchet, without a cutlass, without a digger, without a hoe? Such a farmer must be joking! We shall also be part of this big joke if we commence the analysis of this course without conceptual clarifications. What then are the concepts? The answer is simple because it is clearly captured in the objectives of this unit.

## 2.0. OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- understand the concept of international relations;
- underscore the concept of international politics;
- explain the concept of international law;
- elucidate the concept of international law;
- appreciate the concept of foreign policy;
- apply the concept of national interest;
- reconstruct the concept of new world;
- review the concept of new world political and economic order.

For all students of Political Science, History and International Studies, Law and Diplomacy, Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, etc., interested in the thematic preoccupation of this course unit, a clear-headed understanding of these concepts is not just a necessary imperative but a critical desideratum. These concepts are therefore critical desiderata in our efforts to have a solid polyvalent intellectual foundation for this course work. This foundation shall be given to you in the next sub-unit and you will understand all the discussions without stress. Please continue reading!

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Concept of International Relations**

Scholars of International Studies have defined the concept of International relations and indeed all other concepts we shall examine in this sub-unit from diverse intellectual positions (Nzekwe 2013: p. 17; Galadima 1995: p. 91 – 104; Starke 1980: p.1 Lerche Jnr 1979: p. 32; Northedge 1978: p. 15; Frankel 1973: p. 9; Nicolson: 1963; Crab 1972: p.1; Organski: 1958; Sataw: 1975; Colliere 1967: p.33; Kissinger: 1980: pp. 33 – 34; Mclelland 1971; Marx and Engels: 1968; etc.). Habu Galadima, (1995: p. 91) a Professor of Political Science, has argued that International Relations as an academic discipline can be defined as the study of multiple transactions which take place between governments and people in a community in which the modern world is derived. This in our view could be transactions among various actors in the international system. There are state actors such as Nigeria, Ireland, Gabon, United States of America or any other country one may think of. There are also non-state actors such as United Nations (UN) European Union (EU) African Union (AU) and the International Society of Red Cross, etc. Further, issues in international relations may appreciate the transactions between the developed and the developing countries, the advanced industrialized countries and the best developed countries. It can also mean the relations between Africa and western countries, South Africa and United States of America, Ghana and China, Liberia and Nigeria, etc. Similarly, international relations can suggest the relationships between International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Senegal, Libyan army and those of china, Russia and Iraq, etc. In short international relations exist when the external policies, goals and values of two or more actors come in contact in the world system. The coming in contact of these values may be as a result of policy thrust, deliberate actions, unintended actions, clearly defined reactions, statements, silence on certain issues, diplomatic or consular associations, linkages, treaties and many others.

Finally, we must note, very clearly, that international relations may be friendly, diplomatic gestures such as visits or Heads of States, giving out of aid, loans, grants, technical assistants between and among nations of the world, etc. Conversely, international relations can be outrightly hostile such as the exchange of bombs and bullets, at the backdrop of armored tanks and AK 47 assault rifles – pumping out frightening mixtures of fire and death. All these are international relations in practice. Now, let us examine international politics.

### **3.2 The Concept of International Politics**

The new world political and economic order is powered by the dynamics of international politics. In a sense, international politics often referred to as global politics is the currency of the international system. It is the heart-throb, the epicenter, the live-wire, the propeller-shaft, in short, the *modus vivendu* of international relations. Nzekwe (2013: p. 17) submits that:

*Global politics is premised on the instrumentality of international relations based on the foreign policy objectives of the country concerned. Foreign policy objectives of a given country are defined by the national interests of that country. National interest of a country is the sum total of core-value of a state for which that particular country can declare war either immediately or ultimately in order to defend.*

It must be quickly added that national interest in a given state is sum total of the interests of the ruling class: the international and domestic bourgeoisie including the comprador bourgeois elements. Again, the new world problems are now resolved by multilateral mediation. It must also be emphasized that while international politics is the currency of international relations, power is the currency of global politics. This power is premised on the socio-economic and political pivots of the state systems



defined as instruments of capability. These instruments are the dynamic forces behind the 'voice' of state actors in global politics. Politics nationally or globally remains the struggle of who gets what, how and when (Laswell cited in Nzekwe: 1995; Galadima: 1995).

It must be noted, very clearly, that the instruments of capability which gives state systems power in international relations is not based entirely on military capability. The essence of the military is to provide security for the country concerned. But recent studies have shown that there is a limit to which military weapon systems can guarantee security for a country in this new world political and economic order. This quickly brings into focus the question: what are the instruments of capability which gives modern states power in international relations? Nzekwe (2013: p. 67-75) has given a lucid summary of instruments of capability in the new world political and economic order. Let us begin with the military even though it is not the most important source of power in the new world.

### **3.2.1 Military/Nuclear Power**

There is no doubt that the military capability of a country is a strong factor in the assessment of a country's capability in global politics. Indicators of a formidable military arsenal include: the numerical strength of men and women in the armed forces; the quantity and qualitative assessment of sophisticated weapon systems available to the three services: army, air force and navy; numerical statistics of military depots, cantonments, brigades and divisions in and outside the country; level of training and capacity building for men and officers of the three services; the level of motivation, mobility and sense of nationalism inculcated in the consciousness of all men and women under arms; the size of defense budget, availability of nuclear weapon systems, etc.

To use Southern Africa as an example, even though Lesotho, Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland cannot reasonably intimidate so many countries in the world, in the course of global politics with their respective military might, the same cannot be said of the Republic of South Africa.

The level of motivation, mobility, speed, sophisticated weapon systems which include a nuclear arsenal available to the armed forces of the Republic of South Africa is a capability no country in the world can afford to ignore with a mere wave of the hand. This is not to suggest that the Republic of South Africa, in terms of flexing military might in global politics is a threat to many countries. Certainly, not for United States of America, Britain, Germany, Russia, China or even Israel. The point to note is that at regional level, the Republic of South Africa has a comparative advantage and at world level, no country can reasonably afford to dismiss South Africa, with its nuclear capability, with a mere wave of the hand.

Finally, it must be emphasized again that military might alone is strategically dispensable in the contemporary world system where United Nations can always assist the weak and persecuted state with formidable multi-lateral forces. United States alone, with the current tendency towards unipolarism can do the same. United States is, today, the world police man.

### **3.2.2 Human Capital**

The quality of human capital, in a given country, if perceived to be relatively high in the international system, gives the country a measure of perceived capability in global politics.

Human capital index is used to assess this capability. Education, social security system, per capital income, level of employment and level of mobilization, sensitization and conscientization of the citizenry towards the finest tradition of patriotism and nationalism may be useful in assessing the human capital index of a country.

If we survey the richest countries in the world, we shall discover that human capital development index is relatively high. Such countries command respect and elicit fear in global politics. Even countries with the richest businessmen in the world, richest footballers, musicians, actors and actresses may count all these as instruments of capability in global politics when measured in terms of human capital index. Let us examine this in relevant details.

United States of America with GDP of \$14, 660, 000, 000, 000, is the richest country in the world. Equatorial Guinea with GDP per capita of \$36, 600 is the richest country in Africa. Singapore with GDP per capita of \$62, 100 is the richest country in Asia. Panama with GDP per capita of \$13, 000 is the richest country in Central America. Qatar with GDP per capita of \$179, 000 is the richest country in Middle East. Chile with GDP per capita of \$15, 00 is the richest country in South America. Bahamas with GDP per capital of \$28, 700 is the richest country in the Caribbean. The richness of these countries, recent studies have shown, can be attributed to many factors the most important of which is human capital development through skill acquisition by the citizenry. The reason is simple. It is man that creates wealth. Wealth uninitiated and created by man cannot and will never create itself (Nzekwe: 2013).

Now, look at this: Warren Buffet with about \$62 billion is the richest man in the world while Tiger Wood now a billionaire is the richest sportsman. Conversely, Brazzaville-Congo is the worst country in the world in terms of standard of living while Burundi with GDP per capita of \$300 is the poorest country in the world. With failed state index of 114.7, Somalia is today the most unstable country in the world

even as Iraq with a global peace index of 334 is the most dangerous country to live in the world. (Nzekwe 2013).

Again, using Southern Africa as an example, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland and the Republic of South Africa can all, respectively, count on the pivot of human capital development in flexing their muscles in regional politics in the African continent. This is, however, now on a diminishing return due to the ravaging impact of HIV/AIDS, poverty and unemployment in the region. Compared to developed countries such as Canada, Ireland, Japan, Russia, etc., these countries are backward. Southern African countries, except the Republic of South Africa indeed still have a very long way to go in human capital development.

### **3.2.3 Territorial Size**

Hundreds of years ago, the size of a country is a highly rated source of capability in global politics. Not today. In the days of geo-political thinkers such as Alfred T.Mahan and Helford Mackinde, a country's location and size were, if considered favorably and relatively big, can frighten adversaries in global politics. (Nzekwe 2007: p. 100). But in a globalized world, in this day of thermonuclear technology with capabilities for Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) the attributes of favorable location and big size, for countries in global politics, are clearly dispensable strategic levers. (Nzekwe Amaechi 2007: p. 100).

Furthermore countries like the Republic of South Africa can now enjoy very limited sense of security on consideration of the fact that it has weak and smaller neighbours in the sub-region. In response to the diminished territorial and demographic sizes, smaller countries in the world now go into alliance and enter into military treaties with powerful countries for protection. Accordingly, big countries such as Nigeria in West

Africa and the Republic of South Africa in Southern Africa are no longer perceived as threats to weaker countries in their respective sub-regions.

An example is in order here. In the case of Nigeria in West Africa, at independence, Benin Republic, Chad, Niger and Cameroun entered into military defense agreements with France which gave the departing Colonial Power (France) transit and over-flight privilege across these countries among other benefits. In return, France signed to protect these countries with its overwhelming military might should Nigeria or any country in the world flexes his military muscles.

### **3.2.4 Demography**

Again, in the days of great geo-political and demographic thinkers, for example, Alfred Mahan, the population of a country when perceived as relatively enormous commands respect and compliance in favour of the country so perceived. Not today. Iraq, smaller in territorial size and population when compared with Nigeria was able to impress the world, the entire mankind, with its unregulated nuclear acquisitions. It is axiomatic that the strength of the Republic of South Africa or Nigeria in the context of regional or global politics should not be assessed on the instrumentality of demography. This does not suggest that heavily populated countries, such as China and India, should not consider the demographic advantage a veritable force in global politics. Certainly, it is. But this should not be over-emphasized because of the place and role of technology which abbreviates demography, space and time in modern warfare.

### **3.2.5 Democracy**

The democratic credentials of a state actor in global politics, when perceived as relatively high can be a source of strength. The indicators of highly rated democratic credential may include: orderly and transparent model of political succession, free and fair elections, independence of the judiciary, supremacy of the constitution, the rule of

law, separation of powers, civil liberty, fundamental human rights, freedom of the press, etc.

Assessed at the backdrop of the aforementioned democratic yard-sticks, post-apartheid South Africa and post – 1999 are not doing badly.

### **3.2.6 Domestic Social Base**

Domestic social base suggests that the political leadership commends the trust, co-operation and support of a broad-spectrum of the citizenry. Once this is perceived to be in place, the country also commands respect, credibility and integrity in global politics.

What this also means is that if a state declares war against such a country, all the citizens of the country where the leadership has internal domestic social base shall come out enmass to support their government. The citizens, men and women, boys and girls, young and old, at home and abroad will rise in unism, willing and ready to lay down their lives in defense of the political leadership of their country.

Sadly, African countries and indeed most developing nations of the world do not enjoy this instrument of capability. This instrument is extremely strong, for when it is perceived to be there, it can act a deterrence. do you remember the American-Vietnam war?

### **3.2.7 Diplomacy**

Diplomacy simply means negotiation. It is a process as well as an instrument of pursuing foreign policy objectives. If a country is perceived to have highly proficient, intelligent and intellectually sound Ambassadors and other Diplomatic staff in its embassies all over the world, that country is rated high in terms of the instrumentality

of diplomacy in global politics. It is in the light of this observation that diplomacy can be defined, in a lighter mood as: *the ability to tell someone to go to hell in such a manner and language that the person would want to quickly embark on the trip.*

This definition is in the lighter mood. The point to emphasize, however, is that many developing nations of the world including the countries of interest to us in Africa, usually sacrifice integrity and meritocracy on the altar of indiscretion and mediocrity. In these countries, career diplomats and erudite professionals are relegated to the background in diplomatic postings. In contrast, politicians, friends and relations are chosen as Ambassadors and given choice postings. This is the sadness of the story of this instrument of capability in many African countries including Nigeria and South Africa.

### **3.2.8 Primordial Forces**

Primordial forces such as excessive religious symbolism, antagonism, fanaticism and jingoism can keep a country perpetually divided. Other primordial forces such as ethnicity, nepotism, statism, sectionalism, racism and several dimensions of geopolitical chauvinism can bring disunity to a country. In global politics, when a country is perceived to have this disadvantage, that country is undermined. The country can even be dismissed with a mere shrug and a wave of the hand. This can happen even when the country is in frantic need of respect and attention in international negotiations and global politics.

### **3.2.9 Food**

Food security as a veritable instrument of capability in global politics is very relevant today even as it is firmly rooted in ancient atavism. A country is vulnerable to the extent to which it depends on other countries for food supplies. When a country is perceived (the critical word in this discussion is perception) to be dependent on the international community on food suppliers for its citizenry that country has no voice in global politics.

In the catalogue of human history, food supplies have been effectively used to force actors in national and international negotiations to change their positions. This has happened even in war situations. An example is in order here.

Let us quickly and briefly re-examine how the Nigerian civil war was fought, lost and won and the role food security played in the protracted warfare. More importantly, the short narration will bring out, clearly, the extent to which internal domestic social base, earlier discussed in this unit, can be a strong instrument of capability in politics and warfare.

Let us now take the analysis as a necessary example. It is a self-evident truth that during the Nigerian civil war, necessity gave birth to invention in Biafra. *Biafrans* built bombs. They built rockets. They designed and built delivery systems. They guided the rockets. Far. Very accurately. For three years of blockade without hopes of import, Biafran's maintained engines, manufactured machines and designed technical equipment. They also maintained all their vehicles, all their factories and all their weapon systems. The State extracted crude oil. The people refined petroleum. Individuals invented alternative sources of energy.

The people built and maintained their airports under a hostile atmosphere of heavy bombardments. The people recovered so quickly after each air-raid and each bombardment to uphold the record of maintaining one of the busiest airports in the world. Using a local telecommunication system, the people spoke to the world. The world heard them. And when the world replied, the people also heard.



The people of Biafra designed and constructed roads and bridges and dams and waterways. They manufactured rifles and revolvers and grenades and booby-traps. They built anti-personnel and anti-tank weapon systems. They constructed armored cars and tanks and missiles and modified aircraft from trainer to fighter, from passenger aircraft to bombers. They spun nylon yarn, developed modern agricultural seedlings, discovered various varieties of food items, invented an alternative medical science, perfected new sources of energy, adopted a highly sophisticated civil defense strategy and elevated its war propaganda as one of the most effective in the contemporary world history. This highly sophisticated propaganda system gave hope to the hopeless, food to the hungry, faith to the despondent, strength to the weak, courage to the frightened, inspiration to the discouraged, life to the spiritually decimated and freedom to the persecuted people.

The sense of commitment was widespread. The sense of nationalism was infectious. The sense of patriotism was epidemic. Men were ready to lay down their lives for a principle they believed in. Women were willing to send their little children to the war fronts. The old people were ready to bury their own children. And what do we call all these? The answer is *Social Mobilization* of the highest order ever conceptualized in the catalogue of human history.

How were such measures of mobilization, commitment, nationalism, patriotism, innovation, enterprises, confidence and determination generated into the consciousness of a persecuted people? How? How? How? This is the greatest question that was never asked.

In three years of freedom, Biafrans became the most courageous, the most creative, the most innovative, the most confident, the most civilized and the most technologically advanced Black people on earth. But, sadly, because of foolish pride

and sense of vendetta, the post-war government threw away all these innovations. All the discoveries and creativities were systematically uprooted, dismantled, destroyed, and scattered. (Nzekwe 2005: pp52 – 55).

The significance of this analysis of aspects of the Nigerian civil war is the revelation, perhaps for the first time, that with creativity and internal domestic social base, both strong instruments of capability in politics and warfare, Biafra would have defeated the federal forces (Nigeria) in the civil war. The saving grace, a factor that ended the war in favour of General Yakubu Gowon is another instrument of capability: food security.

The Nigerian Government was advised that the Biafran leadership had a formidable, internal domestic social base and that Biafrans: men, woman and children, like the Vietnamese during the great war with America, were willing and ready to lay down their lives, individually and collectively, in defense of the Biafran dream. Gowon was therefore advised that the instrument which can defeat Biafra was not heavy artillery bombardment but a well-coordinated blockade of access to food being sent to Biafrans by Caritas, Red-cross and other humanitarian agencies. It is a self-evident truth that with this blockade, starvation malnutrition and kwashiorkor set in and Biafrans were defeated.

### **3.2.10 Education**

Apart from a few good universities in Africa running standard educational systems, many are merely running *schooling systems* not educational system. This is to the extent that students are more at home and on the streets than in the schools due to poor funding and unending strikes by lecturers and non-academic staff who often agitate for enhanced and funding. The education system in some African Countries is however, a source of strength and capability. Their universities are doing well. In countries like South Africa, some universities are highly rated in the world system because of proper funding. In this case education may act as source of power to the state system.

### **3.2.11 Health**

A healthy nation is a wealthy nation. Medical tourism, currently in vogue in Nigeria, is a source of vulnerability in global politics. In comparative regional basis, Southern African countries are doing better in terms of medical reforms and facilities. The point to be noted here is that a country with a weak health care system cannot reasonably assert its among other countries in the world system. This is to the extent that the quality of human capital in a given country is significantly related with the degree of advancement in health care facilities.

### **3.2.12 Technology**

Many African countries particularly the Republic of South Africa have relatively advanced technology which is a source of strength in global politics. The frontier of vulnerability is in the area of technological dependency especially on Western countries. The point to appreciate here is that a country with a weak technological base cannot reasonably assert itself in the world system. This is to the extent that weapon system used in terms of war are functions of technology. Industrial revolution is also a function of technology. Provision of relevant, economic facility in the areas of transportation, communication, public work, health, mining, etc. are all dependent on technology. To this extent a country with a weak technological base shall also remain weak in the areas of diplomacy, politics and military campaigns in the global system.

### **3.2.13 Foreign Investment**

Foreign Investments in Africa, in terms of bringing in foreign capital makes the countries vulnerable in global politics. This is to the extent that, just like all other developing countries, commanding heights of the economy are monopolized and controlled by imperialism. International finance capital through multinational corporations, in Africa, control the oil sector, extractive industries, construction, communication, manufacturing and even distributive trade. Britain and United States have substantial investments in Southern Africa. This makes the countries vulnerable to foreign manipulations by vested interests particularly Western powers

### **3.2.14 Organizational capacity**

The organizational capacity of some African countries is highly rated. This is a frontier of capability in micro strategic calculations. However in Nigeria the organizational capability in terms of attitude to work, discipline in public life, probity and accountability are not strong enough to act as source of power and deterrence.

### **3.2.15 Productivity**

The perceived levels of job motivation, labour productivity and performance index in some African countries are also highly rated. This is a source of strength in global politics. However, there is still room for improvement.

### **3.2.16 Trade**

Given the abundance of valuable raw materials, natural resources, labour and finance capital in some Africa countries, balance of trade is in favour of the countries. The present economic recession is a cyclical global economic crisis. It is not peculiar to Africa alone. However, there is need to emphasized regional trade corporations among African countries.

### **3.2.17 Constitutionalism**

Constitutionalism suggests a system based on constitution. This is in contrast to arbitrary governance, military rule, despotism and fascism. Constitutionalism is not a major problem in Africa, today. It is not even a major problem in the entire world. What is to be encouraged is the sustenance of the finest tradition of constitutionalism, democracy and good governance.

### **3.2.18 Co-operation**

To use Southern African as an example, Countries in Southern Africa are signatories to major bilateral and multilateral treaties in the world including those in the areas of military and defense, trade and investments, global peace and security, etc. They are also active in regional and sub-regional co-operations, such as those of African Union, Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC). These are instruments of capability available to all Southern African countries.

### **3.2.19 Globalization**

African countries including Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa, have taken legitimate advantage of globalization. This is a source of strength. However there is an urgent need to combat internal crisis of underdevelopment and corruption so that the benefits of globalization can be maximized.

### **3.2.20 Internal Security**

Internal Security is not provided only by the police and Para-military forces. It is a holistic state of freedom. Many African countries lack internal security. The question is: what exactly is security? One issue raised by the above analysis of instruments of

capability as veritable sources of power in international relations is the issue of the military as the most important instrument as canvassed by the conventional security doctrine. The researchers of this work disagree vehemently and pitch camp with the alternative security doctrine which seeks to suggest that the power and security of a country does not depend solely or even primarily on the country's stock pile of military capabilities.

In many Africa-countries including Nigeria, in West Africa and Republic of South Africa in Southern Africa for instance, the process of conceptualization and execution of issues bothering on national security is usually shrouded in overwhelming secrecy. This has put a measure of doubt in the minds of many people with regards to what precisely *national security* is all about. And so, we must now ask the question: *What is national security?*

*National Security* is the sum total of the vital national interests of a country. A vital national interest is one for which a country is willing to go to war either immediately or ultimately in order to defend itself (Lipman 1943: p. 51).

A nation is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war (Hartman 1967: p.4). Johan Galtung concluded that security is the probability that a system can be sustained, a human system, a social system, a state system, a world system (Galtung 1965: p.348).

At the premise of *conventional security doctrine*, many scholars believe that only a strong military, equipped with sophisticated weapon systems can effectively deter possible enemy attacks and threats of hostile offensive, and also provide a means of fighting if the attack is not deterred. We disagree with this intellectual position.

First and foremost, we argue that security is freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or uncertainty (Imobighe 1983: p. 20). In the words of Imobighe:

*Security has to do with freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or uncertainty. It is a condition of being protected from or not being exposed to external aggression and internal sabotage... It affects not only the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants but also, and perhaps more importantly, the fundamental issue of the national survival as a viable entity. It is only under secure atmosphere that a state can develop and direct its human and materials resources towards positive ends (Imobighe 1983: p. 20).*

Taking our point of departure from the scholarly position which contends that security is freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or uncertainty, we argue that the Republic of Nigeria, for example, may have a very strong military with a high mobility and sophisticated weapon system and yet the country may be insecure. This is because, there are socio-economic, cultural, political, moral, psychological, intellectual, military and technological dimensions to the security question.

The central focus of our scholarly position is a critique of the military establishments in Africa as the ultimate guarantor of national security. Our intellectual postulation is that in the contemporary era when the global trend is emphasizing cooperation and consultation and moving away from conflicts and confrontations, excessive defense spending, especially for a developing country like Nigeria, is counter-productive in respect of the needs for meaningful development and national security.

More importantly, at a time when there is no significant, credible, external military threat to Africa's security, excessive defense spending diverts resources away from other equally vital aspects of the economy and consequently regenerates the problems

of underdevelopment. This inadvertently promotes poverty, unemployment, militancy and sometimes terrorism.

Furthermore, we reassert that security is the probability that a system can be sustained – a human system, a social system, a state system, or a world system. Consequently, there are interrelated linkages towards the ideals of sustaining a state system – socio-cultural, political, economic, intellectual and moral, etc. To emphasize the military aspect alone when discussing the national security question is in our considered opinion, making strategic studies to stand on its head.

We submit that the security of Africa does not depend solely or even primarily on the region's military capacities but on the strength and reliability of the various interrelated linkages which could ensure national security and sustain the state systems.

For the avoidance of doubt, we have not argued for the proscription of the military establishment. Neither do we suggest the elimination of defense vote in the region's budgets. Furthermore, we do not advocate for a neglect of all reasonable material, human and financial resource requirements of the armed forces in Africa. Neither do we suggest that African countries can reasonably remove the war option from the region's foreign policy alternatives. Our argument is that the super-ordination of the military and consequent subordination of other vital aspects of the economy such as public health, education, agriculture, provision of essential services and internal security etc. is unhealthy for African development and counter-productive as a strategy for regional security.

We equally submit that in Africa, a drastic cut in defense spending is timely, necessary and relevant. Finally, we argue that the real security threat that is facing Africa is the problem of underdevelopment: unemployment, poverty and HIV/AIDS. These security threats cannot be reasonably confronted by military preparedness. This is the political economy of the security situation in Africa(Nzekwe 2013: p. 75 – 77).

### 3.3 The Concept of International Law

We cannot do justice to the examination of the new world political and economic order without a good understanding of the concept and principles of international law. First we begin with the question: what is international law? Professor Habu Galadima (1995: p.92) suggests:

*We can define international law as that body of law which is composed for its greater part, principles and rules of conduct which states feel themselves bound to observe and therefore do observe in their relations with each other. It includes also, the rule of law relating to the functioning of international institutions or organizations, their relations with states, and their relationship with individuals. It includes also, rules of law guiding individuals and non-state entities in so far as the rights and duties of such individuals and non-state entities are the concern of the international community.*

*In otherwords, international law hinges upon the existence of independent nation-states, which are expected to get along with one another, subject to the rule of law. In the past, when you talk of international law, you are talking of the law which governs state relations. In our time, there has been radical redefinition of the international law. The definition which we have come to accept is that it is the principles of rule and customs which governs our relationships. It also governs the relationships between international institutions, individuals and non-state entities.*



The sources of international law may include international conventions and treaties, international custom, generally recognized principle of law, judicial precedence, writings of publicists and the doctrine of reason. The sources of international law are contained in article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The governing statute of the International Court of Justice created by the San Francisco Conference on June 26, 1945 listed the six sources of international law outlined above (Galatia 1995: p.94).

### **3.4 The Concept of International Organization**

International organizations such as the United Nations (UN) European Union (EU) African Union (AU) Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and many others are common feature of the new world political and economic order. Usually, international organization involves two or more governments coming together with the aim of promoting co-operation and mutual collaborations in such areas as Human Rights, Defense, Economy, Technical Assistance, Global Peace, etc. The identification of common problems and the need for state actors to come together and jointly tackle such problems give impetus to the birth of international organizations.

There are conditions necessary for the emergence of international organizations such as the division of the world system into independent units in form of state systems. These states must be in contact with one another for international organizations to emerge. These states must also be aware of common problems and willing to come together and tackle them jointly.

In addition, these states should also be willing to consciously develop institutional, legal and attitudinal backdrops upon which the envisaged international organization

can germinate. These are some of the preconditions for the emergence of international organizations.

Experts have identified different types of international organizations to include the following: international administrative agencies such as International society of Red Cross; Internationaladjudicative agencies such as the International Court of Justice; regional organizations such as African Union (AU); multinational corporations such as General Motors and global organizations including the United Nations (UN). The major characteristics of these international organizations may include the fact that apart from multinational corporations, they are mainly association of state systems, all members are equal in principle; the sovereignty of state systems are not undermined by the powers of these organizations; they function mainly to promote mutual co-operation, etc. (Galadima 1995: 96).

### **3.5 The Concept of Foreign Policy**

Foreign Policy is defined as the general principle by which a state articulates its positions, actions and reactions to issues raised in international relations. Many scholars have written extensively on the concept of foreign policy (Lerche jnr.: 1979; Northedge: 1968; Frankel: 1973; Nicolson: 1963; Sataw: 1975; Kissinger: 1967). Joseph Frankel (1973) contends that foreign policy is a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and the changing external circumstances. For example, the reactions of the government of Nigeria to the hostilities in Sudan, Mali, Libya and Egypt are defined by Nigeria's foreign policy objectives. The foreign policy objectives are implemented at the backdrop of instruments of capability earlier surveyed in this work. These instruments of capability can also be referred to as instruments of foreign policy and may include: diplomacy, propaganda, economic power, the war option, etc.

### **3.6 The Concept of National Interest.**

Traditionally, national interest is one for which a country is willing to go to war either immediately or ultimately in order to defend itself. This definition shows that national interest is at the heart of the core-values of a given nation-state. What must be quickly added, in the tradition of Marxism-Lennism, is that, in the final analysis, national interest is the interest of the ruling class and their foreign collaborations, namely, imperialism. An incumbent president, for example, may canvass his personal interests are interest of the nation and can even drag the entire country to go to war in defense of such personal interests.

### **3.7 The Concept of the New World**

The concept of the “new world” as used in this course suggests a post-second world war global system characterized by the logic of inter-dependency, human rights, liberation struggles, democratization, globalization and the search for a new world political and economic order. The theoretical foundation for the new world was provided by a conceptual framework in social sciences known as behaviouralism, a post-second world war theoretical construct which seeks to lay down a conceptual basis for the new world which also finds expression in the 1974 clarion call for a New International Economic Order N.I.E.O. among others.

### **3.8 The Concept of New World Political and Economic Order**

This is precisely the thematic preoccupation of this work which will become self-explanatory in the course of this study. Accordingly, suffice it to say that the concept of the new world political and economic order suggests an abstraction of several developments in the changing world beginning from the post-second world war period to the era of cold war between the East and the West, championed by the former Soviet Union and the United States of America. It also appreciates the era after the cold war particularly the transition from a global bi-polar system to the contemporary

dynamics of unipolarism in which United States of America has assumed the position of world policeman who no region, no country, nobody in the world, today, can reasonably afford to ignore. Someone said: “after God, next is America.” This is a statement we should not simply dismiss with a shrug and mere wave of the hand. The statement should be weighed and considered.

The new world political and economic order is also about a new age characterized by terrorism, wars and active hostilities from north to south, east and west. Every nook and corner of the planet earth, especially in developing countries, helpless innocent civilians, particularly women and children are being used as cannon fodder in a fratricidal war for petty bourgeois advantages. Experts contend that at the last count, two million children have been killed, six million children have been disabled, twenty million children have been displaced (F.R.C.N. News Analysis July 20, 2013) on a world scale, as a result of escalating conflicts in the new world political order. This is not all.

The new world political and economic order is one characterized by frightening proliferation of dangerous arms and weapons of destruction. Monsuru Adegboyega Kasali (2007: p.65) has revealed that the number of small arms and light weapons in circulation, globally, in the 1990s was about two hundred million. Given the dynamics of bloody conflicts, civil wars and terrorist activities that have pervaded the new world order, the figure has risen to about five hundred million in 2007 with experts suggesting that the figure is over eight hundred million in 2013. Eight hundred million small and light weapons in circulation certainly make the world an unsafe place to lie down and sleep. Again, this is not all.

Scholars of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution had reasoned that the collapse of Soviet Union and the end of cold war will bring in their advent a new world order

where conflicts and hostilities shall be remarkably reduced. All the optimisms of these scholars have been dashed. Kasali (2007: p.158) is one of the disappointed scholars. In his own words:

*The expectations of the global population, resulting from the abrupt liquidation of cold war consequent on the collapse of Soviet Union towards the tail end of 1980s, were dashed. Many thought that the New World Order would bring a desired peace to the entire world enabling acculturation of development attitude to the world through the magical framework of integration and mutual aspirations of world state-actors. Contrary to the expectations of the world population, the New World Order has been characterized by more unstable and turbulent conflict situation, unhealthy power politics, ethnic insurgencies, national rivalries, religious bigotry and endemic poverty manufactured by globalization. Terrorism has assumed another dimension, with its characteristic – innovative contradictions which has posed a great threat to world peace and security. The attendant contradictions of the New World Order have further demonstrated ‘man’s inhumanity to man’. What a new world disorder? This violent disorder has created increased refugee flows and an army of internally displaced people in the contemporary world system.*

These are some of the issues of interest to us in the study of the new world political and economic order. But beyond these problems of war and peace, there are disturbing concerns with regards to poverty, diseases, food security and natural disasters on world scales. There are problems of unfair economic relationships and unequal exchange between and among nations. Accordingly, the study of the new world political and economic order is fundamentally concerned with the intellectual effort which seeks to replace the existing, unfair vertical, political and economic

relationships between countries in the North and those from the South (example: North-South Dialogue) with a horizontal relationship (example: South-South Dialogue) with possibilities for complementarity. In this regard, the relevance or otherwise of some multilateral agencies vis-à-vis the economic well-being of developing nations are equally of interest to this analytical studies. The agencies may include the International Monetary Fund, (IMF) the World Bank, European Union (EU) Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) the International Court of Justice (ICJ) etc. All these and more are within the intellectual configuration of the scholarship of: THE NEW WORLD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Outline and discuss five distinct features of the New World Political and Economic Order?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The New World Political and Economic Order is expected to replace aggressions, hostilities and cold war with consultations, consensus, collaboration and co-operation among actors in the global system. It is also expected to replace poverty, diseases and underdevelopment with wealth creation, self-reliance and liberation. In reality, the reverse is the case: crisis, terrorism, active hostilities and protracted wars has resulted. In terms of development, particularly with regards to the relationships between the advanced industrialized countries and the least developed nations, there is a relationship of super ordination and subordination with implications for the dialectics of scarcity in the midst of plenty, poverty in the midst of riches, destitution in the midst of abundance, misery in the midst of happiness, sadness in the midst of joy. Despite the clarion call for a New World Political and Economic Order, the world is still gyrating with the irony of the opposites. Reformisms of purely economic nature have not advanced the course of the underdeveloped nations. Academic

supports for westernization as a conceptual alternative to development and liberation have come face to face with inexplicable intellectual surrender.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

The New World Political and Economic Order can be best delineated and understood at the backdrop of critical concepts, namely, international relations, international politics, international law, international organization, foreign policy, national interest, etc. The New World Political and Economic Order in terms of conceptual, theoretical and analytical juxtapositions revolves around these expressions. Understanding these concepts is therefore the first desirable communion with this course work.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. What is international relations?
2. What is global politics?
3. What is international law?
4. Outline ten international organizations you know?
5. What is Foreign Policy?
6. What is national interest?
7. What do you understand by the concept of “New World”?
8. What is meant by the New World Political and Economic Order?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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## **UNIT 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Essence of Theoretical Framework
  - 3.2 Conceptual Clarifications
  - 3.3 Theoretical Framework of Analysis
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit seeks to provide a theoretical preface to this course work. In doing this, the essence of theoretical framework is clearly explained, some useful concepts in theory and methodology clarified and the main thrust of theoretical framework of analysis, for the study reviewed in relevant details.

It is believed that a good understanding of these theoretical and conceptual issues will facilitate a deeper appreciation of this course work.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- understand the essence of theoretical framework in any serious academic analysis;
- define the concept of political economy;
- understand the meaning of productive forces;
- understand the concept of social relations of production;
- explain the place and role of labour in production;
- define the concept of class;
- explain the concepts of historical and dialectical materialism;
- understand the concept of Marxism-Lennism;
- appreciate the contributions of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels in the study of political economy;
  
- understand the theoretical framework of analysis of this work and the extent to which it can enhance a good understanding of the New World Political and Economic Order.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Essence of Theoretical Framework**

A theory is a body of knowledge based on scientific rules of evidence. The evidence which backs up a theory must withstand the rigours of empirical validation. In any form of analysis in social science, it is very important, indeed a critical desideratum to premise such analysis on sound theoretical praxis. The essence is to ensure that the work can be theoretically verified. Any academic work which lacks the merits of

theoretical verifications may not be able to have explanatory value. In fact, such a work may not only come face to face with insurmountable table oddities and absurdities in presenting its position, the writer may also come face to face with seemingly inexplicable intellectual somersault. In short, we cannot afford to ignore stating, very clearly, our theoretical framework of analysis in any serious academic effort.

### **3.2 Conceptual Clarifications**

This work adopts political economy as a methodology and Marxism-Lennism as a theoretical framework. At times, the concepts of methodology and theoretical framework, respectively, are used interchangeably in social science discourse. This is not terribly harmful to an academic thesis but need not be so. Let us proceed by suggesting that for us to truly appreciate the methodology and theoretical praxis of this work; we need to undertake a determined, intellectual spring-cleaning of far-reaching dimensions. Our armory of operational maxims must be turned inside out. Sophomoric platitudes, for example, that developing countries of the world and the West are partners in progress must be rejected as intellectual opium and firmly discarded (Ikoku: 1985). Downright illusions, for example, that imperialism in the form and context of globalization is a theory of development must be firmly jettisoned as part of the lingering cob-webs of colonial mentality. In the New World Political and Economic Order, committed African social scientist can now leave the concept of development for bourgeoisie economists and embrace the term liberation: liberation from mental slavery, poverty, diseases, alienation and dehumanizing exploitation by the ruling classes in collaboration with international finance capital. To understand all these, some concepts must now be quickly clarified. Let us begin with the meaning of political economy.

The term political economy, according to Professor Habu Galadima: was coined from the Greeks words "*Politikos*" meaning state, social; and *Oikos* meaning rule or law. When taken together, it means "*the laws of state management.*" Political economy

therefore studies relations between people, taking shape in the process of production within a state. It studies the social system of production, the economic relations between people in the process of production and the laws governing the production and exchange of material values at every stage of mankind development. Political economy therefore studies the relations of production in their complex interaction with the productive forces and the superstructures. Let us undertake an examination of the parts that make up political economy. Thus we shall examine the productive forces, the relations of production and the superstructure.

### **Productive Forces**

The first historical act of man, according to Marx, is the production of the means to satisfy his basic needs – eating and drinking, habitation, clothing, protection and other material values which constitutes the production of material life –the necessities that ensure the livelihood and the continued existence of man. The process of production of material life (the means of livelihood) requires the interaction of man or society with nature. The interaction of man or society with nature involves the unity of three elements: Labour, Objective of labour and means of labour (Galadima 1995: p.131 – 136; Engels 1940: p.279; Isa 1975: p.19).

### **Labour**

According to Engels, Labour is the primary basic condition for all human existence. Labour, therefore, is the basis of human life. It is the physical (muscular energy), psychological and intellectual (mental and nervous) capabilities extended in adapting objects of nature to satisfying people's needs. It involves the organic combination of the working of the brain and of the muscles into a single process, of acting upon nature and transforming it. Without labour, human needs cannot be satisfied and therefore there will be no life and no history (Galadima 1995: p. 131 – 136; Engels 1940: p.279; Isa 1975: p.19).

## **Objects of Labour**

These are the natural substances upon which men act in the process of using labour. The earth and its bowels, such as land with its mineral deposits, water and forests are universal objects of labour. Raw materials are also objects of labour (Galadima 1995: p.131 – 136; Engels 1940: p.279; Isa 1975: p.19).

## **The Means of Labour**

These are the instruments used by labour on objects of labour. In using the instruments of labour to act upon the surrounding nature, people themselves tend to accumulate experience and knowledge and that creates new possibilities for developing and perfecting the instruments of labour, production technology and therefore raising labour productivity. As people act upon nature in the process of labour, they create and use instruments of labour.

## **Social Relations of Production**

This includes the diverse relations which take shape between people in the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of material values. Production, whatever its condition, is a social enterprise. Production could either be relations of cooperative and mutual assistance among people free from exploitation, domination and subjugation or could be relations of conflict and antagonism based on exploitation, domination and subjugation. Property relations show who owns the means of production and consequently who appropriates the products of labour. Ownership of the means of production determines not only the relations concerning the distribution of the social product, but also the social status of the various classes and social groups.

The Forces of Production and the social relations of production make up the “*economic base*”. The economic base is also known as the Mode of Production, or foundation of the society. The other aspects of the society, such as the family, religious, political institutions, education, politics, ideology etc., make up what is referred to as the superstructure. The superstructure is shaped by the nature of the economic base. The economic base (the infrastructure) together with the superstructure constitutes what is referred to as the “*Socio-economic Formation*”(Galadima: 1995).

## **Class**

A class is a social group whose members share the same relationship to the forces of production. According to V.I. Lenin, classes are “*large group of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in the historically determined system of social production, by their relation to the means of production; by their role in the social organization of labour and consequently by the dimension and mode of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose*”.

Social class therefore, is based on the division of social groups with respect to ownership of means of production, where ownership of the means of production includes both control and appropriation of surplus value by one social group from another. The excess value created by the worker over and above the value of their labour is referred to as “*surplus value*”. In other words, this is the excess labour put in by the worker that is not paid for. This then becomes the profit of the owners of the means of production. In order to maximize profits, the owner of the means of production (bourgeois) must extract as much value as possible from the workers in return for the lowest possible wages. This forms the basis of exploitation. Political economy relies on the methods of dialectical and historical materialism to enable it analyse production relations and economic laws in greater depth. What then is

dialectical and historical materialism? (Galadima 1995: p.131 – 136; Engels 1940: p.279; Isa 1975: p.19).

### **3.3 Theoretical Framework of Analysis**

In terms of theoretical framework of analysis, the point of departure of this course work is that it is really not possible for Political Science or any discipline for that matter to explain The New World Political and Economic Order and local aspirations, in The New World Political and Economic Order, outside the context of political economy.

The relevance of Political Economy is that it is a theory which gives primacy to material conditions, particularly economic factors in the explanation of social life (Ake, 1981: p.1). The justification for underscoring the material economic condition in any analysis is that “to begin with, economic need is man’s most fundamental need, unless man is able to meet this need, he cannot exist in the first place. Man must eat before he can do anything else, before he can worship, pursue culture or become an Economist” (Ake, 1981: 1 – 2). The logic of economic determinism, therefore, is that most socio-economic and political problems have economic explanations.

It must however, be clearly noted that when an individual achieves a level of economic well-being such that he can take the basic economic necessities, particularly his daily food for granted, the urgency of economic need loses its edge. Nevertheless, according to Ake (1981: 1 - 2) the primacy remains. The fact that one is not constantly preoccupied with and motivated by economic needs shows that the needs are being met; it does not show they are not of primary importance. Karl Marx has also identified with the logics of economic determinism. In the preface to his path-breaking work: *A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx took the pain to explain, very clearly that “in the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations



of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production”.

Marx further asserted that “the sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society – the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness” (Ake: 1981). Thus the relations of production in China or in France, for example, are the basis for the whole social order of Chinese or French society. The same can be said with African countries.

We wish to conclude the argument for the adoption of Marxian political economy, as the theoretical framework of analysis, by re-emphasizing that intellectual support for this position has been sufficiently provided by Karl Marx in the *Preface to the critique of Political Economy*, *the Communist Manifesto*, *Das Capital*, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and also in the *letter Engels wrote to Joseph Bloc* where he emphasized the primacy of the economy in understanding the dynamics of the superstructure. For the present work, the theory is extremely useful because of its explanatory value, analytical utility and predictive capacity (Nzekwe 2007: p. 41- 43).

Finally, it must be reaffirmed that the definition of political economy must not allow the super-ordination of the “Political” over and above the “economy”. It must also be remembered that political economy was conceptualized by a French writer, Montchretien De Watteville in 1615. He defined it as the science of wealth acquisition by the state or the family. Karl Marx in his classical thesis cited in this analysis particularly in his critique of political economy has given birth to the body of knowledge now known as political economy defined as the social result of material production in a place, domestic or international.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Why is theoretical framework relevant for the analysis of the new world political and economic order?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The merits of a good understanding of political economy in relation to the thematic preoccupation of this course work, among others include the analytical skill it gives us to facilitate a deeper appreciation of the inter-play between the domestic and international bourgeoisie in the new world order. Experts are of the opinion that there is no significant difference between the interests of the domestic ruling class and those of imperialism thus explaining why The New World Political and Economic Order is regenerating the development of underdevelopment in third world countries.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

Most intellectual traditions in the social sciences are based on one theory or the other. Similarly, to underscore and explain socio-economic and political problems we have very little or no alternative than to rely on the premises of generally accepted theories.

In the specific problematiqués of The New World Political and Economic Order, we submit that a strong theoretical position should preface a detailed study of the problems under investigation. This is precisely what we have done in this unit. In the context of The New World Political and Economic Order, it is the fervent submission of this unit that political economy is a relevant and necessary theoretical construct with immense explanatory power.

### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

1. Define the concept of political economy?

2. Which theory can best explain the inner dialectical connections of The New World Political and Economic Order?

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## **Unit 3          ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMACY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Concept of Diplomacy
  - 3.2 Qualities of a Good Diplomat
  - 3.3 Diplomatic Mission
  - 3.4 Functions of Diplomatic Mission
  - 3.5 Economic Diplomacy
  - 3.6 Diplomacy of Economic Development
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit examines the concept of diplomacy; the qualities of a good diplomat; the meaning of diplomatic mission; functions of diplomatic mission; the concepts of economic diplomacy and diplomacy of economic development, etc.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

The essence of these examinations is that most inter-plays in The New World Political and Economic Order are carried out at the backdrop of a trinity: diplomacy; international law and international organizations. Accordingly, analysis of issues on

the theory and practice of diplomacy is one way to uncover a fundamental conceptual element of The New World Political and Economic Order. This is therefore an important exercise in this course work, having earlier examined international law and international organization respectively. Accordingly, at the end of this unit you should be able to understand the theory and practice of diplomacy.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Concept of Diplomacy**

Sir Harold Nicolson suggests that Diplomacy is the art of managing foreign policy in particular and international relations in general between and among nation states of the world as well as other actors in the international system. A.F.K. Organiski in his view contends that diplomacy is a process of negotiation carried between the official representative's one nation and those of other nations. Sir Ernest Sataw argues that diplomacy is the application of tact and intelligence to the conduct of international relations. Professor Habu Galadima postulates that diplomacy is an art practiced by diplomats. He asserts that diplomacy involves the use of strategies and tactics by diplomats in negotiations between nations (Nicolson: 1963; Organski: 1958; Sataw: 1975; Galadima 1995:p.101). Diplomacy is therefore an art applied by intelligent professionals known as diplomats with the view of advancing the national interests of their home countries on wide range of issues such as: bilateral co-operations, technical assistants, trade, technology transfer, cultural exchanges, military pacts, conflict resolution, issues concerning debt reliefs, grants, loans, aid, etc. In negotiating these matters diplomats are guided by the interests and foreign policy thrusts of their home countries.

#### **3.2 Qualities of a Good Diplomat**

- a. A good diplomat is professional in all his conducts and approach to negotiations.

- b. A good diplomat is always mentally alert, socially sensitive, intellectually sound and generally versatile on matters related to international relations.
- c. A good diplomat must have an observant mind, a gift of application which rejects being diverted by pleasures or frivolous amusements, a sound judgment which takes the measures of things as they are, and which goes straight to the goal by the shortest and most natural path without wondering into meaningless refinements and subtleties (Galadima 1995: p.101).
- d. A good diplomat must have a gift of penetration such as will enable him to discern the thoughts of men and to deduce from the least movement of the features that are stirring within (Kissinger 1980: p33 – 34).
- e. Finally, in a lighter mood, a good diplomat is one who is capable of telling someone to go to hell in such a polite manner and language that the person is willing, very eager to quickly proceed on the trip (Nzekwe: 2013).

It must however be added that a good diplomat is a good listener, a pleasant and courteous personality. As stressed by Henry Kissinger (1980) and cited by Galadima (1995: p. 101 – 102) a good diplomat must:

*Be quick, resourceful, a good listener, courteous and agreeable. He should not seek to gain a reputation as a wit, nor should he be so disputatious as to divulge secret information in order to clinch an argument. Above all the good negotiator must possess enough self-control to resist the longing to speak before he has thought out what he intends to say. He should pay attention to women, but never lose his heart. He must be able to stimulate dignity even if he does not possess it, but he must at the same time avoid all tasteless display... The negotiator must possess the patience of a watchmaker and be devoid of*

*personal prejudice... Finally he should entertain handsomely. A good cook is often an excellent negotiator and a wonderful diplomat.*

### **3.3 Diplomatic Missions**

A diplomatic mission is the permanent administrative organ established in a foreign country for the purpose of maintaining friendly relations between states and protecting the rights of the country and the citizens which the embassy is representing. Many countries cannot be said to have mission in all countries of the world. The two main reasons for this are lack of funds to sustain such a spread or lack of interest in certain countries or both. A country may accredit a particular mission to two or more countries in order to save funds. It must be noted that a receiving state reserves the right to reject an ambassador sent to the country. In fact, it is a diplomatic practice for a country to find out if an ambassador is acceptable to a receiving state before posting him or her. A receiving state does not have to give any reason why a particular ambassador is not acceptable to it.

### **3.4 Functions of Diplomatic Mission**

Functions of Diplomatic Missions are stated in article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations signed at Vienna, April 18, 1861. They include but not exclusive to the following:

- a. Representing the sending state in the receiving state.
- b. Protecting in the receiving state the interests of the sending state and of its national within the limit permitted by international law.
- c. Negotiating with the government of the receiving state on issues of interest to both countries.
- d. Ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving states, and reporting the findings to the government of the sending state.

- e. Promoting friendly relations between the two countries concerned.
- f. Finally, in The New World Political and Economic Order characterized by protracted conflicts, hostilities and acts of terrorism, it is the duty of diplomatic missions to promote the finest traditions of diplomatic privileges and immunities as enshrined in Vienna Convention as well as other protocols meant to protect innocent civilians in times of arm conflicts. This explains why American embassies all over the world periodically issues travel warnings to its citizens and other nationals. The embassies also alert the world on threats to human rights. These actions are supported by international law.

It must be noted, in this regard, that in times of hostilities, international law has made it an offence for any party to carry out any military act that contravenes the existing instrument of international humanitarian law that regulate the conduct of armed hostilities and these include:

- The protocol of Geneva Convention of 1925.
- The 1949 Geneva Convention I for the Amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick in Armed Forces in the field.
- The 1949 Geneva Convention II for the Amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick and shipwrecked members of Armed Forces at sea.
- The 1949 Geneva Convention III relative to the treatment of prisoners of war.
- The 1949 Geneva Convention IV relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war.
- The 1949 Geneva Convention Protocol I additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of International Armed Conflicts.
- The 1949 Geneva Protocol II additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and relating to the protection of victims of Non-international Armed Conflicts etc.



International law has also made conscription of children under eighteen as criminal through the convention on the rights of the child and its optional protocol on the involvement of children in Armed Conflict, while the statute of the international criminal court established on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2002, has considered recruitment of children under the age of fifteen years as soldiers, as war crime (Kasali 2007: p.182). It is a common practice in the New World Political and Economic Order that diplomatic missions act as watch dog for the promotion of human rights and the protection of the vulnerable during armed conflicts in various parts of the world.

### **3.5 Economic Diplomacy**

Economic Diplomacy is an instrument of capability in global politics. Just like the stick and carrot approach, country A may use grants, loans, aid, technical assistance, debt relief, etc. to persuade country B or countries C, D and E to do something or restrain them from a perceived line of action in exchange for the carrots depicted above. Such actions fall within the contextual configurations of economic diplomacy. This is a common feature of the New World Political and Economic Order used mostly by powerful countries such as United States of America, Britain, Germany, Japan, China, Russia, etc. This is however different from diplomacy of economic development.

### **3.6 Diplomacy of Economic Development**

Diplomacy of economic development in contradistinction to economic diplomacy suggests that in the deployment of economic diplomacy conscious effort is made to ensure in clear terms that the country concerned has meaningful economic gains to show for the grants, loans, assistants, etc. it is giving out. For example, if United States of America gives Nigeria jumbo loan without any form of interest to re-direct Nigeria away from fraternizing with China, this action may be described as economic diplomacy. But if the Jumbo loan has certain, subtle economic interests attached, the action becomes diplomacy of economic development articulated to repatriate profit for

the development of America. In this sense, most economic diplomacy of powerful western countries can be rightly described as diplomacy of economic development.

Conversely, countries like Nigeria fund big time continental sporting fiesta, summits of Heads of States and take up large chunk of the bills of the Economic Community of West Africa Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) with very little or no envisaged economic gain. This is economic diplomacy. This is not diplomacy of economic development.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Differentiate between economic diplomacy and diplomacy of economic development in the New World Political and Economic Order.

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Taking a cue from our lighter mood definition of the concept of diplomacy: the ability to tell someone to go to hell in such a polite manner and language that the person would want to quickly embark on the trip, we can say that the contradictions between westernization and development in the New World Political and Economic Order is an ideology facilitated by the intellectual finesse of diplomatic practices.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

In this unit we have reviewed the concept and theory of diplomacy as well as the relationships between economic diplomacy and diplomacy of economic development in the New World Political and Economic Order.

The conventional as well as contemporary functions of diplomatic missions were also surveyed. The most critical point to note is that diplomacy facilitates the ideology of development defined as westernization by international finance capital.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

1. What is diplomacy?
2. What are the functions of diplomatic missions?
3. What is the relationship between diplomacy and ideology of development in the New World Political and Economic Order?

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## **UNIT 4: DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THE NEW WORLD**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Epistemology and Ideology of Development of Underdevelopment in the New World Order
  - 3.2 The Political Dimensions of Underdevelopment in the New World Order: The Nigerian Example.
  - 3.3 The Social Dimensions of Underdevelopment in the New World Order: The Nigerian Example.
  - 3.4 The Economic Dimensions of Underdevelopment in the New World Order: The Nigerian Example.
  - 3.5 Confronting the Development of Underdevelopment in the New World Order: The Example of Nelson Mandela.
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the contemporary world system defined as the New World Political and Economic Order, the concept of development is a critical point of unity for all intellectual discourse. Indeed, everything in the new world is done in the name of development: contesting elections to become presidents, governors, senators, primitive accumulation

of wealth to suppress the people, oppress the poor and repress perceived opponents; even the internationalization of finance capital with the attendant exploitation through unequal exchange are all defined as efforts in developing the people. This brings to the fore a fundamental question: what exactly is development, a concept for which men have been sent to prison, many have been killed, wars have been declared, nations have been cornered, conquered, colonized? All in the name of development!

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- understand the epistemology of development;
- appreciate the ideology of development;
- define the concept of development;
- defined the concept of underdevelopment;
- defined the concept of development of Underdevelopment;
- explain in clear and practical terms, the political, social and economic dimensions of underdevelopment, using the Nigerian experiences as points of departure;
- explain how developing countries in the new world can confront the dynamics of underdevelopment at the backdrop of exemplary leadership;
- understand the example of Nelson Mandela.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 The Epistemology and Ideology of Development in the New World.

Perhaps, no concept in the epistemology of social sciences has attracted so much misinterpretation as the concept of development. The word “development” means different things to different people. Policy makers, intellectuals and ordinary citizens understand the concept of development in different ways, depending on one’s degree of perception, ideology and bias. And so, the question can no longer be delayed: *What exactly is development?*

Overwhelmed by the illogical positions taken by some American citizens during the famous American civil war, Abraham Lincoln was quoted as saying that the worst form of slavery is the slavery of the mind. This intellectual postulation is as valid today as when it was averred. Today, in the contemporary world system, the word *development* is clearly a philosophy of action, an ideology through which most third world nations have been enslaved. This is done through what we may call, for no better term to use, *eurocentric teleologism*. This means a historical analysis of a society as moving in a unilinear progression from primitively to modernity with the West placed as a point of reference (Rostow, Weber, Durkheim, Sepencer and Comte, etc.). The result of this pattern of thinking is that the word development is grossly misinterpreted. The concept of *development* is thus used as a synonym of *westernization*. Any country that is following the western style of life is developing. Any nation that wants its citizens to be like Britons, Americans, Germans and French, etc. wants development.

This line of thinking is wrong. Development is not the same with westernization. Development is a relative term. A country is developed to the extent that it can equitably provide the essential needs of its citizens – consistent with the nature and dynamics of productive forces on ground.

To confuse development with looking like the white man is the apogee of narrow mindedness and a frightening evidence of intellectual malnutrition. To contemporary Western scholars, it is certainly the climax of parochialism. Modern western intellectuals are parochial in relation to their perception of the Black man. They romanticize their own societies and idealize the White race. Unlike great Western thinkers like Aristotle, Plato, St. Augustine, Marx, Spencer, Comte, Weber, Durkheim and Burke, etc., contemporary western intellectuals are obviously biased because of the imperatives of ideology. The result is lack of scholarly rigour which, in a generic sense, stems from intellectual laziness.

Due to this apparent capitalist bias and equation of idealism with realism, western social sciences, namely, Economics, Sociology, Political Science and Philosophy, have become the intellectual epicenter of imperialism – professing the ideology of development and equating development with westernization. This is wrong. And this is intellectually unacceptable to contemporary African scholarship.

One is not and cannot be calling for the domestication of social sciences. The heart of the matter is the twin imperatives of validity and relevance. A social science theory may even be universally valid, yet grossly irrelevant in given situations. A good example is Nigeria's form of deregulation under Olusegun Obasanjo. The theory of deregulation may be valid. Yet it is, to some extent, dangerous for the specific dynamics of the Nigerian economy. The issue is not which intellectual tradition that produced the idea. The question is the character, the values, the assumptions, the inner dialectical connections, the logical implications of the policy of deregulation. Such negative implications now stand exposed.



Amuchiaze has argued that development must appreciate the crucial issue of relations of production. Nnoli contends that development must be man oriented and not system-oriented. Egwu has consistently asked the question: development for whom? Gana has clearly drawn attention to the ideology of development. Wallestern says we must think historically and dialectically each time we discuss development. Ukoh has queried the bourgeois understanding of development. Ake has concluded that time has come for us to abandon the concept of development for bourgeois social scientists and talk of liberation (Cited in Nzekwe: 2005).

We agree entirely with S.G. Ikoku (1985) that Nigeria has, as it were, to re-think her thoughts, at least, in the appreciation of the concept of development. In the realm of political science and political practice, Nigerians should undertake a spring-cleaning of far-reaching dimensions. Our armory of concepts, ideas and operational maxims, has to be turned inside out. The lingering cobwebs of colonial mentality founded on the notion that the White man came to Africa on a civilizing mission has to be swept away. Soporific platitudes, for example, that Nigeria and the West are partners in progress, must be exposed as intellectual opium and firmly discarded. Downright illusions, for example, that Nigeria can play the role of a big power in Africa, even while lacking a stable polity and developed economy, must be cast overboard and thoroughly jettisoned, however flattering this might be to our national ego. Ake (1981) has concluded that time has come for us to abandon the concept of development and begin to use the World Liberation. (cited in Nzekwe 2005: p.86).

The true meaning of development must now be explored. The question can no longer be delayed: *What exactly is development?* For our purpose, development is the sum total of quantitative and qualitative improvement in the political, economic, social, cultural and psychological well-being of man. While the quantitative dimension appreciates economic growth such as provision of infrastructural facilities (schools, roads, hospitals, markets, airports, recreation centers, etc.) the qualitative dimension

connotes equity, equality, fairness, social justice and good conscience in the distribution of these facilities. In essence, we can have economic growth without experiencing development. We can have the best roads, best telephone services, best hotels, best airports, etc., yet we cannot reasonably talk of development. Unless the qualitative aspects (equality and fairness in the distribution of these resources) are on the ground, there is no development. If Nigeria has thirty airports but the majority of the citizenry cannot afford air travel, the airports are not objects of development to the people. Development must be man oriented. Man must be the beginning, the center and the end of development.

Underdevelopment as a conceptual variable is not necessarily the opposite of development. It is worse than that. It is a state of decay. We can best appreciate the concept of underdevelopment by looking at the indicators of underdevelopment. Since development has political, economic, social, cultural, and psychological dimensions, underdevelopment invariably possesses similar attributes. We shall now examine these attributes in greater details. (Nzekwe 2005: p.83 -87).

### **3.2 Political Dimensions of Underdevelopment in the New World Order: The Nigerian Example.**

There are several indicators of underdevelopment in Nigeria, from the political dimension. But, for our purpose, we have identified only nine, viz:

- i. Abuse of fundamental human rights.
- ii. Abuse of political power.
- iii. Abuse of democratic norms.
- iv. Abuse of the constitution.

- v. Abuse of public administration procedures.
- vi. Abuse of political pledges.
- vii. Abuse of public confidence.
- viii. Political violence and Machiavellian tactics.
- ix. Political prostitution and political charlatanism.

Due to reasons of space, we shall discuss only (i) and (ix) above, these are Abuses of Fundamental Human Rights, Political Prostitution and Political Charlatanism. Fundamental Human Rights are virtues of freedom which are respected by all governments in the civilized world. Freedom is only to have that which is absolutely necessary to enable us to be what we ought to be and to possess what we ought to possess. Bertrand Russell however contends that no man is wholly free and no man is wholly a slave. To the extent to which a man has freedom, he needs a personal morality to guide his conduct (Cited in Nzekwe: 2005).

The authors of Nigeria's Presidential Constitution (1999) recognized the place and role of Human Rights in ensuring a free and humane society where no one is oppressed. The Fundamental Human Rights articulated in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria include:

- i. Right to life.
- ii. Right to dignity of the human person.

- iii. Right to personal liberty.
- iv. Right to fair hearing.
- v. Right to private and family life.
- vi. Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.
- vii. Right to peaceful assembly and association.
- viii. Right to freedom of movement.
- ix. Right to freedom from discrimination. Bertrand Russell (cited in Nzekwe 2005: p. 88), etc.

In contemporary Nigerian society, the breach of virtually all rights of the citizenry is an obvious reality. This, in our considered opinion, is an indicator of underdevelopment. The solution lies in ensuring, at all times, that the sacredness, credibility, neutrality, impartiality and independence of the judiciary are protected with all vigour. A society where the judiciary is disregarded cannot be better than an animal kingdom. We are however aware of the fact that these Rights are not absolute. The enjoyment of these Rights does not permit libel, trespass or sedition, etc. This is perhaps why it is often stated that “one man’s right to swing his hands ends where the other man’s right to defend his nose begins.”

The concept of political prostitution suggests that most governments and politicians of post-colonial Nigerian society lack the desired degrees of principles. The result is vacillation and lack of decisiveness which have come to characterize the dynamics of Nigerian politics. Most politicians vacillate from Left to Right depending on the side that has immediate attraction. When it suits them, they would profess radical

doctrines, at other times when it appears more rewarding; they will speak the language of feudalism, conservatism and reaction. They drink with angels and dine with devils. In the day time, they call the president the messiahs of the Nigerian people before whom all feet must tremble. In the night, they scream crucify him. They have no conscience. No principle. No philosophy. No ideology. No programme. No agenda. They play politics without principles. They enjoy pleasure without conscience. They acquire wealth without work. They do business without morality. They worship God without sacrifices. They are typical Nigerian politicians. Political prostitutes. Political charlatans. They enter politics to make money. To acquire wealth. To accumulate profit. To become symbols of power, prestige, authority and finality. From a political dimension, this undesirable attitude is an indicator of underdevelopment. Pure and simple! (Nzekwe 2005: p. 87 – 90). However, not all politicians are guilty. This we must also assert.

### **3.3 Social Dimensions of Underdevelopment in the New World Order: The Nigerian Example.**

There are several instances of social dimension to the dynamics of underdevelopment in Nigeria but, for our purpose, we shall identify only twenty cases, viz:

- i. Poor feeding habits.
- ii. Poor clothing habits.
- iii. Poor housing facilities.
- iv. Poor medical services.
- v. Poor transportation services.

- vi. Poor communication services.
- vii. Poor educational facilities.
- viii. Poor recreational facilities.
- ix. Poor sanitary facilities.
- x. Poor energy supply.
- xi. Wide-spread inequality and inequity.
- xii. Wide-spread social alienation and injustice.
- xiii. Wide-spread corruption and indiscipline.
- xiv. Wide-spread *follow-follow* mentality.
- xv. Ethnic chauvinism.
- xvi. Religious bigotry.
- xvii. Nepotism and favoritism.
- xviii. Gender discrimination.
- xix. Insensitivity to public opinion.
- xx. Class discrimination.

Due to reasons of space, we shall discuss only i. and xxabove. These are poor feeding habits and Class discrimination, respectively.

Any meticulous observer of the contemporary Nigerian situation must have come face to face with dehumanizing instances of deprivation, hunger, starvation and malnutrition. A greater percentage of Nigerian masses no longer feed well in qualitative terms. Many of them cannot remember when last they ate protein-giving food items such as fresh meat, fish, egg, milk and relevant beverages, for body building. In most homes of the Nigerian masses, items like tea, milk and sugar are not readily available. In some cases, even eating in quantitative terms is a nightmare. For the masses in Nigeria, eating habits fall within one or a combination of the following formats devised in a lighter mood by University students in the country:

- i. Zero one zero.
- ii. Zero zero zero.
- iii. One zero zero.
- iv. Zero one one.
- v. One zero one.

For how long will the poor masses in Nigeria continue to search for food? For how long must people continue to wait for the seemingly elusive, oasis? For how long will government continue to ask the people already assaulted by tyranny and deprivation to make more sacrifices in the national interest? We shall come back to these questions.

Class discrimination is another fundamental indicator of underdevelopment in Nigeria. A Class is a group of people who earn their living in the same way. The following classes have been identified, viz:

- i. **Bourgeoisie** e.g. those who own factories, real estate, big enterprises and enormous properties etc. People in this class are usually conservative and reactionary.
- ii. **Petty bourgeoisie** e.g. small property owners, rich civil servants and traders, wealthy intellectuals and artisans, etc. People in this class may have sympathy for either the bourgeoisie or the working class. Consequently, they may be either reactionaries or progressives.
- iii. **Working class** e.g. factory workers, junior civil servants, all those who sell their labour to earn their living. These include daily paid labourers, etc. People in this class are usually progressives.
- iv. **Peasantry** e.g. Petty farmers and artisans such as road side mechanics, carpenters and electricians, etc. Peasants usually lack sufficient political education and consequently they are semi-progressives.
- v. **Lumpen proletariat**, e.g. motor-park touts prostitutes, lay-about, and unemployed without definite homes or addresses. The lumpen proletariat according to Karl Marx has neither a home nor a heart. People in this class are semi-progressives because they need political education.

In a revolutionary situation, there is usually a broad-based alliance which brings out two antagonistic classes namely the conservative class alliance led by the bourgeoisie and the progressive class alliance led by the workers. Working people constitute the revolutionary class. The conservatives are privileged while the progressives are less privileged people. In the Nigerian situation, the concept of privilege is at the heart of class discrimination between the conservatives and the progressives.

The dynamics of class discrimination, in Nigeria, in recent times, has taken a dramatic dimension. Generally, life in Nigeria is now characterized with every quality of the



unreal, of fantasy and of a grotesque spectacle. In Nigeria, because life and the art of living are generally untrue, the acquisitions of privilege and obscene class discrimination have become the only valid criteria for measuring success.

The bane of contemporary Nigerian society is to acquire privilege. We profane the customs of our land to acquire traditional titles. We buy university degrees to distinguish ourselves. We join exclusive clubs, sometimes secret societies to advance our ego. We design and wear obscene costumes just to look different. The Nigerian of today is an addict of privilege and class discrimination. Ojukwu (1989: p. xv).

It is this class discrimination that underscores the obsession for status symbols. The privileged Nigerian must wear the most expensive clothes, drive the most expensive cars, build the most expensive houses, patronize the most expensive hotels, drink the most expensive wine, throw the most lavish parties and mate the most mercenary mistresses. But this is not development. It is underdevelopment.

According to Emeka Ojukwu, “the objective is neither comfort nor luxury. Rather, it is in order to be recognized. The greater the assault on the eyes of the underprivileged, the greater the satisfaction...” (Ojukwu: 1989).

Obviously, the present Nigerian society is submerged in a threshold of the unreal, the fantasy and the dramatic. The ugly wave of pretences has undermined all known code of morality and etiquette. Most Nigerians are often in the most dramatic haste, walking very fast, their heads up, their eyes straight, not in order to get anywhere, rather in order just to appear busy. In Nigeria, life appears untrue. In Nigeria, everybody is theatrical. In Nigeria, everything is unreal. It is this unreality that breeds a general alienation from the true and from truth. Ojukwu (1989: p. xv).

Having identified some classes that may be found in Nigeria and having underscored the dynamics of class discrimination, we shall return again to the issue of poor feeding habit in Nigeria which is an exclusive problem of the working people, the peasantry, the unemployed, etc.

The question that may be asked is: *Why is the emphasis on food and feeding?* The answer is simple to understand. Adlai Stevenson has established the fact that a hungry man is not a free man. Emeka Ojukwu postulates that a hungry man is an angry man, an angry man is an unreasonable man; an unreasonable man is a violent man. Francis Bacon contends that rebellions are nursed by two things: much poverty and much discontent. The rebellion of the belly is the worst. Sam Aluko concludes that the most dangerous thing, the greatest obstacles to stability or viable polity is poverty, for poverty begets crime (Cited in Nzekwe: 2005).

And so, must we continue to eat from dust bins? Mother Theresa of India said it all: *The biggest disease today is not leprosy or tuberculosis (or AIDS) but rather the feeling of being unwanted, uncared for and deserted by everybody. The greatest evil is the lack of love and charity, the terrible indifference towards one's neighbour who lives at the road sides assaulted by exploitation, corruption, poverty and disease.* We strongly argue in the words of Henry Clay that: *all oppressed people are authorized, whenever they can, to rise and break their fetters* (Citations in Nzekwe 2005: p. 96).

### **3.4 The Economic Dimensions of Underdevelopment in the New World Order: The Nigerian Example.**

We have identified the following indicators of economic underdevelopment in Nigeria, viz:

- i. Lack of a sound productive base.
- ii. Shrinking export earnings.
- iii. Depreciated value of naira currency.
- iv. Mono-cultural dynamics of the economy.
- v. Neocolonial control of Nigerian economy.
- vi. Neocolonial domination of the economy.
- vii. Lack of equity in the distribution of resources.
- viii. Lack of a sustained economic growth.
- ix. Disarticulation of the economy.
- x. High rate of imports, etc.

We shall discuss only (i) and (x) above, these are: Lack of a sound productive base and high rate of imports. We start by asserting that all-round production, in Nigeria, is low. Very low. Just look around and observe household items in your home. Look at your radio, television, pressing iron, gas cooker, stainless plates, clothing materials, foot wears, floor carpets, curtains, wall clock, suitcases, etc. You will discover that most of these items were produced in Japan or Taiwan or Italy or Germany or Hong Kong or South Korea or Canada or United States of America or Britain or France, etc. Most items of building materials, automobile spare-parts, electronics, electrical components, scientific equipment, laboratory and hospital hardware, clothing materials and foot-wears, military weapon systems, oil drilling and energy supply

equipment, toiletries and cosmetics, food items and so on, being used in Nigeria by rich people are largely imported. No country can advance in a situation where import bills are so much, almost overwhelming. It is true that there are some local industries in Nigeria, producing some of these items. But it is equally true that production is low both in quantitative and in qualitative terms and in relation to effective demand.

In Japan, for instance, the country's productive base germinated from a well-articulated network of cottage industries. There was great encouragement and immense governmental assistance to all citizens interested in establishing small-scale industries. Consequently, behind every house in Japan was a small industry producing such items as washing detergents, toiletries, beverages, alcohol, processed food items, cosmetics, foot-wears, clothing materials, stationary, etc. Today, Japan is one of the most technologically advanced countries in the world with a productive base that competes favorably with those of United States of America and Germany.

In Eastern Nigeria, particularly at Nnewi, Aba, Onitsha, etc., a certain measure of industrial revolution is currently going on. What is required to experience the Japanese miracle is government sensitivity, understanding and assistance. Consequently, a well-articulated model of industrialization is of immense importance. For example in Nnewi today there are over ten auto mobile industries. Some of them can assemble motor cars and buses.

Finally, there are also psychological indicators to the problematics of underdevelopment in Nigeria, such as a decimated national psyche, inferiority complex, minority fears, increase in anti-social behaviours, e.g. "419", wide spread fears, anger, anxiety and uncertainty. There is also the cultural dimension which may be observed through some lingering cobwebs of colonial mentality. Space constraints do not permit elaborate analyses of these variables. We can only conclude by asserting

that the phenomenon of underdevelopment is widespread in Nigeria because the people simply fold their hands and watch the outrageous degree of insensitivity being displayed by the leaders. As Burke and Olusegun Obasanjo see these matters: *all it takes to perpetuate evil in a society is for good men to keep silent*. Robert Baker also said it all: *poor government comes about when good citizens sit on their hands instead of standing on their feet*. (Nzekwe 2005: pp. 96 – 99; citations in p. 99).

### **3.5 Confronting the Development of Underdevelopment in the New World Order: The Examples of Nelson Mandela**

In the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx has explained that the history of all hitherto existing generations is the history of class struggle. This struggle takes place in domestic politics as well as in political and international economic relations where developing countries are exploited through unequal exchange, exploitation of cheap labour, capital flight, monopolistic tendencies and sometimes political subjugations.

It is the submission of this work that these problems can be confronted through a clear – headed leadership. This is precisely because man makes history. History uninitiated by man cannot and will never make itself. Throughout the catalogue of human history, it is men who changed the course of history and improved the lots of their own people. At times this involves enormous pains, deprivations, sacrifices and even rejection by the same people the leader may be fighting for. But the consolidation, always, is in the fact that the test of a leader is not on a Palm Sunday when the people shout: *hosanna in the highest*. The real test of a leader is at Gethsemane where the same people turn round and scream: crucify him. No pain can be too severe to bear in the course of liberating the masses from physical and mental slavery. If we go down the memory lane, we shall observe that men have gone to prison, some have even laid down their lives just to liberate their own people from man’s inhumanity to man. This explains

why, today, we cannot reasonably discuss certain countries without mentioning certain names. Remember that Nelson Mandela once said: “the struggle is my life!”

As students of Political Science and International Studies, respectively, it is quite in order for us to pause for a brief moment: let us think of Nelson Mandela. Nelson Mandela has taught us how to translate the abstract theory of leadership into a philosophy of action. He has reaffirmed the aphorism that in times of popular struggles, those who stood on the fence are either traitors or cowards. Like Franz Fanon, Mandela also believes that “posterity will not forgive those who possess the exceptional ability of speaking the words of truth to their oppressors, but choose to seek refuge in passivity, mute indifference and sometimes cold complicity” (Cited in Nzekwe: 2013).

In International studies, there are leaders like Nelson Mandela who have made history. There are leaders who never waited for history to make itself. As good students of history, we cannot talk of certain countries without mentioning these leaders. Now, let’s think of the ancient Roman Empire without Julius Caesar. Even in our wildest imagination can we think of India and forget Mahatma Gandhi? Can we really think of France without the generations of Napoleon, South Africa without Nelson Mandela, Germany without Otto Von Bismarck, Cuba without Fidel Castro, Nigeria without Nnamdi Azikiwe, England without Winston Churchill, China without Chairman Mao, Canada without Alexander Galt, Liberia without William Tubman, Libya without King Idris, Pakistan without Sir Syed Khan, Bangladesh without Sheikh Mujib, America without Washington, without Lincoln, without Kennedy? These men really made history. They never waited for history to make itself.

Now, think of this: Churchill made England a different country from what Chamberlain would have made it. Sun Yat Sen met China a monarchy and left it a

republic. Emperor Haile Sellasie made Ethiopia a better country than his father, Ras Makonnen, the Governor of Harer, would have done. Garibaldi and Cavour using a movement called *Risorgimento* played a more heroic role in the unification of Italy than the despotism of Mussolini ever did. Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte of France made history only when he adopted the ideology of populism. Alexander Hamilton spent virtually all his adult life in the unification of America. John MacDonald devoted a greater part of his career to the development and liberation of Canada. Che Guevara did it in Argentina, Martin Luther did it in Austria, Walter Rodney did it in Guyana, Amilcar Cabral did it in Guinea Bissau, Samora Machel did it in Mozambique, Mohammed Ali Junah did it in Pakistan, and Malcolm X did it for the people of America. President Mwai Kibaki recently brought to an end, with a popular victory, 40 years of opposition in Kenya thus raising a mirror of people's power to Benjamin Nkapa of Tanzania, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Bakili Muluzi of Malawi. Indeed, Kibaki and others never waited for history to emerge on a platter of gold. They never waited for history to initiate itself. They simply made history. (Nzekwe 2005: p. 24 – 25).

In discussing the example of Nelson Mandela, the question researchers of this work have asked is: why is it that many leaders do not have the courage to speak out the truth even when confronted with the threat of supreme sacrifice? Why do many leaders find it difficult to identify with the masses, suffer with them and get the people liberated as Nelson Mandela did? Why do leaders, both in domestic and global politics fail to criticize glaring injustices in the society?

The answer is simple. History is replete with examples: Jesus Christ of Nazareth challenged an unjust society and was crucified. Martin Luther of Austria was excommunicated by the Pope. Walter Rodney of Guyana was killed in a car bomb. Dele Giwa of Nigeria was silenced with a parcel bomb. Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau was assassinated with lethal bomb. Samora Machel of Mozambique was

eliminated through a bomb in an aircraft. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in cold blood. Che Guevara of Argentina was murdered in Bolivia. Malcolm X of United States of America was assassinated. Murtala Muhammed of Nigeria was assassinated. Eduardo Moudlaine of Mozambique was bombed to death under slightly different circumstances. Frantz Fanon of Martinique died of cancer of the bone while fighting for a just society. Would the reader still want to die for social justice? (Citations in Nzekwe 1994: p. xi; Nzekwe 2005: p. 24 - 25; Nzekwe 2013: p. 61 - 62).

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What do you understand by the ideology of development in the New World Political and Economic Order?

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Ideology means a philosophy of action. In this context, development is an ideology with which the domestic bourgeois class exploits the subordinate classes even as the international finance capital uses the same ideology to exploit developing countries in the New World Political and Economic Order. In view of the hidden motives behind the use of the concept of development, by the bourgeoisie, generally, political economists, such as Professor Claude Ake (1980) has suggested that we can as well abandon the concept of development for bourgeois economists and simply talk of liberation.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

In real practical and empirical terms, we can truly delineate the political, social and economic dimensions of underdevelopment in relation to developing countries like Nigeria. This we have done in this unit. The point to emphasis is that given historical experienced, the economies of most developing countries remain a microcosm of those of industrialized countries thus promoting exploitation on a world scale and endangering a general cyclical crisis of imperialism. The history, contents and



contexts of this political economy of the new world order is the thematic preoccupation of the next module. Don't stop reading!

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

1. What is Development?
2. What are the political, social and economic dimensions of underdevelopment in Nigeria?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **MODULE 2: AFRICA, THE WEST AND THE REST OF THE NEW WORLD**

In module one, we attempted far-reaching conceptual clarifications of abstractions relevant for a good understanding of political and international economic relations in the new world. In this section, module two, we intend to use the knowledge gathered in the preceding module, with reference to the Nigerian situation, to examine the conditions in Africa. Modules three and four shall become even wider as we shall focus on third world countries in general. The study therefore proceeds from Nigeria to Africa down to the third world nations in general. The organizational structure of this work is very simple to understand.

Unit 1: Africa: From Partition to Colonialism

Unit 2: Africa: From Colonialism to Neocolonialism

Unit 3: Africa: From Neo-colonialism To Imperialism and Globalization

Unit 4: Africa: East-West Conflicts and the New World Political and Economic Order.

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## **UNIT 1: AFRICA: FROM PARTITION TO COLONIALISM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Africa Before Partition
  - 3.2 Set Back To African Civilization
  - 3.3 Colonial Experience: How Britain Underdeveloped Nigeria.
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this unit we shall examine Africa before the partition, during the period of scramble and the era of colonialism. This is with a view to putting in their proper perspectives the historical antecedents to the present position of Africa and other developing countries in the new world. As the saying goes, “if you don’t know the point at which the rain begins to beat you, you may never know the point at which it stops”. Let us therefore, find out the point at which the rain began to beat us in the world system.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At this end of this unit, you should be able to:

- understand that European writers have not been truthful on their accounts of African history;
- appreciate the truth about Africa before the partition;

- understand that civilization began first in Africa;
- understand how you can intellectually challenge European egocentrism;
- understand the *modus operandi* and the *modus vivendu* for the partition of Africa;
- understand the logic of colonialism;
- understand how Britain underdeveloped Nigeria;
- explain the impacts of colonialism on African economies in the areas of agriculture, technology, medical sciences, education, human capital development, etc.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Africa before Partition**

European writers and social scientists in the past took very little or no interest in African history. To them Africa did not exist before they came to Africa. This is why Mungo Park claimed to have discovered the River Nigeria. This attitude to African history is part of the intellectual tradition of imperialism. Such claims are dubious and unacceptable to modern African scholarship. The simple question is this: when Mungo Park arrived at the banks of River Niger located today in Niger and Delta States respectively, did he not see some men swinging their nets unto the river and catching fish? Did he not see some women fetching water? Did he not observe some children playing at the corners, singing and running in excitement? How could Mungo Park discover active, living people who have since discovered themselves and lived peacefully together? This is the kind of intellectual eurocentricism which have sought to sustain the claim that African people never existed until the arrival of Whiteman. This claim we must continue to say, is a theoretical fallacy. It is certainly not true.

Saliu Lawal (2010: p. 2) has offered an epigenesis of this Eurocentric intellectualism. In his view:

*Many European writers, for a long time, were of the opinion that since Africa societies were mainly non-literate, they were not worthy of study because history could not be properly studied in these societies, hence they had no history at all. In fact, to this school of thought, the continent contributed little or nothing to civilization.*

*One of these imperialist writers - A.P. Newton expressed the view that "History only begins when men take to writing. It is concerned almost entirely with written records and can make use of material remains with which the archaeologists and anthropologies are concerned". In this same vein, in 1951, Mergery Perham, a Research lecturer in Colombia Administration at the Oxford University wrote, "Until the very recent penetration by Europe, the greater part of the continent (Africa) was without the wheel, the plough and transport-animals; almost without store houses or clothes except skins; without writing and so without history." Professor Hugh Trevor Roper of the University of Oxford in 1962 reviewed this view. According to him, "Perhaps in future there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none; there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness and darkness is not the subject of history. There is only the unrewarding gyration of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe." G.W.F. Hegel, a German philosopher, in 1830-31 lectures, divided the peoples of the world into two: historical peoples who had contributed to the development of mankind, and non-historical peoples who had no hand*

*in the development of humanity. Africa, according to him, was placed in the latter category.*

These views have been rejected by African historians. Saliu Lawal (2010: p. 4) said:

*At the end of the Second World War in 1945, professional African historians emerged to put to rest the propaganda that Africa had no written past or no history at all. In writing the African past, these historians dealt with documents of the past, written and unwritten to reconstruct African past. Prominent among these historians were Professors Kenneth O. Dike, Saburi O. Biobaku, Obaro Ikime, J.F. Ade-Ajayi and a host of others. The publication of K.O. Dike's Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885, marked a remarkable departure from earlier written history of African past. The second was the establishment of Institute of African Studies and Ibadan School of History. There are specific projects like Benin and Yoruba Historical Research Schemes, Conferences of African History etc. The new historic tradition rejected the coloration of African past by the European Historians. The tradition, anchored by well-bred African historians, equipped by the validity of non-written sources of historic research, which has been promoted through interdisciplinary approach, led to the discovery and authentication of sources of African past.*

The point to note is that in contradistinction to the claims of European writers, human civilization actually began in Africa. Twelve arguments will drive this point home: one, archeological findings reveal that the very first man to inhabit the earth came

from Africa. Two, in ancient times, the cradle of human civilization was found in Olduvai Gorge in the Great Rift Valley of Tanzania, East Africa more than two million years ago. Three, Alexander De Great built the city of Alexandria facing the West on the North of the Mediterranean in 332 B.C. This occurred some three thousand years before Jesus Christ was born. Four, it was in the city of Alexandria that one of the seven wonders of the world was found, a four hundred feet, tall, light that could be seen from seventy miles away. Five, by 30 B.C. Alexandria town has already become the biggest city in the world inhabited by about 600,000 people. Six, an amazing bronze in the world and the oldest of its kind in West Africa was found in Ife, south west Nigeria. Seven, in Lake Chad, a tribe called "SO" giant looking tribe were known to cast objects in bronze, thousands of years ago. Eight, at a site in Meroe about 120 miles north of Khartoum, Sudan, there were evidence of slag heaps of an Iron industry which flourished in Sudan thousands of years, ago. Nine, Ethiopia is one of the oldest countries in the world with the country's history traced to the empire of Aksum which started in 500 B.C. Ten, the people living in the country now known as Nigeria dates back to 5,000 B.C. Nok culture existed in Jos Plateau State by 300 B.C. Eleven, Pre-colonial African societies were known to have had standard forms of government, defense for their systems, technology, medicine, agriculture, etc. Twelve, western philosophers were known to have visited Egypt, thousands of years ago where they were thought philosophy and mathematics. We can go on and on (Lawal 2010: p. 5 – 6; Nzekwe 2005: p. 80-142). In the final analysis, we can safely argue that civilization began in Africa but was halted by European imperialism.

### **3.2 Setback to African Civilization**

African civilization was halted by series of developments including the era of slave trade, the period of exploitative legitimate trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The highlight of these events was the scramble for Africa given the imperial interests of Britain, France, Spain, Belgium, Portugal and other powers culminating to what is now known as the partition of Africa. The scramble and the subsequent partition of Africa began in 1879 and reached an advanced stage in July 1884. In the Berlin



Conference of 1884 – 1885, Africa was shared by major powers. Lawal (2010: p. 40-41) noted that:

*In 1884 at the request of Portugal, German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck called together the major Western powers of the world to negotiate questions and end confusion over the control of Africa. Bismarck appreciated the opportunity to expand Germany's sphere of influence over Africa and desire to force Germany's rivals to struggle with one another for territory.*

*At the time of the conferences, 80 percent of Africa remained under traditional or local rulers. Africa at the conference had its boundaries divided into fifty irregular countries. The colonial masters superimposed their cultures and religion over one thousand indigenous cultures and religion of Africa. The new countries lacked cohesion or reason for coexistence. These groups of people merged by colonial masters were disparate groups who really did not get along.*

*Fourteen countries were represented by a plethora of Ambassadors when the conference was declared opened in Berlin on November 15, 1884. The countries represented at the conference were, AustriaHungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden Norway, Turkey and the United States of America. Of these 14 nations, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Portugal were the major players in the conferences, controlling most of the colonial Africa at that time. It was clear that the commercial interests of Leopold of Belgium, Portugal, France and Germany conflicted in the Congo region. The initial task of*

*the conference was to agree that the Congo River and Niger River mouths and basins would be considered neutral and open to trade. The Congo Free State was recognized by Britain, France, Russia, United States and Portugal. It was to be run as an international organization on a free-trade basis.*

Historians are agreed that by 1914, the Berlin conference participants had fully divided Africa among themselves into fifty countries. Saliu Lawal in his work: Africa and the West (2010: p. 42) gives an insight into how Africa was divided among the major world powers:

1. Great Britain desired a Cape-to-Cairo collection of colonies and almost succeeded through their control of Egypt, Sudan (Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), Uganda, Kenya (Britain East Africa), South Africa and Zambia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Botswana. The British also controlled Nigeria and Ghana (Gold Coast).
2. France took much of Western Africa, from Mauritania to Chad (French West Africa) and Gabon and the Republic of Congo (French Equatorial Africa).
3. Belgium and King Leopold II controlled the Democratic Republic of Congo (Belgian Congo).
4. Portugal took Mozambique in the east and Angola in the West.
5. Italy's holdings were Somalia (Italian Somaliland) and a portion of Ethiopia.
6. Germany took Namibia (German Southwest Africa) and Tanzania (German East Africa).
7. Spain claimed the smallest territory – Equatorial Guinea (Rio Muni).

The point to note is that local rulers did resist the partition of Africa and the advent of colonialism. They were crushed with the might of European military powers or bribed into cold complicity by European diplomats. Again, historians have this to say:

*During and after the conferences, the European powers sent out more envoys, administrators and soldiers who, by persuasion or force or bribery, got African rulers to sign agreements, in which they ceded away, in some cases innocently, their territories. When these rulers later realized the impact of their actions, they rose up in rebellion against the colonialists. But such rebellion, which were too late, were crushed and the rulers were either killed or exiled. Local leaders like Lat-Dior, Samori Toure, Ba Bembe and Behanzia put up strong resistance right from the beginning but they failed to sustain and win the war. They eventually lost their independence. Lat-Dior of Cayor resisted the French till he was killed in 1885. Samori Toure defended his huge empire stretching from Boure to northern Ghana from 1891 until 1898 when he was captured and deported to Gabon where he died in 1900. It took the British a substantial part of the first decade of this century to suppress the resistance in Borno and the Fulani emirates of Northern Nigeria. (Lawal: 2010: p. 42 – 43).*

### **3.3 Colonial Experience: How Britain Underdeveloped Nigeria**

In a recent study (Nzekwe 2005: p. 30-42) a captivating account was given on how Africa, with specific reference to Nigeria was removed from history for over seventy years. Accounts like this are relevant in understanding the present role of African States in political and international economic relations in the new world order. The book: *No Past No Present No Future: How Nigerians Underdeveloped Nigeria* written by Dr. Amaechi Nzekwe (2005) gives a vivid account and a reflection of colonialism.

The point of departure in the work is that by 1900 the areas we know today as Nigeria were firmly in the hands of British imperial powers. Sometimes before 1913, Lord Lugard who was then the Governor of Hong Kong (also under Britain) was recalled by the colonial office in London and mandated to come up with a blueprint on how best to bring together various protectorates in the *Niger area*. Lord Lugard accepted the assignment, did his research, and submitted his findings in March, 1913. Subsequently, the Southern and Northern protectorates in the *Niger area* were brought together and called *Nigeria*. The country we now know as Nigeria was therefore born in 1914. The name Nigeria was suggested by Lord Lugard's wife.

Lugard who had a good knowledge of the area now called Nigeria – having earlier worked there as the first Commissioner of the Northern Protectorate in 1900, was appointed the first Governor-General of the new country which took off on January 1, 1914. A Nigerian Council of 36 members was immediately established by Lugard. There was also a legislative council both of which were abolished in 1922 when the Clifford Constitution came into force. The new constitution made provisions for elective principle – and so for the first time, Nigerians were given a little chance to participate in the government of their own country. A new Legislative and Executive councils were put in place.

Soon, another new government came into power in 1931 led by Governor Donald Cameron who made some efforts to foster unity among Nigerians, to put the country on a fairly uniform kind of administration and development in addition to laying the foundation for the principles of regionalism. Governor Cameron's efforts laid the foundation for most of achievements of a new leadership which came to power under Arthur Richard in 1946.

Richard promulgated a new constitution known as *Richard's Constitution* which divided Nigeria into three regions: the North, the West and the East – and also sought to promote unity in diversity in addition to securing for Nigerians greater participation in the governance of their own country.

In 1948 another new governor came to power and in 1951 the leadership promulgated a new constitution. The governor, Sir John Macpherson reformed the Local Government system and laid a solid foundation for turning the country into a federation.

As a result of the 1953 London and the 1954 Lagos conferences in which Nigerian's founding fathers demanded for more autonomy and more access to State power, a new constitution known as *Lyttleton constitution* came into force under the leadership of Governor Oliver Lyttleton in 1954.

In 1953, Anthony Enahoro, a member of the Central Legislature on the ticket of Action Group, had moved a motion asking the British government to grant Nigeria independence in 1956. The Sardauna of Sokoto, leader of the NPC moved a counter-motion substituting the phrase "1956" to read "as soon as practicable". Members of A.G. and NCNC sensing that Northerners were not willing for Nigeria to attain independence in 1956 got annoyed and staged a *walk-out* from the house.

In 1957, between May 23 and 26, a national conference was held in London. There was also another conference in 1958 and in all these conferences Nigerian leaders demanded vehemently for autonomy, independence, freedom and self-determination.

In December 1959, there was a nation-wide general election to the House of Representatives. No party won the majority of the seats and so the NPC and the NCNC formed a coalition and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa became the Prime Minister while Chief Obafemi Awolowo became leader of the opposition.

On October 1, 1960, Nigeria became an independent sovereign nation under the Commonwealth. A new constitution known as the *Independence Constitution* was put in place.

Having said all these, there is one myth that must now be quickly exploded. And that is the idea that the Whitman came to Nigeria on a civilizing mission. The truth is that British government colonized Nigeria simply to exploit the people, their rich mineral resources and the abundance of cheap manpower. In fact, the argument that Britain came to Nigeria on a civilizing mission must be seen as empty propaganda and discarded as blatant lies. It is indeed intellectual opium which must be firmly discarded – and also swept away along with all lingering cob-webs of colonial mentality.

Some scholars have called for moderation of the above opinion and contended that there must be some merits, however little, from the colonial experience, after all, they argue, there must be two sides to a story – just like there are two sides to a coin. This is indeed an interesting argument but dangerous when used to justify the evil that we all know as colonialism. In fact, Walter Rodney has in his classical work: “*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*” sufficiently addressed this issue of good and bad in colonial exploitation and brutality. Walter Rodney strongly believes that as far as colonial experiences are concerned, everything was bad. Colonialism was a “one – armed bandit!” Analysis of the Nigerian experience will make this clear.

In Nigeria, the British imperial powers embarked on forced labour – conscripting young men and women and forcing them to work in mine depots and white settler farms under very inhuman conditions. Also a system of racial discrimination, uneven development and divide and rule were equally embarked upon. In addition, Nigerians were culturally disoriented and removed from the making of history for over six decades even as basic needs of life were meant to facilitate maximum exploitation. Social amenities were provided in some places strictly on accidental bases as in the cases of natives living near the G.R.As.

Furthermore, all local skills, initiatives, talents and technology were systematically up-rooted, destroyed and scattered by the British. As if these were not enough, the British government made sure the natives did not have any meaningful education. What was obtained can best be described as a system of “3RS” – Religion, Arithmetic and Writing. Those were the only three subjects our forefathers were taught in schools.

In the area of agriculture, emphasis was on cash crops such as groundnuts and cotton which were needed in European industries. Production of food crops such as cassava and yams which the natives needed for their daily existence was simply halted. Politically, colonial policies entrenched tribalism and other cleavages including excessive religiosity into the fabrics of Nigerian politics. Colonialism further led to arbitrary demarcation of boundaries, a source of communal clashes in Nigeria today.

Colonialism is, in fact, a system of exploitation without responsibility. For instance, mining ponds and gullies left behind by British miners are still with us, today, causing serious environmental problems and claiming innocent lives. And our fore-fathers that worked in these mining depots were treated like animals. No salary. No allowance. No insurance. No feeding. No medical attention. The little feeding and half-hearted medication given to them, at times, was simply meant to keep them alive and breathing and perhaps strong enough to work 24 hours. In fact, to motivate our fore-fathers to work hard in the mining depots and white-settler farms, they were given strokes of *koboko* in the most dehumanizing manner. And for them to work harder, they were given more lashes of *bulala!*

One can indeed go on and on. In Mozambique, for instance, the colonial landlords, the Portuguese, arrived first in Africa but were the last to leave. They boasted the most and did the least. The Portuguese boasted that they were in Mozambique on a

civilizing mission for 500 years. But within these five hundred years, the Portuguese imperial powers could not produce a single medical doctor in Mozambique!

We are not suggesting we should simply sit down blaming Britain for all our problems in Africa today. No! Some fifty three years after independence, this may not be exactly correct. But, as a matter of fact, we must know from where the rain began to beat us. And the people of Britain must be reminded that British imperialism is part and parcel of the sadness of our story. This, ideally, should be the beginning of the analysis of the trouble with Nigeria.

The question now to ask is: to what extent has Nigeria been able to contend with the crisis of underdevelopment between 1960 and today? The following units will provide answers to this question. But hold on!

Even while acknowledging the fact that after several decades of independence, Nigerians ought to have taken their destiny onto their own hands, we must emphasize that there are some problems created by Britain for Nigeria which may continue to linger for the next few decades unless a far-reaching measure is taken to address them with all vigour and thoroughness. One of these issues is arbitrariness in the demarcation of boundaries. The other is politics of divide and rule which has now raised the controversial issue of national question in Nigerian politics today.

On the issue of arbitrariness in boundary matters, among various communities in the Niger Delta, in the Middle Belt, in the core East, West and Northern States of Nigeria, the problem has cost the country billions of naira in terms of properties destroyed in hostilities generated by several boundary disputes. When those who have lost their lives in the process are counted, the dynamics of unnecessary and unfortunate loss becomes even more painful. The British imperial powers, indeed, sowed the seeds of this confusion. And they even did more.



Examine the geography of the Yoruba nation, for example. In demographic terms, today, one will find the Yorubas split and scattered in various parts of West Africa. There are Yorubas who are citizens of Nigeria. Yet there are many Yorubas who reside in Benin Republic as citizens of that country. They have been there since birth, right from those days when Benin Republic was known as Dahomey. They have no other country but Benin Republic. This is not all. There are also Yorubas in Togo. Togo is their own country, they have no other country but Togo. All these arbitrariness occurred because of the so called scramble for Africa at the Berlin conference where spheres of influence on a living people were shared among the imperial powers without due considerations.

At a dinner in 1890 following the conclusion of an Anglo-phone convention establishing British and French spheres of Influence in West Africa, a former British Prime Minister - Lord Salisbury had this to say:

*We have engaged in drawing lines upon maps where no man's foot ever trod, we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were (Dakas 2001: p. 74).*

This explains why Professor Wole Soyinka had insisted that:

*At the Berlin conference, the colonial powers...met to divvy up their interests into states, lumping various tribes and people together in some places, or slicing them apart in others like some demented tailor who paid no attention to his fabric, colour or pattern of the quilt he was patching together (Cited in Nzekwe: 2005).*

Soyinka is right. Today, we are not only having boundary hostilities inside the country, we are also having the problem at the international terrain. The Nigeria

vs. Cameroon border conflict if used as an example becomes a classic. In this respect Soyinka's position was given a fillip by a British official who described how the border between Nigeria and Cameroon was created. These are his words:

*In those days we just took a blue pencil and a ruler, and we put it down at Calabar, and drew a line to Yola. I recollect thinking when I was sitting, having an audience with the Emir of Yola, surrounded by his tribe, that it was a very good thing that I, with a blue pencil had drawn a line across his territory (Dakas 2001: p. 73).*

Perhaps, with just a tiny pencil, the British official had taken parts of the Emir's territory just like that! If we therefore examine the origin of mutual suspicion in Nigerian politics, today, the case of how Britain underdeveloped Nigeria becomes even more vivid.

The British imperial power also sowed the seeds of mutual suspicion among Nigerians through a conscious effort of uneven development, a situation where some areas were deliberately made to be more developed than others. Inherent in this logic was the desire to precipitate confusion in post-colonial Nigeria. They did more.

Christianity was encouraged to blossom in Southern Nigeria while Islam was encouraged to spread in the North. Western education was massively planted in the South while the North was persuaded to be satisfied with koranic education. Politically, the country was divided into three regions of unequal and unreasonable sizes thus giving the locus of political power to the North in a classical tradition of subordination and super-ordination.

Thus when in 1953, Chief Anthony Enahoro moved a motion asking for independence in 1956, the British government resisted, using the Northern elements. The North, infact, rejected the idea of self-government and independence in 1956. Why? Why? Why?

At the Federal House of Representatives in 1953, Anthony Enahoro had moved a motion calling on the British Imperial Powers to leave Nigeria by 1956 to allow for self-determination, self-government and the finest ideals of independence. These are the words of Enahoro:

*The President, Sir, I rise to move the motion standing in my name that this House accepts as a primary political objective the attainment of self-government for Nigeria in 1956(cited in Nzekwe 2005: p. 39).*

This motion was moved precisely on March 31, 1953. Sir Ahmadu Bello, in tune with the British predetermined politics of divide and rule rose and reacted in the following words:

*The mistake of 1914 has come to light and I should like to go no further (cited in Nzekwe 2005: p. 40).*

Ahmadu Bello felt the North was not yet ready for independence and even went further to stress that the people of the North can even break away. This is how he put it:

*We should set up on our own; we should cease to have anything more to do with the Southern people, we should go our own way. (cited in Nzekwe 2005: p. 40).*

Sir Ahmadu Bello however modified his position during the Christmas Eve of 1959 when he gave some pieces of advice to Christians in Nigeria. A popular newspaper, the **NIGERIAN CITIZEN** of December 30, 1959, quoted Bello as having said:

*Our diversity may be great, but the things that unite us are stronger than things that divide us... Let us forget the differences in our religions and remembering the common brotherhood before God, dedicate ourselves afresh to the great task which lies before us (cited in Nzekwe 2005: p. 41).*

Obafemi Awolowo shared the above sentiments but called for true federalism, stressing that:

*In a true federation, each ethnic group no matter how small it is, must be entitled to the same treatment as any other ethnic group no matter how large (cited in Nzekwe 2005: p. 40).*

Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nigerian's first President not only shared the ideals of a united, federal State, for Nigeria and her people, but dedicated his entire life for struggle to keep the country one, united, prosperous and egalitarian. In fact, he recalled that in those days of liberation struggle, some of them with oratorical power used that singular skill to conceptualize the kind of Nigeria they wanted before the British officials. Hear Zik in his own words:

*Political Risorgimento, economic determinism, social resurgence and spiritual balance...we gauged our intellectual brilliance in those days by the polysyllables we could use in our oratorical displays (cited in Nzekwe 2005: p. 41).*

Sadly, despite this unity of purpose by our founding fathers, Nigeria has remained God's experiment with the impossible. Even some of us, the so called scholars and political scientists have woefully failed to explain, clearly, what exactly has gone wrong. In an effort to account for this state of being, many writers have truly come face to face with inexplicable intellectual somersault. This is indeed a fact. But we cannot just surrender. We must continue to ask the question: To what extent did Britain underdeveloped Nigeria? What really is the trouble with our motherland? Why is the practice of federalism a macabre dance of deceit, insincerity and ineptitude? Why was the right to self-determination good for the Greeks in 1822, for the Belgians in 1939, for the Central and the Eastern Europeans and even the Irish people in the period of the First World War; yet the simple logic of economic self-determination is not good enough for the people of Niger-Delta, in Nigeria, in 2014? What indeed compelled Ojukwu, on May 27, 1967, to tell the world that:

*...Now therefore, I Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odimegwu Ojukwu, Military Governor of Eastern Nigeria, by virtue of the authority and pursuant to the principles recited above, do hereby solemnly proclaim that the territory and region known as and called Eastern Nigeria together with her continental shelf and territorial waters shall hence forth be an independent sovereign state of the name and title of "The Republic of Biafra" (cited in Nzekwe 2005: P. 42).*

This was on the waves of the *Radio Biafra*. How did we get to this point? The answer party lies in past colonial experience and the new world politics.

The lessons from the above review are many, namely, that the disadvantaged position Nigeria and other developing nations find themselves, today, in political and international economic relations in the new world order has explanations in historical antecedents. Our backwardness in the areas of technology, education, manufacturing, medical sciences as well as cleavages in the form and contexts of religion, ethnicity, class contradictions, etc. are partly rooted in the colonial experiences.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What are the effects of colonialism on the place and role of Africa in the new world political and economic order? Use Nigeria as an example.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

To truly underscore the place and role of Nigeria, Africa and indeed the third world in the New World Political and Economic Order, we must necessarily go back into history. In doing this, we should be interested in the events of pre-colonial Africa, the

era of slave trade, the period of legitimate trade, the time of colonialism as well as the contemporary dynamics of imperialism and globalization.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

The essential elements of why we are where we are in Africa, today, are rooted in ancient atavism in the context of colonial experiences. After so many years of independence, colonialism alone can no longer explain the course of underdevelopment in Africa. This is true. But it is equally true that the vestiges of colonialism, now reproduced in the form of neo-colonialism and globalization are concrete existential problems no serious analyst of the emerging new world order can reasonably afford to ignore.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. Explain the pattern and consequences of the partition of Africa?
2. What are the effects of colonialism on the balance of power in the contemporary world system?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Anene, Joseph et al (1966) *Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

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## **UNIT 2: AFRICA: FROM COLONIALISM TO NEO-COLONIALISM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Concept of Neo-Colonialism
  - 3.2 Neo-Colonialism; Africa and the New World Political and Economic Order.
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The essence of this unit is to explain the concept of neo-colonialism in relation to Africa and to analyze how this phenomenon has undermined Africa's response to contemporary Issues in the new world

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define the concept of neo-colonialism;
- explain critical political indicators of neo-colonialism;
- explain critical economic indicators of neo-colonialism;
- explain critical social indicators of neo-colonialism;

- understand how neo-colonialism has undermined Africa's response to contemporary issues in the new world.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 The Concept of Neo-colonialism

Neo-colonialism simply put means new form of colonialism. It can also, in a sense, mean imperialism. It suggests a new form of post-colonial contacts between the former colonies and the metropolis characterized by a relationship of superordination and subordination. It is just like a master – servant relationship where the master is the symbol of superiority, authority and finality. Conversely, the servant is left in a cesspool of ambience complex of inferiority and *follow-follow* mentality.

In another sense, neo-colonialism is a product of political subjugation, economic deprivation, social alienation, psychological disorientation and ideological confusion. All these conceptual variables are systematically integrated to produce the phenomenon of mental slavery which is the apogee, the climax of intellectual repression.

Beyond the above epistemology of neo-colonialism, we can also attempt the epigenesis of this concept not in terms of etymology but in the sense of historical antecedents. As we have earlier postulated in this work, observing the illogical configurations of the American civil war, Abraham Lincoln was quoted as saying that the worst form of slavery is the slavery of the mind. Observing the seemingly, inexplicable, insurmountable oddities and absurdities surrounding the logic behind the war, Abraham Lincoln averred that man can be brain-washed into the finality of frivolity and fatalism. This is precisely what the departing colonial land lords did at terminal end of liberation struggles.



Determined to continue fostering maximum control over her erstwhile colonies, the departing British imperial majesty designed superstructures which can enhance massive exploitation even after independence. Concrete abstractions for these superstructures are: over-developed, expensive state systems many of which collapsed their various governments shortly after independence; bourgeois concepts and practices of democracy which emphasizes freedom; freedom which the people enjoy only in the grave. Using the trinity of excessive religiosity, ethnic jingoism and class contradictions, cleavages were consciously created to weaken the social formation. All these and more are at political fronts. At the frontiers of the economy, the former colonies were persuaded to redeem their under-borrowed images by borrowing massively from international finance capital. They were encouraged to access loans, grants, aid, technical assistants, etc. from western countries. Supply of technology was reconceptualized to mean transfer of technology. Private ownership of means of production was emphasized, private capital accumulation was given a fillip, and local currencies were devalued even as workers were paid starvation wages.

At the social front, the tastes of African people were disoriented. This explains why an African woman will be happy to sell a basket of vegetables one hundred naira just to buy a bottle of soft drink. To meet up with the demands for the newly acquired tastes for western products, massive importation was encourage: from tooth brush to tooth picks, down to water and water bottles. At the frontiers of defense, military pacts and bilateral military protocols were suggested. All these have one, clear objective: to foster neo-colonial nexus with the aim of undermining African countries and other third world nations in the new world order. The result, inter alia, is that if United States of America sneezes today, many developing nations will bow and tremble. This is globalization. This is imperialism. This is neo-colonialism. This is mental slavery.

### **3.2 Neo-Colonialism: Africa and the New World Political and Economic Order**

The scenario depicted above applies to Nigeria. It applies to Africa and indeed the developing nations as a whole. All we have illustrated are structures of dependency which make third world countries vulnerable in political, economic and strategic calculations in the world system. The structures of vulnerability may be appreciated in terms of unequal exchange, trade imbalances, debt traps, technological crisis, low capacity utilization, monocultural dynamics of the economy ever expanding import bills, shrinking export earnings, unemployment poverty, etc. All these have implications for revolutionary gravitations expressed in terms of militancy and urban revolts. The ultimate result is that the instruments of capability of these nations, developing countries, are undermined in the new world order.

This situation can be reversed by exemplary leaderships (Ake: 1980; Ikoku: 1985; Achebe: 1985; Nzekwe: 2005). Emulating western countries is indeed not the solution to African problems and if International Monetary Fund (IMF) is seen as the answer, what then is the question?

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

To what extent has neo-colonialism undermined the place and role of Africa in the New World Political and Economic Order?

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

In a generic sense, the new world order suggests a system of equity, equality, justice and symbiotic economic relationships in the world system. This is not possible in the world system where neo-colonialism is fostered in the content and contexts of westernization, civilization and globalization.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

Neo-colonialism in its political, economic and social configurations is an impediment in the efforts of African countries to play significant roles in the new world. The situation can be reverse through regional co-operations, such as expressed in the concept of South – South Dialogue. This shall be discussed later in this work.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. What is neo-colonialism?
2. What are the effects of neo-colonialism on the New World Political and Economic Order?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Achebe, Chinua (1985) *The Trouble with Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension.

Ake, Claude (1980) *Political Economy of Africa*. London: Longman Publishers.

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# **UNIT 3: AFRICA: NEO-COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND GLOBALIZATION**

## **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism
  - 3.2 Neo-Colonialism and Globalization
    - 3.2.1 The Concept of Globalization
    - 3.2.2 The Old System
    - 3.2.3 The New System
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit attempts to juxtapose a trinity of inter-related concepts: neo-colonialism, imperialism and globalization. The essence is not just to operationalize the concepts but to find out the extent to which the words can be used interchangeably. This inquiry is informed by the fact that these are different abstractions and should be delineated clearly and differently.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- have a deeper understanding of the concept of neo-colonialism;
- define the concept of imperialism;
- define the concept of globalization;

- have a deeper appreciation of the concept of globalization and the extent to which

it differs from the twin concepts of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism**

The concept of neo-colonialism has been reasonably explained in this work. The present effort is to relate the concept to imperialism and relate the conceptual variables within the context of impediments to an equitable New World Political and Economic Order. The question is: what do we mean by imperialism? Nzekwe (2013: p. 23) suggests that the highest level of capitalism is referred to as imperialism. At imperialist stage, capitalism has come face to face with insurmountable oddities and absurdities. This may be expressed in terms of fall in profit margins, escalating inflation, low investment, unemployment, general cyclical crisis in the economy and sometimes a revolution.

At this stage, finance capital is internationalized and exported in form of multinational corporations, MNCS, in search of profit elsewhere, particularly in Least Developed Countries, LDCs. In modern times, this is called globalization. The political economy of globalization is imperialism in its neocolonial configurations.

Thus it can be argued that neo-colonialism is stimulated by imperialism. What is of interest to us now is that the twin imperatives of imperialism and neo-colonialism are antithetical to the desires of Africa and the developing nations for an equitable new world order.

## **3.2 Neo-colonialism and Globalization**

### **3.2.1 The Concept of Globalization**

Globalization is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views. Janice Love (2005) an authority in Southern Africa has defined globalization as “the way in which culture, politics, economies and other social activities are stretched out across boundaries such that events and decisions taking place on one side of the world have a significant impact on the other”(Love 2005:p. 2-3). With this working definition, let us now examine the old and the new forms of globalization.

### **3.2.2 The Old System.**

The old system of globalization may be defined as the period of internationalization of capital in search of cheap labour, raw materials and surplus value through huge profits in Africa and other parts of the world by European powers. This was the era of colonialism heralded by imperialism. Globalization in this context simply means imperialism.

### **3.2.3 The New System.**

Contemporary globalization does not necessarily suggest imperialism but provides an easy and safe vehicle for the flourishing of imperialism in its neo-colonial nexus. With globalization, today, goods and services produced in one country are sold online all over the world; taste and life styles of people are disoriented and changed; rural-urban migration in search of better life is rife; communication, crime and criminality are executed with speed and precision; wars are declared, fought and won on human minds and consciousness through online networks; all these and more may not necessarily be imperialism. But what is imperialism if not the internationalization of finance capital? Globalization provides a safe vehicle. It is to this extent that

globalization can also be defined as a subtle revision of imperialism (Nzekwe 2013: p. 110-111).

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Differentiate these three concepts: Neo-colonialism, Imperialism and Globalization.

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Neo-colonialism, Imperialism and globalization are three distinct concepts. They cannot be used interchangeably. Neo-colonialism is a new form of colonialism. Imperialism is internationalization of finance capital. Globalization suggests the systematic elimination of distances, space and time, thus making the world a global village. Neo-colonialism and imperialism are closely related. But while all acts of neo-colonialism have imperialist designs, not all acts of imperialism have the political objectives usually associated with neo-colonialism. In other words, imperialism is more of economic than political while neo-colonialism is both political and economic. Old forms of globalization are more of imperialism than the new forms.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

Neo-colonialism, imperialism and globalization are all critical questions often raised in the analysis of political and economic international relations. They are indeed central in the examination of the New World Political and Economic Order. They have enormous analytical utilities.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. What is Neo-colonialism?
2. What are the relationships between globalization and imperialism?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Ake, Claude (1980) *The Political Economy of Africa*. London: Longman Publishers.

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## **UNIT 4: AFRICA: EAST, WEST CONFLICTS AND THE NEW WORLD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Period of Cold War
  - 3.2 Post-Cold War Era
  - 3.3 Africa and the New World Political and Economic Order
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit examines the problematiqués of the cold war, the east/west rivalries, the post-cold war era, the transition from bipolarism to unipolarism and the place of Africa in the new world political and economic order.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define the concept of cold war;
- understand the causes of cold war;
- understand the implications of the cold war for new world order;
- understand the transition from bipolarism to unipolarism;
- underscore the place of Africa in the new world order.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 The Period of Cold War

In the 1950's with a climax in the 1960's, the world witnessed an era of profound rivalry between the socialist block led by the defunct Soviet Union (Eastern Europe) and the capitalist block led by United States of America (West). The conflict was essentially a quest for ideological supremacy between Karl Marx socialism and Adam Smith's capitalism expressed in terms of eastern versus western models of development. The strategic dimension of this ideological warfare divided the world into a bipolar system led by USSR and U.S.A. with implications for arms build-up, arms race, balance of power, balance of terror and at a point, the world got to the strategic pedestal of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). At the level of MAD, each of the leading world powers (USSR and U.S.A.) and even some medium powers (Germany, France, Britain, China, etc.) had acquired nuclear weapons with the possibility that each was in a position to destroy the entire world within a few minutes. At the apogee of this conflict in the 1960, some countries including Nigeria proclaimed non-aligned movement.

Saliu Lawal (2010: p. 141) surveyed a vivid picture of the situation:

*The tension of the Cold War vibrated throughout all Europe and the World in general. The frontier between the two superpowers though uneasy, no territorial gains were made by the two superpowers. There was 'containment' of each other. There was the 'balance of terror' or balance of power in the world. This was achieved because both knew the destruction that nuclear bomb could do to both sides. USA sought the containment of*

*communism and forged numerous alliances, particularly in West Europe, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. There were repeated crises that nearly led to confrontation of the superpowers, notably the Berlin Blockade (1948 – 1949), the Korean War (1950 – 1953), the Vietnam War (1959 – 1975), the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and the Soviet – Afghan War (1979 – 1989).*

*The West argued that the Cold War began when Stalin imposed Soviet ideological and economic control in Eastern Europe. When Britain and U.S.A. tried to consolidate capitalism and democratic principles in Western Europe, Stalin accused them of blocking an anti-Soviet block. The two met in Germany and the issue of the German question became one of the bones of contention between them.*

*The first pitched battle between the two camps was the Greek civil war which broke out again in 1947. This was the height of battle in Europe. War broke out in Germany in 1948 and the war in Korea assumed a global proportion in 1950. Therefore, the decade of the 1950's witnessed repeated tussles and the ever present rivalry of the East and West; it also rallied the uncommitted peoples of Asia and the new insurgent nationalists of Africa to their support. The Peace Treaties of 1946 led to the eventual settlement made by the five treaties of 1946 which were determined by the Big Three, "They were J.F. Byrnes of United States, Ernest Bevin of the United Kingdom and V.M. Molotov of*

*the Soviet Union". These three men dominated the international scene for some time.*

### **3.2 Post-Cold War Era**

The Cuban missile crisis of the 1960's was a high-point of the cold war. Cuba in South America is a close neighbour of United States of America with Havana located just eighty miles away from U.S.A. Yet, USSR wanted to use Cuba as a strong strategic ally against U.S.A. United States of America resisted this adventure in very clear terms. The two super-powers later saw reason and avoided the temptation of starting the third World War. Several events later, including series of arms reduction and peace treaties across the globe and under the influence of the United Nations calmed tension. This was followed by the advent of *perestroika* and *glassnuts* which heralded the *liberalization* of some aspects of Soviet's political economy and the diminished influence of USSR in world politics.

The world moved from a bipolar to a unipolar global system with U.S.A. as the *sole land lord* as well as the undisputed *world police man* whom no nation, no one in the world, today, can reasonably afford to ignore.

### **3.3 Africa and the New World Political and Economic Order.**

Saliu Lawal, a Historian and strategic studies expert (2010: P. 142) has said that the period of post-cold war saw the spread of communist ideology in Africa. This was before the collapse of Soviet influence in the world system. In the words of Saliu Lawal (2010: p. 142 – 143) inter alia:

*The period saw the spread of communist ideology to Africa. The white minority rule in South Africa was afraid of communism. The collapse of single party rule in Eastern Europe created more fear in the minds of the apartheid regime. South Africa and Egypt were the first to embrace communism. The two countries had communist parties as early as 1920s.*

*After 1945, Africa was caught between the crossfire of East and West confrontation – Cold War. Anti-Communism informed every aspect of South African government’s foreign policy and much of the domestic policy. The stand of the South African government found support in the Portuguese colonial regimes of Angola and Mozambique, which hung on until 1975, and the white government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe), which only yielded to majority rule in 1980.*

Some clear points must be noted in terms of the place and role of Africa in the new world order that followed the end of cold war, namely:

- a. Many colonies under Portuguese, considered as the most backward colonial master, embraced the doctrine of Marxism as enunciated by Karl Marx. These countries include Angola and Mozambique. We also had limited version of socialism in Ghana under Kwame Nkuruma and Tanzania under Julius Nyerere. It is instructive to note that Portugal among the colonial masters boasted the most and did the least. Portugal boasted that she was in Mozambique on a civilizing mission, yet, for one hundred years, Portugal could not produce a single medical doctor in Mozambique (Rodney:1987).
- b. The case of *Ujamma: The Basis of African Socialism* as practice in Tanzania under Julius Nyerere remains the most remarkable theoretical expression of Soviet influence in Africa.

- c. Erstwhile, British and French Colonials were later to embrace the doctrine of Marxism – Lennism especially in the Universities where radical scholarship was given profound impetus by such African Marxists as Claude Ake and many others.
- d. African states also enacted visible postures in international organizations such as the United Nations, African Union, Common Wealth of Nations, Non-Aligned Movements and regional Organizations such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Assess the influence of the cold war on African scholarship, especially in the Universities?

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The end of cold war witnessed a transition from a world political order based on bipolarism to a new world order of unipolarism with United States of America as the single, significant beneficiary of the new world order.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

The era of the cold war may be traced too late 1940's through the 1950's with a climax in the 1960's following the Cuban Missile crisis which brought the world to the edge. The end of the cold war did not diminish socialist influence in Africa especially among former colonies of Portugal who sought explanations of the dynamics of underdevelopment in Africa through the doctrine of Marxism – Lennism.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

1. What do you understand by the concept of cold war?

2. Explain the concepts of Bipolarism and Unipolarism, respectively, situating African States in each of the world order?

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### **MODULE 3: THE NEW TRANSFORMATION ORDER**

This module shall examine the Bretton Woods system, the New International Economic Order, North – South Dialogue, G20 and the South – South Dialogue. It shall also examine why in the third world countries we are where we are today, in The New World Political and Economic Order.

Unit 1: Bretton Woods System

Unit 2: New International Economic Order

Unit 3: N.I.E.O, North – South Dialogue and South-South Dialogue

Unit 4: The New Political and Economic Order: Why we are in Third World Countries



## **UNIT 1: BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Design of the Bretton Woods System
  - 3.2 Significance for the International Political Economy
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit examines the origin of the Bretton Woods System with a view to establishing how the International Monetary Funds (I.M.F.) came about. This is essential because no other international organization has shaped the content and context of the New World Political and Economic Order more than the I.M.F.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define the concept of Bretton Woods System;
- explain the origins of the International Monetary Funds (I.M.F.)
- explain the extent to which I.M.F. has influenced the dynamics of The New World Political and Economic Order;
- underscore the significance of this analysis to students of International Studies;

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Design of the Bretton Woods System**

The conference that gave birth to the system, held in the American resort village of Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, was the culmination of some two and a half years of planning for postwar monetary reconstruction by the Treasuries of the United Kingdom and the United States. Although attended by all forty four allied nations, plus one neutral government (Argentina), conference discussion was dominated by two rival plans developed, respectively, by Harry Dexter White of the U.S. Treasury and by John Maynard Keynes of Britain. The compromise that ultimately emerged was much closer to White's plan than to that of Keynes, reflecting the overwhelming power of the United States as World War II was drawing to a close.

Although at the time, gaps between the White and Keynes plans seemed enormous especially with respect to the issue of future access to international liquidity in retrospect it is their similarities rather than their differences that appear most striking. In fact, there was much common ground among all the participating governments at Bretton Woods. All agreed that the monetary chaos of the interwar period had yielded several valuable lessons. All were determined to avoid repeating what they perceived to be the errors of the past. Their consensus of judgment was reflecting directly in the Articles of Agreement.

Four points in particular stand out. First, negotiators generally agreed that as far as they were concerned, the interwar period had conclusively demonstrated the fundamental disadvantages of unrestrained flexibility of exchange rates. The floating rates of the 1930s were seen as having discouraged trade and investment and to have encouraged destabilizing speculation and competitive depreciations. Yet in an era of more activist economic policy, governments were at the same time reluctant to return

to permanently fixed rates on the model of the classical gold standard of the nineteenth century. Policy makers understandably wished to retain the right to revise currency values as occasions and circumstances warranted. Hence a compromise was sought between the polar alternatives of either freely floating or irrevocably fixed rates some arrangement that might gain the advantages of both without suffering the disadvantages of either (Amuchiaeze: 1985).

What emerged was the pegged rate or adjustable peg currency regime, also known as the par value system. Members were obligated to declare a par value (a peg) for their national money and to intervene in currency markets to limit exchange rate fluctuations within maximum margins of (a band) one per cent above or below parity but they also retained the right, whenever necessary and in accordance with agreed procedures, to alter their par value to correct a fundamental disequilibrium in their balance of payments. Regrettably the notion of fundamental disequilibrium, though key to the operation of the par value system, was never spelled out in any detail - a notorious omission that would eventually come back to haunt the regime in later years (Amuchiaeze: 1985).

Second, all governments generally agreed that if exchange rates were not to float freely, states would also require assurance of an adequate supply of monetary reserves. Negotiators did not think it necessary to alter in any fundamental way the gold exchange standard that had been inherited from the interwar years. International liquidity would still consist primarily of national stocks of gold or currencies convertible, directly or indirectly, into gold (gold exchange). The United States, in particular, was not to alter either the central role of the dollar or the value of its gold reserves, which at the time amounted to three quarters of all central bank gold in the world. Negotiators did concur, however, on the desirability of some supplementary source of liquidity for deficit countries. The big question was whether that source should, as proposed by Keynes, be akin to a world central bank able to create new

reserves at will (which Keynes thought might be called *bancor*) or a more limited borrowing mechanism, as preferred by White.

What emerged largely reflected U.S. preferences: a system of subscriptions and quotas embedded in the IMF, which itself was to be no more than a fixed pool of national currencies and gold subscribed by each country. Members were assigned quotas, roughly reflecting each state's relative economic importance and were obligated to pay into the Fund a subscription of equal amount. The subscription was to be paid 25 per cent in gold or currency convertible into gold (effectively the dollar, which was the only currency then still directly gold convertible for central banks) and 75 per cent in the members own money. Each member was then entitled, when short of reserves, to borrow needed foreign currency in amounts determined by the size of its quota.

A third point on which all governments agreed was that it was necessary to avoid recurrence of the kind of economic warfare that had characterized the decade of the 1930s. Some binding framework of rules was needed to ensure that states would remove existing exchange controls limiting currency convertibility obligations were extended to current international transactions only. Governments were to refrain from regulating purchases and sales of currency for trade in goods or services. But they were not obligated to refrain from regulation of capital account transactions. Indeed, they were formally encouraged to make use of capital controls to maintain external balance in the face of potentially destabilizing hot money flows. Second, convertibility obligations were known as Article XIV countries; members accepting them had so called Article VIII status. One of the responsibilities assigned to the IMF was to oversee this legal code governing currency convertibility.

Finally, negotiators agreed that there was need for an institutional forum for international cooperation on monetary matters. ([http://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/faculty/cohen\\_linpress/bretton.html](http://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/faculty/cohen_linpress/bretton.html)).

### **3.2 Significance for the International Political Economy**

Most obviously, Bretton Woods provided evidence of the key role of power in shaping the design and evolution of international regimes, giving rise to so called hegemonic stability theory. The dominance of the United States in the negotiations at the wartime conference seemed to confirm the vital importance of hegemonic leadership in the initial formation of international regimes, even more critically, America's assumption of responsibility for stabilization after the war appear to affirm the subsequent and continuing need for hegemony in order to preserve economic order. Conversely, the malign effect of less discipline use of power could be seen in the destabilizing impact of America's benign neglect of its balance of payments toward the end of the Bretton Woods era.

Less obviously, Bretton Woods also provided evidence of the lasting effectiveness of regimes themselves even after shifts in the distribution of inter-state power associated with their origins or early operation. Though the managerial role of the United States in the postwar period was eventually undermined by the emergence of economic and political rivals, leading ultimately to the spectacular breakdown of both the gold exchange standard and par value system in the early 1970s, monetary relations did not collapse in chaos as they had in similar circumstances during the 1930s. Rather a significant degree of cooperation was preserved under the auspices of the IMF, which continued to perform its assigned regulatory, financial and consultative functions, the regime's underlying principles and norms continued to exercise influence over the behavior of national governments. That demonstration of the possibility of durability in a social order at the international level, seemingly at variance with the predictions of hegemonic stability theory, may well be the most significant of all the Bretton Woods system's germinal implications for IPE theory.

(<http://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/faculty/cohen> linpress/bretton.html).

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What do you understand by the concept of Bretton Woods System?

### **4.0 Conclusion**

The emergence of the I.M.F. through the Bretton Woods System laid the foundation for the economic exploitation of the third world by the West beginning from the period after the Second World War.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

The strategic use of loans, aid, grants, technical assistants, debt reliefs, etc., by the West to shape political and economic events in developing countries have the antecedents in the Bretton Woods System with I.M.F. as the strategic monetary lever.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

1. Explain the centrality of the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) in the Bretton Woods System?
2. How has the Bretton Woods arrangement shaped The New World Political and Economic Order?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **UNIT 2: NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Concept of N.I.E.O.
  - 3.2 History
  - 3.3 Tenets
  - 3.4 Resource Allocation Mechanism
  - 3.5 Ideology
  - 3.6 Legacy
  - 3.7 Criticisms
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In international politics and economic relations, problems arising from the Bretton Woods arrangement raised the problematics of the call for a new international economic order. This is the thematic preoccupation of this unit.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to understand the concept of New International Economic Order in terms of:

- concept;
- history;



- tenet;
- resource allocation mechanism;
- ideology;
- criticisms;

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Concept of N.I.E.O**

##### **The New International Economic Order (NIEO)**

The New International Economic Order (NIEO) was a set of proposals put forward during the 1970s by some developing countries through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to promote their interests by improving their terms of trade, increasing development assistance, through developed-country tariff reductions and other means. It was meant to be a revision of the international economic system in favour of Third World countries, replacing the Bretton Woods system, which had benefited the leading states that had created it especially the United States. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_internationaleconomic\\_order](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_internationaleconomic_order)).

##### **3.2. History**

The term derived from the Declaration for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, and referred to a wide range of trade, financial, commodity and debt related issues (1 May 1974, A/RES/S-6/32011). This followed an agenda for discussions between industrial

and developing countries, focusing on restructuring of the world's economy to permit greater participation by and benefits to developing countries (also known as the "North-South Dialogue".) along with the declaration, a Programme of Action and a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. (12 December 1974, A/Res/29/3281) were also adopted.

In 1970s and 1980s, the developing countries pushed for NIEO and an accompanying set of documents to be adopted by the UN General Assembly. Subsequently, however, these norms became only of rhetorical and political value, except for some partly viable mechanisms such as the non-legal, non-binding Restrictive Business Practice Code adopted in 1980 and the Common Fund for Commodities which came into force in the 1989. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_internationaleconomic\\_order](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_internationaleconomic_order)). The idea of a NIEO faded from view during the 1980's, replaced by discussions of structural adjustment programmes, the Washington consensus and the end of history. by the late 1990's the proposals of the NIEO were no longer had recognition in the international community. Today, the NIEO is almost complete forgotten.

### **3.3 Tenets**

The main tenets of NIEO were:

1. Developing countries must be entitled to regulate and control the activities of multinational corporations operating within their territory.
2. They must be free to nationalize or expropriate foreign property on conditions favorable to them.
3. They must be free to set up associations of primary commodities producers similar to the OPEC, all other States must recognize this right and refrain from taking economic, military, or political measures calculated to restrict it.

International trade should be based on the need to ensure stable, equitable and remunerative price for raw materials, generalized non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory tariff preferences, as well as transfer of technology to developing countries, and should provide economic and technical assistance without any strings attached. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_internationaleconomic\\_order](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_internationaleconomic_order)).

### **3.4 Resource Allocation Mechanism**

Haggard and Simmons claimed this: Any number of social mechanisms is possible to effect resource allocation in any economic order. An authoritative allocation mechanism involves direct control of resources while at the other end of the spectrum, more market-oriented private allocation mechanisms are possible. Most of the debates within the NIEO occurred over allocation mechanisms, with the southern hemisphere countries favoring authoritative solutions. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_internationaleconomic\\_order](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_internationaleconomic_order)).

### **3.5 Ideology**

N.I.E.O is based on the (French) mercantilist idea that international trade would be a zero-sum game (i.e., causes no net benefits) and on the view that it benefits the rich at the expense of the poor. Some American economists challenge the idea of trade as a zero-sum game transaction. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_internationaleconomicorder](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_internationaleconomicorder)).

### **3.6 Legacy**

In Matsushita et al.'s World Trade Organization the authors explained part of the legacy of the NIEO:

...tensions and disagreements between developed and developing countries continue: the later expect a greater degree of special treatment than industrialized countries have afforded them. This demand was expressed comprehensively in the New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States promoted by UNCTAD in the 1970s. Although the Charter was never accepted by developing countries and is now dead, the political, economic and social concerns that inspired it are still present. The Charter called for restitution for the economic and social costs of colonialism, racial discrimination and foreign domination. It would have imposed a duty on all states to adjust the prices of exports to their imports. The realization of the New International Economic Order was an impetus for developing countries support for the Tokyo Round of trade negotiations. Critics of the WTO continue to state that little of substance for developing countries came out of either the Tokyo or Uruguay Rounds. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_internationaleconomic\\_order](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_internationaleconomic_order)).

### **3.7 Criticisms**

The powerful countries of North America and Western Europe felt threatened by the NIEO and continuously tried to criticize it. According to Professor Harry Johnson, the most efficient way to help the poor is to transfer resources from those most able to pay to those most in need. Instead of this, NIEO proposes that those poor countries that have monopoly power should be able to extort these transfers. In practice such power has caused most harm to other poor countries. Commanding price above their natural level usually reduces consumption and thus causes unemployment among producers. Moreover, price regulation typically gives the extra income to those in control of who is allowed to produce, e.g. to governments or land-owners. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_internationaleconomic\\_order](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_internationaleconomic_order)).

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What do you understand by the concept of N.I.E.O.?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The New International Economic Order (N.I.E.O) has remained a scholarly terrain of interest, passion and concern for students of Political Economy, Political Science and International Studies. The issues raised in this unit, prepares the grounds for deeper studies and far reaching analysis.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

For students of N.I.E.O. all analysis must begin by appreciating the basic issues raised in this unit, namely, concept, history, tenet, resource allocation mechanism, ideology, legacy, criticisms, etc. These are the basic fundamental issues

### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. Attempt an overview of the ideology of N.I.E.O.?
2. What is the meaning of N.I.E.O.?

### **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Antonio Casses (2001) *International Law*. Oxford University Press.

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## **UNIT 3: N.I.E.O. NORTH SOUTH DIALOGUE AND SOUTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Contents
  - 3.1 North-South Divide
  - 3.2 History of North South Divide
  - 3.3 North-South Dialogue
  - 3.4 South-South Dialogue
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit presents brief overviews of North-South Divide, North South Dialogue, and South-South Dialogue with a view to deepening our intellectual comprehension of issues raised in the analysis of N.I.E.O.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- understand the concept of North-South divide;
- understand the concept of North – South Dialogue;

- understand the concept of South-South Dialogue;

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 North-South Divide**

The North-South divide is broadly considered as socio-economic and political divide. Generally, definitions of the North include the United States, Canada, Europe, Israel and developed parts of East Asia. The South is made up of Africa, Latin America and developing Asia. The North is home to four of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and all members of the G8.

The North mostly covers the West and the First World, along with much of the Second World. While the North may be defined as the richer, more developed region and the South as the poorer, less developed region, many more factors differentiate between the two global areas. 95% of the North has enough food and shelter. Similarly, 95% of the North has a functioning education system. In the South, on the other hand, only 5% of the population has enough food and shelter. It lacks appropriate technology, it has no political stability, the economies are disarticulated and their foreign exchange earnings depend on primary product exports.

In economic terms, the North with one quarter of the world population controls four fifths of the world income, 90% of the manufacturing industries are owned by and located in the North. Inversely, the South with three quarters of the world populations has access to one fifth of the world income. It serves a source for raw material, for the North, “eager to acquire their own independent resource bases subjected large portions of the global south to direct colonial rule” between 1850 and 1914. As nations become economically developed, they may become part of the “North”, regardless of geographically location, while any other nations which do not qualify for “developed”



status are in effect deemed to be part of the “South” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North%E2%80%93South\\_divide](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North%E2%80%93South_divide)).

### **3.2 History of North-South Divide**

The idea of categorizing countries by their economic and developmental status began during the cold war with the classifications of East and West. The Soviet Union and China represented the developing East and the United States and their allies represented the more developed West. Out of this paradigm of development surged the division of the First World (the West) and the Second World. As some Second World countries joined the First World and others joined the Third World, a new and simpler classification was needed. The first World became the “North” and the Third World became the “South”. ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North%E2%80%93South\\_divide](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North%E2%80%93South_divide)).

### **3.3 North-South Dialogue**

North-South Dialogue suggests a deliberate effort in the international system to bridge the gap between the North and the South through series of negotiations as in the case of N.I.E.O. The dialogue centers on such issues as trade, imbalances, unequal exchange, debt relief, tariff systems, technology transfer, human capital development, etc.

### **3.4 South-South Dialogue**

Conversely, South-South Dialogue in the other hand is an effort by the underdeveloped South to de-emphasize vertical linkages with the North and replace them with horizontal economic relationships among the South with possibilities for

complementarity. This suggests mutual economic co-operation, collaboration and consensus among the countries of the South for mutual economic benefits.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What are the salient features of North-South divide in the international system?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

North-South dialogue is a logical implication of North-South divide. The logical assumptions and the inner dialectical connections of the North-South divide is rooted in political economy and expressed in form of imperialism.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

Karl Marx in the Communist Manifesto said that the history of all hitherto existing generations is the history of class struggle. Beyond the domestic frontiers of nation states, this class struggle also manifests in international politics giving rise to such expressions as North-South divide.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. What is North-South Dialogue?
2. What is South-South Dialogue?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North%E2%80%93South\\_divide](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North%E2%80%93South_divide)).

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## **UNIT 4: THE NEW WORLD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER: WHY**

### **WE ARE WHERE WE ARE IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

#### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Problems of the Third World
  - 3.2 57-Reasons Why We Are Where We Are
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit attempts to give an overview of the problems of the third world in addition to 57-reasons why we are where we are.

#### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the problems of third world;
- explain 57-reasons why we are where we are in the third world countries.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Problems of the third world**

The litany of problems facing third world countries has their antecedents in history. These problems may be traced to such historical experiences as the events of slave trade, the exploitations of the era of legitimate trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Scholars have, however, argued that in this time and age, it may not be reasonable to continue to heap blames on colonialism. Such analysis point at the problems of ambivalent and insensitive leadership in many third world countries. Others contend that the form and character of crippled capitalism in many third world countries is such that there is no way the political economy of these countries can be managed to be crisis free. Yet, some other scholars are of the view that given the integration of third world economies to those of the metropolis through monetization, trade relations and other colonial experiences, the economies of these third world countries have become a microcosm of the capitalist west and so cannot escape the general cyclical crisis of global capitalism which usually begins from the West.

Whatever opinion one may hold, this work has identified 57 reasons why we are where we are in third world countries, today. These reasons are not presented in any particular order. They are all issues of political economy very relevant to the Nigerian situation.

#### **3.2 57-Reasons Why We Are Where We Are In The Third World Countries.**

- Lack of sound productive base;
- Lack of sustained economic growth;
- Lack of equity in the distribution of resources;

- Lack of ideological and theoretical clarity on part of the political leaderships;
- Lack of appropriate domestic social base;
- Escalating debt burden;
- Ever-expanding import bills and shrinking export earnings;
- Contradictions between the supply and the logic of technological transfer;
- Contradictions of direct investments;
- Monopolistic tendencies of imperialism;
- The phenomenon of brain drains;
- Plainness;
- Lack of adequate statistics;
- Monocultural dynamics of the economy;
- Low per capita income;
- Poverty;
- Weak forward and backward linkages in the economy;
- Problematics of two digit interest rates and weak private sector investments;
- Problematics of poor budgeting system;
- Problematics of financial frauds;
- Problematics of fiscal irresponsibility;
- Problematics of *too much government*;
- Problematics of enormous recurrent expenditure;
- Deficits of annual federal budgets;
- Deficits of economic planning and development;

- Institutional deficits;
- Infrastructural deficits;
- Attitudinal deficits;
- Paradox of unexploited solid minerals;
- Collapse of agriculture;
- Collapse of oil sector;
- Collapse of gas sector;
- Collapse of power sector;
- Collapse of educational section;
- Collapse of public health;
- Poor management of environmental change;
- Poor enabling environment for sustainable economic growth and development;
- Terrorism and macro-economic instability;
- Contradictions between economic growth and development;
- Low capacity utilization;
- Disguised unemployment;
- Weak organizational capacity;
- Poor attitude to work;
- Mismanagement;
- Corruption;
- Prevalence of primordial forces;
- Poor public facility management;

- Leadership controversies;
- Unresolved inter and intra class struggles;
- Political economy of malfunctional and unfair justice system;
- National question;
- Injustice;
- Lack of smooth process of political succession;
- Expensive electoral system;
- Neo-feudalism;
- Ambivalent leadership;
- *Follow-follow mentality;*

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Outline and discuss TEN reasons why we are where we are in third world countries?

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

We are where we are in most third world countries because of the apparent lack of ideological and theoretical clarity on what truly the concept of development should mean to the government and to the people.



## **5.0 SUMMARY**

The outlines in unit 3.2 are apt summary no student of political economy, political science and international studies can reasonably afford to ignore.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. What are the problems with the political economy of third world countries?
2. What do you understand by monocultural dynamics of the economy?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **MODULE 4:        THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TOP-TEN PROBLEMS AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES**

This module examines third world countries: top ten problems and development strategies in addition to critical challenges arising from foreign aid, debt trap, technological transfer, etc. It also discusses the response of the South to some aspects of the challenges of the new world order.

Unit1:        Top Ten Problems

Unit 2:       Foreign Aid, Debt Trap and Globalization: Challenges Confronting  
Third World Countries

Unit 3:       Third World Development Strategies: BRICS And IBSA

Unit 4:       The Future of Political and International Economic Relations in the new  
World: Realities Versus Poverty of Disjointed Empiricism.

## **UNIT 1: TOP TEN PROBLEM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Top-Ten Major Problems in Third World countries
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

For the purposes of clarity and emphasis, this unit briefly surveys the top ten major problems in third world countries.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- understand very clearly the top-ten major problems of third world countries.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Top-Ten Major Problems in Third World Countries**

Quite more than a quarter of the inhabitants of the so called third world countries still have nothing to live on. Almost one out of every five person, out of the 1.2 billion men, women and children live way below the line of poverty surviving on the equivalent of less, than a dollar a day. Half the people in the world are trying or just

manage to survive below the poverty level of two dollars a day. Around 824 million people go hungry or have a very scarce food supply, another 500 million of them suffer serious malnutrition. These facts are only the tip of the iceberg, if we are to continue mentioning each and every state here in this work we would probably grow old and die, by the time we finish.

### **1. Poverty**

Poverty is definitely one of the skeletal reasons why third world countries are called third world countries. If people were not poor, they would live well above the poverty line, that's simple, but what exactly is poverty? You could be wondering. Well as per UN standards. We believe, poverty means living on \$2.50 a whole day and extremely poverty is living on \$1.25 or less. Around 1 billion of these people are innocent little children, infants. According to the UN approximate 22,000 children die each day in these countries due to poverty.

### **2. Drinking Water**

Ever been in a situation when you were really thirsty and didn't have any water around? At least not drinkable water. What would you have done? Probably run down to the nearest store and get a bottle of mineral water and quench your ever so unbearable thirst. Well, imagine feeling thirsty and not having any water at all around you, anywhere. No taps, no department stores, no pools, no lakes, not even a river, just the thought of it suffocates you, doesn't it? More than a billion people do not have adequate access to clean drinking water and estimated 400 million of these are children again.

### **3. No Electricity Supply**

A quarter or more of the entire human population lives without electricity in pitch black darkness as the night falls, along with the eternal darkness that overshadows their fates. That is around 1.6 billion people who do not know something like

electricity exists. They are technically still living in Stone Age, no computers, no internet, no appliances, just nothing.

#### **4. Agriculture**

More than half the population of all the developing nations in the world depends on Agriculture or farming for survival and for at least two meals a day. That is almost 75 percent of the world's poorest people, approximate. 1.4 billion Women, children and men. However, the even more intriguing fact is that 50 per cent of hungry people are farming families. A lot of internationally acclaimed projects are carried out every year in order to train and empower these people from many countries to at least help them learn to live off Agriculture.

#### **5. HIV/AIDS and Other Diseases**

HIV is on the verge of becoming the greatest epidemic some of the third world countries have ever seen. Around 40 million people are living with Aids. 65 percent out of them are women. According to a research about 90 percent of all children and 60 percent of all women affected by HIV are living in the sub-Sahara Africa. About other diseases, well more than 11 million children die each year from preventable health issues such as malaria, diarrhea and pneumonia.

#### **6. Health Care**

Women, children and men that die every year just because of lack of preventable health care services seem only to be increasing. More than 800 million people have no access to health care, and that is just a rough calculation, there might be hundreds of thousands not even recorded. As health care is not readily available everywhere in the world, this is why most of the entire world's population dies of preventable diseases like common cold and diarrhea.

## **7. War**

Most of the countries that fall in the third world category or the ones that are developing are either facing heavy duty corruption or buried deep under the ashes of war. Civil wars, cold wars, war on religion and so on, are fought no matter how low or pitiful the country's condition, you might be wondering how? Well it just happens to be the policy of certain countries to help these third world countries at the time of war for arms and ammunitions and medical supplies for the army just so they could live through the war. Something really inhumane, isn't it? Well countries like the US, China, Russia have these ill-traits of supporting wars.

## **8. Pollution**

Let us suppose, if one of the countries in the third world is barely hanging on to life overcoming all the problems mentioned above and trying to get through this journey of

life, it is however bothered with the nuisance problem of pollution. Pollution as we have been studying since kindergarten is destroying our environment and our place of habit, still nobody seems to be bothered enough, at least none of the industrialized countries with their nuclear toxic power plants seem to be. Air, water or earth pollution is threatening the lives of, not only people in the third world; but everyone on this planet.

## **9. Social and Cultural Exclusion**

Social exclusion is basically the state where people lost their self-confidence and bury themselves into deeper and deeper wretched poverty along with greater isolation. With no social and cultural framework, a country can go haywire due to complete loss of morals and ethics from the society.

## **10. Hunger**

More than 870 million people of the entire world population have no food to eat or a very precarious food supply i.e. more than the population of the US and the European Union combined. Most of the entire undernourished population of the world lives in third world countries, like Africa. 60 per cent of these hungry people are women, 50 percent of pregnant women in developing countries lack proper maternal care, resulting in over 300,000 maternal deaths annually from childbirth. A third of all childhood birth death in sub-Saharan Africa is caused by hunger related diseases, around 2.6 million deaths per year, one child every five seconds. (<http://www.elistro.com/top-10-major-problems-third-world-countries/>).

In the final analysis, all these problems are derived mainly from a bigger problem facing third world countries “Corruption”. Experts are of the opinion that once the problem of corruption and mismanagement are addressed, all these problems will be reduced.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Outline and discuss top-ten major problems of third world countries.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The top-ten major problems of third world countries are revealing but by no means exhaustive. These are however major problems identified by experts. (Source: <http://www.elistro.com/top-10-major-problems-third-world-countries/>).



## 5.0 SUMMARY

The top-ten major problems of third world countries as identified by experts and summarized in this unit are apt, vivid and reader-friendly (<http://www.elistro.com/top-10-major-problems-third-world-countries/>).

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Discuss the problem of poverty in third world countries?
2. Discuss the problem of hunger in third world countries?

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## **UNIT 2: FOREIGN AID, DEBT TRAP AND GLOBALISATION: CHALLENGES CONFRONTING THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Foreign Aid
  - 3.2 Debt-Trap
  - 3.3 Technology Transfer
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit again examines for the purposes of clarity and emphasis a trinity of critical problems which seem to undermine the place and role of third world countries in the New World Political and Economic Order, namely, foreign aid, debt trap and technology transfer.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to understand three critical impediments to third world countries in playing assertive roles in international economic relations:

- Foreign aid
- Debt-Trap
- Transfer of Technology

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Foreign Aid**

Western countries have consistently used foreign aid to control both the economy and political processes in developing countries of the world. Most of the so called aids have stiff political or economic conditions attached to them. No foreign aid is free because nothing is free ever in Freetown!

### **3.2 Debt-Trap**

Western countries, in the 1970s began to persuade third world countries that the only way to develop was to redeem their under-borrowed images by borrowing massively from the World Bank, I.M.F., London and Paris Clubs. Many third World Countries began to borrow. The result, today, is scandalous debt-trap holding firmly many third world countries on the ground.

How can third world countries escape from this trap? The first is to pay off the debts. This is impossible because the debt burden is heavy, clearly overwhelming. The second option is to tell western countries, the World Bank and I.M.F.: “Please forgive us our debts.” Certainly, they will not agree. The third option is to continue with the present practice of rescheduling and more borrowing against the backdrop of ever-expanding import bills and shrinking export earnings. This option opens the door, for the economic recession, poverty, unemployment, cyclical economic crisis and political instability. The fourth and final option is to tell the creditors: “we are not going to pay these debts!” It will take a revolutionary regime to say this and such regimes are in short supply. Truly, it is actually the West that is indebted to Africa in particular if we remember the things the West did during slave trade and the period of colonialism. This is why African people must ask for debt relief.

### **3.3 Technology Transfer**

The third contradiction is the fact that supply of computer systems, military weapon systems, latest models of aircrafts, motor cars, scientific equipment, etc. are christened transfer of technology. This is a fallacy as transfer of technology suggests transfer know how so that third world countries can use their God-given raw materials and manufacture these products in their home countries. The west will not transfer technology (technical know-how) to third world countries. The West will not transfer technology as this will amount to economic suicide.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

How can third world countries address the problem of debt-trap in which they have found themselves?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The problems of foreign aid, debt-trap and technology transfer in third world countries can only be addressed by people-oriented and clear-headed leaderships with ideological and theoretical clarity.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

The problems of foreign aid, debt-trap and transfer of technology are not the only ones confronting developing countries but solutions to the trinity remain a critical desiderata to improved economic relations in the new world in favour of third world countries.

### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

Write short notes on:

1. Foreign aid
2. Technology transfer

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **UNIT 3: THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES: BRICS AND IBSA**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Third World Development Strategies
  - 3.2 BRICS: The concept
  - 3.3 BRICS: The History
  - 3.4 BRICS: The First Summit
  - 3.5 BRICS: Entry of South Africa
  - 3.6 BRICS: Development
  - 3.7 IBSA: The Concept
  - 3.8 IBSA: Origin
  - 3.9 IBSA: Objectives
  - 3.10 Other Third World Development Strategies
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Confronted by a litany of challenges in the areas of development and global politics, countries of the South, with specific reference to third world countries have devised a number of strategies with a view to confronting underdevelopment and playing assertive roles in the New World Political and Economic Order. Some of these strategies are considered in this unit with emphasis on South-South co-operation, some of them including relatively developed nations, such as obtained in BRICS and IBSA.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- understand more clearly the concept of South-South co-operation;
- understand the place and role of BRICS and IBSA in South-South co-operation;

- understand other areas of constructive engagement by third world countries as fillips for confronting crisis of development and challenges of imperialism.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Third World Development Strategies**

Confronted by imperialism and crisis of underdevelopment in all fronts, third world countries have devised strategies to manage the problem. One of such strategies is South-South co-operation which finds expression in many ways. One of them is multilateral economic co-operations among some countries in the south for mutual economic benefits. Some of the forums at times include some developed countries. Two examples are BRICS and IBSA.

#### **3.2 BRICS: The Concept**

BRICS is the acronym for an association of five major *emerging national economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa*. The grouping was originally known as “BRIC” before the inclusion of South Africa in 2010. With the possible exception of Russia, the BRICS members are all developing or newly industrialized countries, but they are distinguished by their large, fast-growing economies and significant influence on regional and global affairs, all five are G-20 members. As of 2013, the five BRICS countries represent almost 3 billion people, with a combined nominal GDP of US\$14.8 trillion, and an estimated US\$4 trillion in combined foreign reserves. Presently, South Africa holds the chair of the BRICS group. The BRICS have received both praise and criticism from numerous quarters. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BRICS>).

#### **3.3 BRICS: The History**

The *foreign ministers* of the initial four BRIC states (Brazil, Russia, India and China) met in *New York City* in September 2006, beginning a series of high-level meeting. A



full-scale diplomatic meeting was held in Yekaterinburg, Russia, on 16 May 2008 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BRICS>).

### **3.4 BRICS: The First Summit**

The BRICS grouping's *first formal summit*, also held in Yekaterinburg, commenced on 16 June 2009, with *Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, Dmitry Medvedev, Manmohan Singh, and Hu Jintao*, the respective leaders of Brazil, Russia, India and China, all attending. The summit's focus was on means of improving the *global economic situation* and reforming financial institutions and discussed how the four countries could better cooperate in the future. There was further discussion of ways that *developing countries*, such as the BRICS members, could become more involved in global affairs.

In the aftermath of the Yekaterinburg summit, the BRIC nations announced the need for a new *global reserve currency*, which would have to be “diversified, stable and predictable. Although the statement that was released did not directly criticize the perceived “dominance” of the *US dollar* – something that Russia had criticized in the past – it did spark off a fall in the value of the dollar against other major currencies. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BRICS>).

### **3.5 BRIC: Entry of South Africa**

In 2010, South Africa began efforts to join the BRIC grouping and the process for its formal admission began in August of that Year. South Africa officially became a member nation on 24 December 2010, after being formally invited by the BRIC countries to join the group. The group was renamed BRICS with the “S” standing for South Africa to reflect the group's expanded membership. In April 2011, the *President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma*, attended the *2011 BRICS summit* in Sanya, China, as a full member. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BRICS>).

### **3.6 BRICS: Development**

The BRICS Forum, an independent international organization encouraging commercial, political and cultural cooperation between the BRICS nation, was formed in 2011. In just 2012, the BRICS nations pledged \$75 billion to boost the lending power of the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF). However, this loan was conditional on IMF voting reforms. In late March 2013, during the fifth BRICS summit in Durban, South Africa, the member countries agreed to create a global financial institution which they intended to rival the western dominated IMF. After the summit, the BRICS stated that they planned to finalize the arrangements for this *development bank* by 2014. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BRICS>).

### **3.7 IBSA: The Concept**

The IBSA Dialogue Forum (India, Brazil, and South Africa) is an international tripartite grouping for promoting international cooperation among these countries. It represents three important poles for galvanizing South-South cooperation and greater understanding between three important continents of the developing world namely, Africa, Asia and South America. The forum provides the three countries with a platform to engage in discussions for cooperation in the field of agriculture, trade, culture and defense among others.

The IBSA Dialogue Forum plays an increasingly important role in the foreign policies of India, Brazil and South Africa. It has become instrumental for promoting ever closer coordination on global issues between three large multicultural and multiracial democracies of Asia, South America and Africa had contributed to enhancing trilateral India-Brazil-South Africa cooperation in sectorial areas.

([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IBSADialogue\\_Forum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IBSADialogue_Forum))

### **3.8 IBSA: Origin After the field**

After the failed *Cancun* Conference of the *World Trade Organization* (WTO), developing countries felt the need to strengthen their cooperation in trade, investment and economic diplomacy. The leaders of three regional goliaths spearheaded a new approach for South –South cooperation at the 2003 *UN General Assembly Forum*, resulting in a trilateral India-Brazil-South Africa agreement. The Declaration at the trilateral meeting in *Brasilia*, called for removing protectionist policies and trade distorting practices by improving the multilateral trade system.

On 6 June 2003, *YashwantSinha* (External affairs minister of India), *CelsoAmorim* (Foreign minister of Brazil) and *NkosazanaDlamini-Zuma* (Foreign minister of South Africa) met in *Brasilia*, where the IBSA Dialogue forum was formalized through the adoption of the “*Brasilia Declaration*”. The IBSA Dialogue forum facilitates regular consultations at senior officials’ level, government (summit) levels as well as amongst academics, intellectuals and other members of the *civil society*. By some experts, it is also seen as an endeavour to challenge the international system by Pivotal Middle Powers through peaceful convincing, instead of other means

([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IBSADialogue\\_Forum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IBSADialogue_Forum)).

### **3.9 IBSA: Objectives**

The IBSA Forum aims to promote South-South cooperation and build consensus on issues of international importance. It also aims at increasing the trade opportunities among the three countries, as well as facilitates the trilateral exchange of information, technologies and skills to complement each other strengths. Subsequently, it promotes the international *poverty alleviation* and *social development* with main focus being on equitable development. It also aims to explore avenues to promote cooperation in broad range of areas, which include agriculture, *climate change/global warming*, culture, *defense*, education, energy, health, *information, science and technology, social development*, trade and investment, tourism and transport.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IBSADialogue\\_Forum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IBSADialogue_Forum)).

### **3.10 Other Third World Development Strategies**

Apart from South-South co-operation in the content and contexts of BRICS and IBSA, for example, there are other strategies being adopted by third world countries to address their developmental challenges. These strategies can be summarized as conscious efforts to improve on:

- open media and press freedom;
- rule of law;
- fundamental human right;
- independence of the judiciary;
- criminal justice system;
- transparency;
- electoral system;
- concept of leadership;
- organizational capacity;
- attitudinal capacity;
- institutional capacity;
- infrastructural capacity;
- trade relations;
- diplomatic relations;
- bilateral economic co-operations;
- multilateral economic co-operations, etc.

In this regard, countries such as South Africa, Nigeria and India are doing very well with South Africa and India in this order by leading in these initiatives.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Write short notes on South-South co-operation in the context of BRICS and IBSA, respectively?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Many countries in the third world are becoming increasingly aware of the need to confront development challenges within rather than through unfavorable and lop-sided vertical relationships with the developed North. This horizontal approach in the nature and dynamics of South-South dialogue is indeed of critical imperative for development described in the context of liberation.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has shown the path to the development of third world countries in the context of novel forms of development strategies. Scholars and students are expected to build on these theoretical and practical juxtapositions.

### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

1. Outline and discuss FIVE third world development strategies?
2. Define and discuss the concepts of BRICS and IBSA, respectively?

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## **UNIT 4: THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE NEW WORLD: REALITIES VERSUS POVERTY OF DISJOINTED EMPIRICISM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Future of Political and International Economic Relations in the New World
  - 3.2 Third World Countries: Realities Versus Poverty of Disjointed Empiricism
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit brings this course work to an end with a brief analytical overview of the future of the New World Political and Economic Order viz-a-viz the place and role of third world countries.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- understand how in the near future countries considered as the concern of medium powers shall emerge to challenge the hegemony of United States unipolarism;
- understand how the political economy challenges of third world countries may lead to revolutionary gravitations.



### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Future of Political and International Economic Relations in the New World**

The cold war was finally laid to rest with the collapse of Soviet Union. A New World Political and Economic Order emerged with the emergence of unipolarism. United States of America (U.S.A.) has become a strong hegemonic power no state, no one, nobody in the world can reasonably afford to ignore. This is true. But it is equally true that this is not the end of the story.

Adam Smith's inspired United States doctrine of liberalism is now a global sacrament with the baptism stretching up to Eastern Europe where some communist countries were also anointed. The political economy of this anointment is another form of revolution: the evolution of rising expectations. The expectation is for the highest levels of freedom and civil liberty, end to hunger and starvation, wiping away of the last vestiges of poverty across the land – all these courtesy of western model of development.

But as the years pass by, all over the world the expectations are not being met. Instead, things are becoming more difficult. The rich is getting richer. The poor is still being used as cannon fodder in a fratricidal war for petty bourgeois advantages. The culture of philistinism and opportunism, hostilities and wars, terrorism and untimely deaths of innocent people including men and women, young and old, at home and abroad are stories being told in many countries of the world today. At the last count, given the hostilities in the new world system, 20 million children have been displaced; 6 million children have been disabled; 2 million children have died (F.R.C.N. News Analysis 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2013). Worst still, in the New World Political and Economic Order, countries are facing hardships in their hundred, productive sectors of the economies are packing up in their thousands, jobs are being lost in their millions. Another general cyclical crisis of capitalism is facing the world. Even the economy of

United States of America has come face to face with insurmountable oddities and absurdities given the escalating debt portfolio, which appears to be increasing every year. What is the result of all these? The result is simple to understand.

The euphoria which greeted the collapse of Soviet Union and the rise of liberalism, capitalism, democracy and freedom, all over the world, is now being celebrated with caution as the revolution of rising expectation is fast giving way to revolutionary gravitations towards the ideals of revisionism.

Indeed, the euphoria of liberalism and freedom is now reverberating with echoes of silence all over the world. The silence is fast becoming silent. People are asking “when shall all these suffering end”. From Angola to Afghanistan, from Brazil to Bosnia, from Cameroon to Canada, from Grenada to Guatemala, from Haiti to Hungary, from India to Iceland, from Israel to Iraq, from Japan to Jamaica, from Lebanon to Libya, from Mali to Malta, from Nigeria to New Zealand, from Pakistan to Poland, from Russia to Romania, from Singapore to Saudi Arabia, from Thailand to Tanzania, from Uganda to even U.S.A. itself, from Vietnam to Venezuela, from Yugoslavia to Yemen, from Zambia to Zimbabwe, every country, every poor person is asking the same question: When shall this suffering end?

The implication, among others is that, in the near future some countries may rise to challenge United States hegemony in the world system as well as the western model of development. Notable among the countries in this prediction may include: China, France, Germany and Russia. Countries within the concert of medium powers may also assert themselves. They include: India, Israel, Brazil and South Africa.

### **3.2 Third World Countries: Realities versus Poverty of Disjointed Empiricism.**

The situations depicted above apply aptly to the conditions in all third world countries. The problems, however, is that in many third world nations, the people are being deceived. A lot of false statistics are kept as official records. In Nigeria, for example, government consistently says with vehemence and tenacity that the economy is witnessing remarkable growth. But inherent in this argument is the poverty of disjointed empiricism. This is because the people feel the raw reality of the crisis of imperialism in their empty days, empty pockets, empty pots, empty stomachs, empty dreams, etc.

However, no matter how elementary and cloudy the future of the New World Political and Economic Order may look like, it is not entirely a closed book. There is hope. But the point to quickly emphasize is that capitalism is too serious a business to be left for capitalists alone. Accordingly, massmobilization, sensitization, conscientization, re-education and re-generation of all oppressed classes for active participation in politics are a desideratum. Political ambivalence is not the solution to this crisis of underdevelopment and if bourgeois democratic processes are the answer, what then is the question?

In the final analysis, it is important to also observe that poverty is not peculiar to African countries like Nigeria, alone. It is indeed a global concern among least developed countries of the world. The table below tells it all.

**People Living on Less than \$2 per day (PPP) in  
Selected Large Developing Countries**

Country	% of Population Living on \$2 per day or less (PPP) (2005)	Population (2009)	Poverty Headcount Approximation (unadjusted for income/pop. Growth 2005-0)
Bangladesh	81%	162,220,762	131,934,146
Brazil	18%	193,733,795	35,530,778
China	36%	1,331,460,000	483,033,716
Egypt	18%	82,999,393	15,321,688
India	76%	1,155,347,678	873,425,905
Indonesia	54%	229,964,723	123,643,352
Pakistan	60%	169,708,303	102,351,077
Total		3,325,434,654	1,765,240,662
Global Sherpa 2011; Source: World Bank.			

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What in your opinion is the future of the present world political and economic order?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

This unit indeed, the entire work has interpreted the world. We conclude in the views of Karl Marx: philosophers have since interpreted the world. The rest is to change it.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has ended this course work with a prediction of the anticipated dynamics of the New World Political and Economic Order. We have suggested that despite all challenges, the future is not yet a close book. Tomorrow shall be better.

### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

1. What is the future of the world system?
2. What is the future of third world countries?

### **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Ake, Claude (1980) Political Economy of Africa. London: Longman

Nzekwe, Amaechi (2005) No Past No Present No Future: How Nigerians Underdeveloped Nigeria. Jos: Transafrican Links.



