### Chapter 4

### Africa's Development Imperatives: A Critical Discourse of the Case

#### 4 Introduction

This chapter is not an extended analysis of discursive formations and content of the key indigenous development concepts that emerged from the numerous Africa's development debates. The chapter seeks to deal with the critical discourse of the cases of the African development imperatives that represent the key moments in the articulation of Africa's development efforts in relation to Nepad. These imperatives have come to converge with the modern day development-oriented phenomena and processes: sustainable development, the globalization phenomenon and the UN MDGs.

These concepts have increasingly remained influential and phenomenal in public discourses and policymaking domains in the growing expectations to balance social equity in the third-world nations particularly in Africa. This chapter seeks to draw a convergence of thematic feature characteristics of African development imperatives as the background function that informed the emergence of the Nepad initiative. This chapter therefore is directed towards providing the systemic analyses and frameworks within which the concepts of African development vis-à-vis Nepad are interrelated, understood and rationalized and how they were heralded.

African development exigencies have run into a contagion of scholarly debates and public discourses arising from schisms and digitations of perspectives on their character, the causes, the scope, and their effects. In other words, the debate on these themes rely either on objective or subjective criteria, and sometimes both reinforcing one another. Some arguments on the objective criteria rely on commonality of some indicators, while the subjective criteria stress Africa's development impediments. Some development theories, philosophical thoughts, and paradigms have been advanced in an attempt to relate, explain, and interpret their significance for Africa's development. These have led to a varying degree of orientations and

interpretations with a commonality of principles, given the flux of political, socioeconomic, and leadership complexities in the continent. Consequently, they set forth the dialectics of indigenous conceptualizations for Africa's development.

The discourse of African development imperatives deals with the analysis of the critical factors, by means of rational arguments, that are bearing on the African development efforts with regards to some presuppositions, objectives, underpinnings, and their implications that are bequeathed on Nepad. Discourse on development imperatives on the continent has to be given a historical approach so as to offer subrogated arguments to the effect that the themes would be deeply understood without risk of over-generalization of the critical concepts of the subject of the chapter, in the present preoccupation of the study.

The historical challenges of colonialism remain one of the critical factors of Africa's development imperatives. The great independence movements were inspired by African philosophical themes that led to the decolonisation process and self-rule. This imperative heralded African development consciousness for the prospects of political and economic emancipation and the resultant fortunes. The African political consciousness were essentially indigenous attempts influenced by universal themes, which originated from the Africans in Diaspora in the Caribbean and assumed widespread acclaim in the USA and Western Europe. During the anti-colonial era, development was principally perceived as political emancipation, African dignity, identity, and self-determination.

The agitation for decolonisation, African dignity and identity motivated the advancement of ideas and articulation of thoughts such as 'Negritude' propounded by Leopold Senghor of Senegal, 'pan-Africanism' of W.E.B. Du Bois, an African descendant in the USA; the Ghanaian, Kwame Nkrumah's pan-Africanism; and 'renaissant' by Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. This manifestly was the beginning of an era of critical African conceptual thoughts for the political emancipation and advancement of the continent.

These attempts have been identified, first of all, with the issues of the day – decolonisation. They meant to present some dialectical frameworks for African development and sought the realization of the disengagement of the colonialists from the continent. The critical concepts such as 'Africa for Africa' of Kwame Nkrumah and 'Ujama' by Julius Nyerere also emerged in the post-independence Ghana and Tanzania respectively. The imperatives of Africa's development could be classified into two phases, the colonial and the post-colonial. It could be premised that the concept of African renaissance was not only to sensitize Africans into conceptual thoughts alone, but a call to action against colonialism as an attempt to shape the political future of Africa. On this score, the concept of African renaissance that emerged on the continent could be viewed as multifaceted and dynamic on several counts.

### 4.1 African Renaissance as a Political Concept for Development

A research study on Africa's development imperatives would be incomplete and partial without examining the evolution and perspectives of some African indigenous concepts, which in part, have contributed, to the African development project. In other words, any examination of the African development imperatives would have to be preceded by a problem definition of what constitutes the imperatives as case studies, their character and scale over time.

It is therefore necessary to draw a demarcation when African imperatives are placed in context with regard to Nepad. As a sighting shot and the need to contain imprecision, it is critical to clarify what is and what is not being argued here. The African concepts in this study deal purely, not with the cultural, sociological, anthropological, religious, historical, aesthetical or geographical paradigms, but essentially with the political, socio-economic and leadership fundamentals to Africa's development. For the purpose of this study, the salient indigenous African concept drawn from the political dimension, which has now adopted an economic nationalism character, given its contextual value, is the 'African Renaissance' concept. This provides the opportunity to track the relationship at the theoretical level between the concepts of African

renaissance within the different generations of evolution, on the basis of African development and to explore the implications of their relationships at a wider context of Nepad. The concept of African renaissance was an offshoot of Pan-Africanism, originated by Africans in Diaspora, as a racial sentiment, which expressed a deeply rooted sense of common belonging, identity, and dignity with Africa. Given this contention, Killingray has averred that, 'however, overtime and in Africa itself, Pan-Africanism has come to have other meanings, with African cultural identity being closely tied to ideas of regional or even continental political unity' (Killingray, 2004:496).

The concept of African renaissance could be viewed as a thought structure drawn from the indigenous wisdom for self-determination and an analytical reflection of the western rationality tradition with its very unique connotation and coinage of African significance. The contemporary concept of African Renaissance adduces wider implications from the past, cast in the same conceptual language and share general characteristics of universality, presumptions, pre-suppositions, vision, and prospects. The pre-independence African renaissance came at the heel of colonialism for political liberation, retained uniformity, intrinsic vision, significance, and connotation. The contemporary concept has added development and economic integration, which found expression in the evolution of Nepad.

In simple terms, African Renaissance implies positive transformation, in all spheres of African existence: which includes mentalities and patterns of thought and behaviour, socio-economic, political and culture structures. The concept has been viewed as the nationalistic-ideological trend concerned with the sorts of political philosophy, which arose from African resistance to and liberation from colonialism (Wright, 2000:489-490). African Renaissance was a response to colonialism with the aim to alter the political equation in favour of African political development *vis-à-vis* the world political order at the time.

The concept of African renaissance came to be synonymous with African determination for development through political freedom, dignity, and identity during the late 1940s, late 1950s, and the early 1960s. It practically awakened

black consciousness to engage meaningfully, the fundamentals that belie the attainment of higher goals for the continent, such as the political independence and acquaintance with international actors who have vested interest in the continent.

It played out also when the nations in South East Asia began to experience political freedom and self-determination, while African nations remained largely enigmatical colonies to the European imperialists, the experiences of African slaves in the USA, and the establishments of colonial rules on the continent. This was germane to actions and thoughts, expressed philosophically by Africans, Africans in Diaspora, and the scholars of African descent.

Other African descendants and scholars joined in the fervency that seized the time such as Basil Davidson, Leonard Barnes, Walter Rodney, Ivan van Sertini, and Molefe Asante, and researched extensively using the concept of renaissance as their thesis and theme. Other scholars of the contemporary era, such as, Franz Fanon, Ali Mazrui and Bernard Magubane, to mention but a few, have focused on the concept of providing deeper insights into the possibility of the pursuit of African renaissance in the modern era. (Davidson, 1993; Makgoba, 1999; Vil-Nkomo and Myburgh, 1999).

Duton has argued that, 'I take it that the linkage of past to represent future strategies – an effective and dynamic linkages in which the one informs the other – is integral to the definition of the concept "African Renaissance" '(Duton, 2003:556). The import of Duton's argument seemingly appears to belie the critical meaning and implicit principles of the nature, scope, concept, context, vision, and the prospect that are linked to the current debate on the African renaissance concept *vis-à-vis* Africa's development imperatives and Nepad. The emergence of Nepad has interconnectedness with the African renaissance paradigm adopted from the Pan-African concept propagated by W.E.B. du Bois, (a hyphenated American of African descent), resonated by Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe, on one hand and its rearticulation in

the neo-liberal economic thesis by Thabo Mbeki between 1997 and 1999, on the other (Duton, 2003; Vil-Nkomo and Myburgh, 1999).

Vil-Nkomo and Myburg (1999), have argued that, 'the debate on this subject was much more rigorous in the 1950s into the 1960s, inspired by the independence of Ghana under the leadership of the late Kwame Nkrumah who spearheaded the notion of Pan-Africanism. The emergence of an independent Francophone African also produced leaders like Leopold Senghor, who espoused the notion of the renaissance using the concept of negritude' (Vil-Nkomo and Myburg, 1999:266).

Duton has argued that, 'during the period of anti-colonial struggle terms such as 'renaissance' and 'reawakening' took on a newly potent political significance' (Duton, 2003:558). In furthering his argument he stated that 'in 1995, in a speech on the state of the Nation, one of the principal architects of Pan-African movement of the Nations, Kwame Nkrumah, spoke of the 'awakening' of a giant continent and (with justice) of his own country as being "the symbol and the inspiration of renascent Africa". (Ibid.:559).

The concept of African Renaissance that originated from the concept of Pan-Africanism has assumed currency in debates in the context of political decolonisation processes during colonialism and in the context of socio-economic development in the post-colonial era in Africa. The objectives had been essentially the achievement of political autonomy for African nations and the determination of their political destinies on the one hand, and development and relevance on the other. These efforts saw Ghana and a host of African nations achieve political independence between 1957 and 1963. The attainment of independence paved the way for regional unity through the formation of the OAU, in 1963, the end product of the compromise between the Monrovia and the Cassablanca continental nationalism groupings. The concept has, in the twenty first century, assumed a character of an African economic nationalism.

#### 4. 1. 1 African Renaissance as a Modern Economic Nationalism Concept

The collapse of the ideological bipolarity in the early 1990s, the dwindling donor aid, the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa, and the increasing influence of globalization and sustainable development render independence liberation movements irrelevant and less populist. It presented a new opportunity to seek relevance in terms of development driven policies to settle into trend with the evolving contemporary processes of globalization and sustainable development phenomena.

Africa today faces the reality where it is engaged in the process of reconstruction in an attempt to reform the continent from its inherent primordial contradictions to one of development. This process has to occur against the backdrop of both globalisation and sustainable development. The legacy of colonialism, political corruption, adverse effect of SAPs, huge-scale poverty, debt overhang, limited resources, and general insecurity have precipitated and rendered the continent underdeveloped and the sobriquet of investment risk. The causative effects have led to what could be termed "Afro-pessimism", which refers to 'a conception and image of Africa as a continent in institutional, mental, economic decline' (Vil-Nkomo & Myburg, 1999:275).

Nabudere has averred that '... the concept is a useful tool in the struggle of the African people to redefine a new political and ideological agenda of Pan-Africanism in the age of globalization. The key pillars of the African renaissance are socio-cultural, political, economic regeneration and improvement of Africa's geo-political standing in world affairs' (Nabudere 2001:11). The parameters, nature and prospects of the African renaissance concept have found expression in the program of Nepad as a number of features appear exemplary. Duton has argued that, '... former achievements of Africans providing a stimulus for current initiatives; there is the emphasis on Africa developing its own distinctive and most appropriate models for revival and growth ...' (Duton, 2003:569).

In relation to the evolving internal and external dynamics, African renaissance has again emerged in the context of economic nationalism *vis-a-vis* development, which began towards the end of the twentieth century. The African renaissance concept, with the development and economic nationalism paradigms, strives to develop Africa along the lines of what Duton refers to as "universalist thesis" – the desire being for Africa to subscribe to, and participate in modes of production, system of social organization and institutional management, and vision of living that are more or less fully operational in other parts of the world …' (Duton, 2003:570).

The emergence of the ANC government in South Africa in 1994, the elections of Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999 in Nigeria and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal in 2000, offered combinatory opportunities for the continent to divert energies into innovative concepts for the development of the continent. Thabo Mbeki, Olusegun Obasanjo, and Abduolaye Wade traded ideas of indigenous development concepts that took its root from the African Renaissance paradigm. They sought a reconfiguration through deeply held perception of an increasing role of the African continent in the world affairs, at the inception of globalization and sustainable development praxies along the need for concert efforts to initiate indigenous regional development policy programme for Africa's development.

To support this view, Tieku argues that, '... the leadership role South Africa was expected to play in Africa's concerted response to the challenges of globalisation meant that a new image had to be created' (Tieku, 2004:253). '... in 1996, ... made public that its policies would be informed by 'Growth, Employment, and Redistribution' (GEAR), a neo-liberal strategy designed to make South Africa a destination for foreign investment and a competitive global trading state'. (Ibid.:253). Upon assumption of office, Mbeki's neo-liberal economic posturing recaptured the African renaissance thesis. The ANC agenda included, among other things, the propagation within a broader renewalist approach of the neo-liberal economic ethos to entail the rest of Africa. As a result the concept of the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme, (MAP), a constituent of Nepad came alive.

Young avers that, 'The vision of an 'African Renaissance' articulated with eloquence by Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, and the summons to a New Partnership for Africa's Development [Nepad] echoed by Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria pledging an economically reformed, politically democratic and governmentally accountable and transparent Africa, offers a normative notion of a renovated African state' (Young, 2004:25).

Taylor and Williams (2001), have argued that 'since late 1996 when Mbeki started to play a more active role in the formulation of Pretoria's foreign policy, South Africa's African policy has coalesced around the notion of an African Renaissance – although Mbeki did not formally use the idea until an address to an American audience in April 1997. Also in 1997, a document entitled "the African Renaissance: A Workable Dream", was released by the Office of South African Deputy President. It suggested five areas of engagement of cultural exchange; the emancipation of the African woman from patriarchy; the mobilization of the youth, the broadening, deepening and sustenance of democracy; and the initiation of sustainable economic development. Since then Mbeki has sought to ... solving Africa's problems through his advocacy of the renaissance concept' (Taylor & Williams, 2001: 267).

They further argue that, 'In an address at the UN University in April 1998, Mbeki expanded on some of the core elements that formed the substance of his renaissance vision. Amongst these were the needs to establish and maintain systems of good governance; to introduce new economic policies, which seek to create conditions that are attractive for the private sector; to reduce the participation of the state in the ownership of the economy and to build modern economies; to establish regional economies arrangements to lesson the disadvantages created by small markets; and to introduce policies that would ensure access to good education, adequate health care, decent house, clean water and modern sanitation' (Taylor & William, 2001:267).

In another respect, both authors argue that, 'It is openly admitted that this version of the African Renaissance accedes to neo-liberal notions of what

constitutes 'best practice' and 'good' economic policy. In return for such restructuring, Mbeki and other elites expect a quid pro quo from international society, in particular, a concerted international effort to provide debt relief for Africa; the introduction of measure to encourage larger flows of capital into the continent; reasonable trade policies, to provide market access for African products; and an assurance that Africa can eventually occupy "her due place within the councils of the world" (Taylor & William, 2001:268/269).

The concept, African Renaissance, in other words reflects the revival and reawakening of Africa, which successfully links the evolution of Nepad with the past, in which one informs the other as integral. As Duton has argued 'to break from the constraints of the past, yet to relearn its lost or occluded values, so as to find a way to build the future, is an urgent preoccupation in contemporary ... Africa' (Duton, 2003:556).

This evocation is informed by the recognition of the need to stall the African societal and institutional weaknesses, increasing level of poverty, underdevelopment, marginalization, and what Duton calls "singular existential experience" (Duton, 2003:558). This paradigm for African development emerged in the works of notable Africans – Nelson Mandela, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, and Leopold Senghor, to indicate a few, in one single focus which Duton aptly describes as '... the achievement of Africa as being specific ... achievements and the expectation that Africa's renaissance will be generated from Africa's own will, independent act and resources' (Duton, 2003:558). There is for instance, an emphasis on recuperation of the continent through development and economic growth, human capital and the role of the continent in the global agenda, which have provided stimulus to the current initiative. '... there is emphasis on Africa developing its own distinctive and most appropriate models for revival and growth' (Duton, 2003:569).

Nepad is native to Africa and a need-based approach to Africa's development. Development partnership in the contemporary African context, is about an alternative form of charting development in wider economic and political spheres, other than donor aid, IMF and World Bank loans and assistance and

their stringent conditions, in public funding for developmental projects. The urgency for synergies of vision, issues, and new coalitions, is the dynamic element, which are responsible for developmental partnership. Axworthy has argued that, 'Coalition building among like-minded states and non-state actors is one dynamic element of this "new diplomacy" (Axworthy, 2001:19).

Before the UN MDGs were launched, partnership in Africa was essentially based on (1) bilateral contacts between governments and civil societies and the international NGOs, MNCs, on one hand, and at the multilateral levels by the UN Agencies and (2) ideological patronage on the other. International NGOs, often the creation of the developed countries, came into partnership with some governments and local civil society organizations in Africa, primarily focusing on relief functions and project funding, rather than direct development activities. Their activities and funding are always in tune with their perceptions, concepts, and specificities.

The oil price crisis of the mid 1980s created an imbalance in the foreign exchange earnings of most African states. They resorted to external loans and borrowings to square up public goods and services and importations to meet local demands and stem social and political upheavals. This partially contributed to the debt overhang. Inspired by the conditions in the continent, Berry has argued that, 'Many African economies, weakened during the 1970s by oil price shocks, drought, or civil war began to suffer declining standards of living. The rate of growth of gross domestic product (GDP) in sub-Sahara Africa fell from 4.2 per cent per annum in the period 1965-1980, to only 2.1 per cent in the years 1980-1990, while agricultural production, long the mainstay of African economic output and the source of livelihood for the majority of the population, hovered around 2 per cent per annum. Over the same period, average population growth rose from 2.7 per cent in 1965-1980 to 3.1 per cent per annum from 1980-1990. Thus both agricultural output and GDP per capita declined throughout the 1980s' (Berry, 2000:363).

The attainment of independence in Africa gave way to the ideological leanings by African leadership on both sides of the super-powers rivalry (the cold war),

in order to secure national security at the expense of development. Concessional financial aid, technical assistance and trade accompanied it simultaneously. As a result, African political economies and political institutions became dependent, weak, and vulnerable to the antics of the superpowers. Lancaster, (2000:215), has argued that, 'During the cold war competition between the USSR and its allies, on the one hand, and the Western Countries, on the other, was a major motivating purpose behind aid to Africa'. 'Related to this is the difficulty for the African continent to become part of the knowledged economy. Such an economy is driven by sophisticated technologies, which are costly and require maintenance and innovation' (Vil-Nkomo, 2002:281).

The end of the Cold War, exerted undue influence on Africa, because the continent was of imminent strategic importance to the major Cold War actors. But this importance tapered off as the major donor aid patrons from the divides began radical restructuring of their foreign policies and roles on the global stage, and sought to reconsolidate their economies. The aid receiving nations of sub-Saharan Africa suffered decreasing aid for economic development, and crisis after crisis of their socio-political establishments and societies became the order of the day. The African situation became volatile and created a sense of inadequacy, which in turn forced African leaders to participate in the globalization process in order to assuage and dissuade the built up of internal tensions and dissentions.

In the bid to adapt to the changing and expanding world economy, and the surge for political relevance, African leaders launched Nepad, which evolved through public policy processes - conceptualization, agenda setting, formulation, proclamation and implementation. By its partnership context, Nepad could be viewed in two basic dimensions of partnership, (a) fund seeking to the tune of \$64 billion (b) development diplomacy, given the involvement of the highest political contacts. Within these two contexts, it hopes to actualize most of its agenda. The inauguration of Nepad in 2001, was a response to address the political and socio-economic gaps created by the numerous debilitating factors already enumerated in anticipation to

prosecute development that Nepad documents of October 2001 have heralded in relation to globalization, sustainable development, and the UN MDGs.

Riddel has argued that, 'For more than three decades, a key feature of Africa and African relations with the outside world, has been the aid relationship. In recent years, donors have given high priority to using aid resources to help solve Africa's poverty problems' (Riddel, 1999:309).

Berry has contended that, 'Opinion ranged from the view that unless African regimes took complete control of their own economies, African peoples were doomed to poverty and underdevelopment because of their peripheral position in the global economy, to the belief that Africa could develop only if African governments abandoned their attempts to shield their economies from the world market forces' (Berry, 2000:363). In corroboration of this view, it could be argued that, any bid to revive and position the continent in the path to development rest essentially on three main planks: regional unity and integration; unique responsibility of the industrialized nations to assist Africa; and an indigenous development initiatives.

Similarly Himbara has argued that, 'The debate on development and integration is no longer new and therefore no longer about whether social, economic and political transformations at the periphery is possible, but rather about what constitute the social agency, which spearheads the process' (Himbara, 1995:149). These perspectives offer succinctly the underpinnings and principles through which Nepad had been founded.

It could be argued that, the prevailing circumstances in the continent prior to the inception of Nepad had a critical bearing on the need to seek new ways to address the development malaises plaguing Africa. To a greater extent, these circumstances, which range from political, and socio-economic dimensions are the critical elements that form the strategic imperative of cultivating strong links with the developed nations within the context of development

partnership. Development partnership underscores the harkening back to the rich nations to assist Africa in its development efforts.

The emerging trends, shortly after attainment of independence, had been that of political instability and widespread political corruption, monopoly of power, electoral impropriety and fragmentation in policy development and implementation. These conditions lead to outcomes, worst characterized by the scanty strategic interest from foreign investors, which scuttled Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), abating resources and the consequent grinding down of political legitimacy. These have rendered the continent susceptible and vulnerable, to both internal and external cleavages, resource wars and widespread violent conflicts and as a consequence diminish its role and relevance at the global stage.

The normative frameworks that were fringes to the launch of Nepad could be traced to the imperatives of the colonial era. These imperatives motivated not only the anti-colonialism pathos, but has remained to serve even to this day, a conceptual foundation of Africa's response to development, economic growth, and good governance orchestrated by the globalization process, the UN MDGs, and the sustainable development phenomenon. In other words, the political concept has come to serve as an economic nationalism paradigm for Africa's development in the new millennium. The case at hand has ineluctably linked both the character and vision of the concept of African Renaissance of the twentieth century, aimed essentially at the decolonisation of the continent to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which has assumed economic interventions for Africa's continued effort at Africa's economic emancipation from a troika: global economic marginalization; internal political insecurity and social crisis.

#### 4. 2 African Renaissance: Implications for the Research Agenda

African Renaissance could increasingly be acknowledged as the meaningful mechanism for the African world, with programmes and policies aimed at development. The concept provides a set of ideas and concepts for systematic analysis about African development paradigms. It has also brought

forth the theoretical premise in which Nepad could be spotlighted, studied, and critically examined, in the context of policy implementation analysis.

Emphasis on modeling Nepad appears as a bargain of exchanges among the principles and objectives that underlie the evolution of the concept and its relative interrelationship to the sustainable development, UN MDGs, and the globalization phenomenon on the one hand, and the public policy domain, on the other. These are drawn from the precipitated preferences of development programme vis-à-vis public policy studies. This has indeed placed Nepad, its implementation and the African development imperatives at the center stage in the contemporary drive to respond to the challenges of the modern development-oriented strategies. Such a framework necessitate study on the ways in which one form of the African development concept has been constructed; on the ways in which individuals and collective means develop internally for common identity and objectives; and the way in which shared history, political and socio-economic experiences are understood and behaviours merged in time to demonstrate a multiple balance and interdependent variables that ultimately evolve into a single development programme.

With such a conception and framework, a direct focal point of study might be drawn on a double critical criteria, which is the implementation process to actualize the espoused policy goals; the adaptability of the implementation process to the ever-changing demands, challenges, and the environment, that is, to seek out new possibilities, probing and exploiting externalities to offset excessive impact dynamics to guide the implementation process environment. To sum up, the amount that has been said on the African renaissance has significantly opened space for the concept to be localized in a viable policy science studies, that is, the nuances of the African Renaissance in relation to Nepad could be systematically analyzed within the public policy context.

# 4. 3 Perspectives on the Determinants and Indicators of Globalization with regard to Africa

Globalization is a concept whose deterministic definition is elusive. That is to say, it is polemically patronizing for some, while it is subjective to others, given the attendant nuances. As with any other social science concept, it has met with nuances, definitional variations, and characterization. Globalization, as defined by Held and McGrew, with Goldblatt and Perraton, (1999), is 'a process (or set of processes) that embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions, generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and power' (Held & McGrew, with Goldblatt & Perrato, 1999:483).

They argue that, 'it is not a single process but involves four distinct processes:

- It stretches social, political, and economic activities across political frontiers, regions, and continents.
- It speeds up the world. New systems of transport and communication.
   It means that ideas, goods, information, capital, and people move more quickly.
- It intensifies our dependence on each other, as flows of trade, investment, finance, migration, and culture increase. It stretches social, political, and economic activities across political frontiers, regions, and continents.
- It means that distant events have a deeper impact on our lives. Even
  the most local development may come to have enormous global
  consequences. The boundaries between domestic matters and global
  affairs can become increasingly blurred' (Ibid.:1999:483/484).

Behind the globalization fad is the critical quest for understanding what drives and underpins the concept and the objectives and indicators. The conditions both political and socioeconomic that confronted Africa had prompted generations of initiatives with a shift from political liberation to socioeconomic integration and development policies in response to the new world order.

#### 4. 3.1 Perspectives on the Concept of Globalization

The concept of globalization has received various interpretations that have imbued the concept, particularly in Africa. Swartz has contended that, 'The changes in the region coincided with, and were influenced by, a series of shifts in the international political and economic system...' (Swartz, 1999:41). The end of the Cold War between the East and the West, and the resultant cessation of hostilities, ultimately ended the ideologically-based and hegemonic empire acquisition, sustenance and expansion. It instantaneously brought with it, the evolution of the concept of globalization. The concept came into a general use in the early 1990s. By natural progression the concept has become appealing and seemingly enjoys considerable adaptability in the social sciences. It could be argued that globalization has effectively substituted the Cold War with development characterization. 'It is therefore, a revolutionary concept, involving the deterritorialization of social, political, economic, and cultural life' (Griffiths & O'Callaghan, 2002:126/127).

Globalization seeks to generate and promote meaningful global socioeconomic and political development at various spheres in the twenty first century, that is, good and corporate governance, a neo-liberal economy; faster, easier, cheaper communication; information technology, and enhancement of multicultural settings. Globalization as a notion is to organize the new world order that focuses on the centrality of institutional and mechanism building for development initiatives at the, national, regional, and inter-regional levels.

Given the postulations above, it could be argued that, the concept from the African standpoint, has to do with a renewed economic nationalism for Africa's economic recovery, that not only views development and economic growth in the wider context of effective governance, public policy, policy development and management, policy implementation, and system structures that are vital to translate the perceived goals into realistic outcomes but also accepts international partnership as critical for development. This refers to a more advanced stage of the process of development. The globalization

phenomenon, an interventionist approach and a major global mainstream response to global development initiatives after the end of the cold war could be premised on the significant approaches adopted by the UN, EU, OECD, and the G8, on the one hand, and the giant conglomerates, on the other, to evolve processes that aim at greatly influencing national economies and political governance styles, with a view to create global common good, growth, and stability.

# 4.3.2 Development Partnership as an Evolving Determinant of Globalization

The critical theme is the focus on the context of partnership involving all the stakeholders to act in concert through a mechanism to generate and mobilize resources to address the intractable problem of underdevelopment particularly in the third world nations. This form of partnership involves the international financial institutions at the multilateral level: the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO, the UNDP and UNCTAD, multinational corporations, and the UN system on the one hand and international NGOs, civil society organizations, national governments, sub-regional and regional organizations, from both the developed and developing countries on the other.

The first ever world conference to address funding and related issues on the critical aspect of third world development took place in Mexico, convened by the UN. 'The principal goal of the Conference is to find ways to address the various and complex issues affecting the financing of development, as well as the mobilization of resources for the implementation of action plans agreed to at major UN conferences of the 1990s and the Millennium Development Goals of the year 2000. The underlying principle is that developing countries concerns and role in the world economic structure need to be fully taken into account and strengthened' (UN Global Conference Journal, 2001: 23).

The Nepad concept seeks to create opportunities that will eliminate poverty in Africa and help build a future that is less threatening and secure by the regression of the existing mass poverty. Partnership for development could be

viewed as a channel in corporate social responsibility with a coalition approach. It is about a commitment to improving the quality of life in specific terms by all stakeholders. Accordingly, Norman has argued that, 'It is about accepting broader economic and social responsibilities ... about forging new public and private partnerships to create an environment in which Africa's people can realize their potential and achieve prosperity' (Norman, 2003:5).

Given the increasing complex nature of human, environmental, and societal challenges posed to Africa's development, the concept of partnership for development has emerged. Seen in this perspective, partnership that is regarded in an extended paradigm could vary from the intra-regional, interregional or even the sub-regional. The extra-national context renders partnership the coloration and assumption that belie what it means and what it seeks to address. Development partnership could be public or private partnership, NGOs, and inter-governmental and in the special circumstances, Nepad, all geared and focused on development of the society and the human species that inhabit society.

It could be argued that with regard to the principles of globalization, the process mobilizes international private sectors at the multilateral levels to adopt inventive and innovative mechanisms in creating faster socio-economic transactional schemes across national borders. This is with a view to create and enhance modern systems of interconnection through communication and information technologies with borderless interaction of people, quick movement of capital, commodity markets and information flows for the ultimate development of the world community, however underdeveloped.

### 4.3.3 Good Political Governance as an Evolving Determinant of Globalization

This has come to serve as one of the critical issues that drive the globalization phenomenon. Good political governance in third world nations has, to a large extent, been viewed as deterministic in the globalization process, given the recurrent dismal economic performance, and poor policy preferences. It is

necessarily concerned with addressing internal conflicts on the continent, the high scale political corruption, poor accountability, transparency, policy of exclusion, and inordinate policy implementation in the continent. Massiocotte argues that, 'Global governance is not – and does not seek the creation of - a world government. However, its proponents usually converge on the need for common norms, values, principles, and laws to coordinate socioeconomic relations on a global scale' (Massiocotte, 1999:136).

The new world arrangement through globalization seeks to forge a closer link rather than widen the gap between the poor and the developed economies, with a need for capable states, regions to mobilize and target resource-based factor endowments for high-end growth with low-end social imperatives for development. This focus has become a critical strategic imperative within and beyond regional and sub-regional fiscus for economic integration and development. It has led regional groupings to initiate policies that enhance the surge for partnership for development as even demonstrated by the UN.

With regard to the governance concept, especially in Africa, Cerny and Evans argue that, 'It could be argued political engineering undertaken through the concept of good governance particularly in the third world and specifically in Africa with regard to globalization and sustainable development refers to reforms of political institutions and structures, functions and processes at the face of the globalization process. ... State intervention itself is aimed at not only adjusting to but also sustaining, promoting and expanding an open global economy in order to capture its perceived benefits' (Cerny & Evans, 2004:59). Governance has four major dimensions, namely: economic, corporate, administrative, and political. Good governance and the principles of new public management would mean the adaptability of the African policy environment and public administration though with universal appeal to influence development and socio-economic policy programme implementation. In other words political dimensions are expressed within the context sensitive to sociopolitical, economic, environmental, gender and cultural conditions.

As a result institutional arrangements are to initiate policy actions that are peculiar to its own socio-economic, political, and cultural needs, value systems, and interrelationships to organize, promote, and regulate patterns of development and human and institutional behaviours. The new global order suggests that alliances, development partnership and regional integration inform the context of corporate pattern of interactions directed at the socioeconomic and political policy programmes that will evolve the principles of good governance and those of the New Public Management (NPM) to bring about better efficiency and effectiveness (entrepreneurship) in the delivery of public goods and services to the clientele.

Politically, globalization arguably deals with the development and sustainability of effective political institutions such as the legislature and strong judiciary that are deemed necessary for governing a state, free from political corruption, free from institutional weaknesses to match the modern political frames of reference. Africa reflects the stated constraints and therefore requires good political governance for Nepad's implementation *visà-vis* the globalization objectives.

#### 4. 3. 4 Socio-economic Determinants of Globalization in Africa

The development of the world economy has a long history and could be associated with economic and imperial expansionism of the great powers. Cheru corroborates and states that, 'The ... interest in development and economic growth is as the result of the advent of powerful trading blocs across the globe' (Cheru, 2002:122).

The global economy is one in which all aspects of the economy – raw materials, labour, information and transportation, finance, distribution, marketing – are integrated or interdependent on a global scale (Carnoy *et al.* 1993), quoted in Robins, (1996). By global economy, 'we mean an economy that works as a unit in real time on a planetary basis' (Castells, 1994:21). Cheru also contends that, 'The regional economic integration is not conceived as a counter-hegemonic project to deflect the ill effects of globalization on

weak and vulnerable African economies, but as a necessary vehicle to accelerate Africa's integration into the new knowledge-driven global economy' (Cheru, 2002:122).

Economic imperatives bear on the globalization phenomenon. For instance, the creation of trade and investment barriers and high tariffs, the rationing of capital repatriation and transfers in the name of protectionism had hobbled the economic development and even regional integration in African economies, thereby isolate the continent from the world mainstream economic systems. Economically, Africa's productive systems, trade and commerce with the outside world were being dramatically redefined, driven by the logic of globalisation through WTO.

Van de Walle has argued that, 'Africa's economic crisis has lingered for two decades because state elites have failed to implement thorough going economic liberalization, not because they have been hemmed in by societal resistance to reform, but because elites have persisted in clientelistic politics. .... The partial reform syndrome, which characterizes Africa's experiences over the past two decades, is the result of persistent clientelism, low state capacity, the elites lack of faith ... as a solution to Africa's development problems, and a pattern of increasing foreign aid flows despite the failure of African states to reform' (Van De Walle, 2003:137-140).

In Africa, the attempt to re-organize and generate economic growth began with the proposed African Economic Community (AEC). Cheru argues that, 'The Abuja Treaty signed at the OAU Summit in June 1991 with the aim of establishing an African Economic Community by the year 2025, is indicative of African resolve to become an important player in global matters' (Cheru, 2002:122). Given the interrelationship between economy and globalization, Cooper has argued that, 'The ideological framework is liberalisation arguments for free trade and free movement of capital' (Cooper, 2002:196). It is also about expansion of integration and spatial linkages which underscores rapidly pervasive multitude of changes for development.

#### 4. 3. 5 Indicators of the Globalization Process

In order to prosecute the tasks of globalization and sustainable development, certain key areas have been targeted for action plan. These could be regarded as the indicators of the globalization phenomena of the new world order. They include among others:

- Mobilizing Domestic Financial Resources the bulk of a country's development capital comes from effective legal institutions, system of taxation, public administration, and financial infrastructures required for public and private funds deployment to enhance social and economic advancement.
- Mobilizing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in addition to domestic resources, to increase the magnitude and broaden the reach of these flows, while at the same time containing their volatility.
- Active participation in international trade to generate external earnings from major channels for promoting economic growth and eradicating poverty.
- Official Development Assistance (ODA), has entered into a long-term decline but remains essential for the development of many low-income countries. Additional assistance is also needed if the world is to realize its commitment to the Millennium Summit goals of poverty reduction and human development, significant debt relief non-selective extension to the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative, (HIPC) to solve present debt problems and prevent developing countries from falling into the debt trap.
- International Monetary, Financial And Trading Systems assistance both financial and advisory have led to calls for reform to the International financial architectures. Some improvements have been made but more are required. One challenge is to find ways to strengthen developing countries' participation in the International economic systems. The other is to increase coherence among the key institutions in the areas of international finance, money, trade and development. In this regard,

the UN should be able to play a more effective role in the International economic arena (UN Global Conference Journal, 2001:23).

The issues of HIV / AIDS, environment, and gender empowerment are other indicators for the globalization process due to the international character, repercussions, and the dimensions these factors have come to assumed.

The pattern of these indicators correlates with the globalization principles. They are based on the perception and vision of re-ordering the socio-economic and political interaction patterns of the world for development. This is a shift of emphases from ideological divide to global development, a new paradigm designed by the universality of consensus on the nature of interactions among international actors and governments. These conditions have constituted challenges for as well as the indicators of globalization. International NGOs, Amnesty International, DFID, USAID, Oxfam, to mention a few, have already been in operation in Africa on bilateral bases while UN Agencies, IMF, WB, UNDP, UNCTAD, WTO, are in collaboration at the bilateral and multilateral levels. The aim arises from the need for partnership for development, construction of economic and socio-political infrastructure, strengthening of political institutions, integration of African economies into the world economic system within the principles of globalization and the UN MDGs.

Given the aforesaid background, the need for a collective effort became urgent and inevitable. Nepad eventually came to represent the mechanism, not only to fill the gaps but also to address the imperatives of development in the continent. Although this may be belated in comparison with other regions of the world, it is better late than never particularly at the emergence of the globalization and sustainable development phenomena. Perhaps if it had emerged before now, there is a possibility that, it would have remained effectively dysfunctional likened to the moribund OAU, mired in the Cold War divisive propaganda. All this would have guaranteed its incompetence and inefficiency. Van de Walle has argued that, 'Despite a recent spurt in the mid-1990s, most African countries are poorer today than at independence. Most economies appear stagnant, still dependent on a small number of primary

commodities and seemingly incapable of undertaking the kind of structural transformation that is taking place in much of Asia and Latin America' (Van de Walle,1999:340).

These conditions as noted above underscores the introduction of indigenous development programme, such as Nepad with its policy goals. In corroboration, Alemayehu posits that, 'Cooperation at multi-country and subregional levels offers African countries the possibility of mitigating constraints arising from small and fragmented national markets, economies of scale, and lack or inadequacy of natural resources' (Alemayehu, 2000:378). The implication here, among others, is that development partnership ought to bring about established principles that guide and facilitate the optimal dividends, through comparative advantages. This tends to enhance the basis for cooperation and necessarily preconditions for development partnership. Alemayehu further argues that, '... no matter what arrangements are put in place among member countries, the involvement of foreign collaborators and partners, both at the individual country and group-of-countries levels, is fundamental and unavoidable at least within the not so distant future, if African countries are to develop, achieve without option' (Ibid.:378).

Given the huge level of development imperatives on the continent, Van de Walle has argued that, '... everyone pays lip-service to the idea that development is an indigenous affair, in which outsiders can play at best a small role. It could indeed plausibly be argued that the situation would have been considerably worse without the substantial flow of resources to the region provided by aid' (Van de Walle, 1999:340). The real challenge left unattended for development in Africa is the development partnership, which has elucidated much enthusiasm from the globe, at least notionally. Accordingly, it could be argued that these accounts constitute important stages in the realization of an ultimate portrait of development policy programme in the age of globalization.

# 4. 4. The Principles and Rationale underlying African Development Partnership in the Globalized Environment

The concept of development partnership draws on the lessons of several decades of such experience and the promotion of more international partnership for sustainable development. The primacy that underlie the concept is based on the need for sustained economic growth through multiple factors in which developing countries, particularly those in Africa can match, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. As it is apparent from development experiences, a piecemeal approach or development without partnership consideration would fail to optimize the principles of globalization and sustainable development for the benefit of the continent.

Several forerunner development initiatives were characterized by implementation problems and ill successes. These, it could be argued, were constructs in isolation and therefore could not be properly implemented. The partnership framework with the rest of the world was non-existent, if not utterly dismissed. While some had dramatically transformed their economies in terms of the outputs, structural and institutional reforms, in many cases through partnership – APEC and LAFTA for example. So far there has been no evidence of ill success or poor development of these initiatives based on development partnership strategies. Various modalities underpin development partnership as acknowledged even by the UN. One of the critical criteria of development partnership is funding.

Given the predominant shortage of capacities in Africa, these modalities remain largely the essential ingredients for development partnership. From the UN MDGs (2000) and the Conference on Financing Development (2001), cooperation or partnership for development has seemingly gained currency as the new trend of activities in the absence of ideological warfare. The trend of economic activities and socio-political developments even from the colonial era had witnessed domination by foreign partners in most African countries through joint ventures and the advent of the multi-national corporations, where they invest capital and product marketing along with the indigenous sectors.

To this extent, partnership from the development perspective appears mutually desirous, beneficial, and advantageous to the participating African countries.

Financing for development requires a pragmatic involvement of the G8, the EU, donor nations, and some UN Agencies in critical areas such as political governance, strengthening of public institutions, and democratic principles in the developing countries, which go beyond mere bilateral donor aid practices, but provide new partnership modalities. This has put the concept of partnership into a new context, which could be regarded as the extended or expanded partnership. It has created the scenarios in which the partners play a greater role, ownership in prioritizing and coordinating approaches. The extended partnership concept *vis-à-vis* Nepad therefore would necessarily implicate coordination and liaison with international bodies such as UN, OECD, IMF, WB, and the African sub-regional bodies - ECOWAS, SADC, EAC, IGAD, and the Arab Magreb Union, and tap into the experiences of other regional economic and political institutional arrangements, for example, the EU, to benefit from their experiences.

Previously, partnership in Africa was essentially focused on donor aid from international NGOs, relief efforts, loan and grants for project development, carried out at the center and mostly within the context of technical assistance programme. Consequently, partnership has provided the developed countries the necessary window to meaningfully assist in funding regional development programmes in Africa in particular, in order to exterminate poverty and generate development that is sustainable. These criteria define the overall context in which development partnership could occur, as well as the conditions of the game. The followings could therefore be conceptualized as some of the basic principles for development partnership:

- Strategies for global economic development expansion in form of partnership for development.
- Promotion of investment outlook, Communication and information technology.

- Ensuring environmental sustainable development.
- Strategic policy, institutional reform and expansion.
- Policy targeting for development; Human capital and sharing of leadership responsibility, i.e. transformation from a position of almost exclusive authority to one prone to facilitation and motivation.
- Good political and economic governance.
- Promotion of social equity, inclusive policy-making process, strategic policy implementation, and gender equality.

(Kuye, 2003; Brinkerhoff, 2002; Maloka & Le Roux, 2001; Vil-Nkomo, 2001; Makgoba, 1999).

Development partnership holds out the potential to become the central approach in this century for the promotion of sustainable development and globalization principles. The partnership concept embraces a more mutually independent nature due to its indigenous context in the tie-in between the actors than in joint initiatives under contractual, principal-agent, or governing-governed relationships, that is to say all parties involved participate on the basis of the recognition of absolute mutual interdependence; the contribution of which is considered essential to the whole, regardless of the variation in the strengths and weaknesses of the parties (Fizbein & Lowsen, 1999:4).

Arboleda and Villar, (1996) have argued 'development partnership is characterized by (I) a common objective (ii) active partnership (iii) interdependent contributions and (iv) horizontal relations', quoted in Fiszbein & Lowden, 1999:12). The partnership character of Nepad denotes that the partners, particularly the G8 and donor nations, would not only contribute resources (financial, and intangibles such as information and political support) but also participate in the process. The focus being that the development challenges of the continent has to be addressed and systematically reduced.

Fiszbein and Lowden, (1999), have further argued for two basic criteria of partnership –Maximalist and minimalist. The maximalist dimension, according to them, is when the parties that are in partnership are recognized and are at

total correlative interdependence. While the minimalist denotes members of the partnership are interacting and making useful contributions to the interest of the partnership. There is an implication here with regard to Nepad. As a case study of partnership and policy implementation at the supra-national level, the criterion of the minimalist approach reinforces the outlook of Nepad.

The reason being that, the aggregate effect to mobilize the potentialities and resources of the partners in a broadest sense, appear collective to find solutions to the development imperatives of Africa. At the same time, partnership either at the minimalist context or at its classic form, share correspondingly certain intrinsic features central to understanding the critical nature of partnership as a recourse to development.

Brinkerhoff, (2002) has identified the typologies of partnership and groups them into four formations - partnership for public service; partnership for corporate social responsibility; partnership for conflict resolution; and partnership for international development. To this end partnership from the Nepad's perspective denotes all, in which the progenitors seek the most effective and efficient service delivery, minimizing the direct involvement and funding of government bodies at the face of scare resources both in human capital and material terms and acquiring external funding, for implementing its policy objectives.

Partnership for development comes with its unique demands and characteristics in terms of scope, complex processes, and context within a given circumstance. This tries to serve the basis for which Brinkerhoff, (2002), argues that partnership of any kind is more of rhetoric than pragmatic and without the necessary trappings, as it is prone to making things worse. This contention draws huge cynicism and builds up mistrust. This arises out of the least sustained African progress in development, failure to stem the tide against frivolous and unnecessary self-inflicted crises and depressions, and inability to stay out of extractive economic relations with the rest of the world.

Partnership for development could be classified as a mechanistic function, which means that certain public mechanisms could be inducted as measures of willingness to act. At some instances, effective development partnership might be operational and not in others. There is the possibility that partnership for development is mutually reinforcing with inherent hybrid variables.

However, there is widely divergent empirical evidence on the concept of partnership and the effectiveness of partnership, albeit not within the purview of this study but it is critical to note certain implications. The first is, even when the participants in the partnership are observable, the development programmes may not be measured at what ever level in terms of a measured period of time, appropriate quality in a given environment, for instance the Nepad's policy programme. Second, delicate variations abound if the de facto partnership becomes practicable beyond the partnership continuum. Thus fragmentary (lack of formal authority and contact) development partnership would appear to be the norm.

Please see below a reconfigured 'Modeling Frame of Nepad's International Partnership for Development': Actors and their relationships. It is adapted for the purpose of this study from Murrell's, (2002:76), *Institutional Economics of Foreign Aid.* In Martens, Mummert, Murrel, Seabright, The Institutional Economics of Foreign Aid. Cambridge University Press.

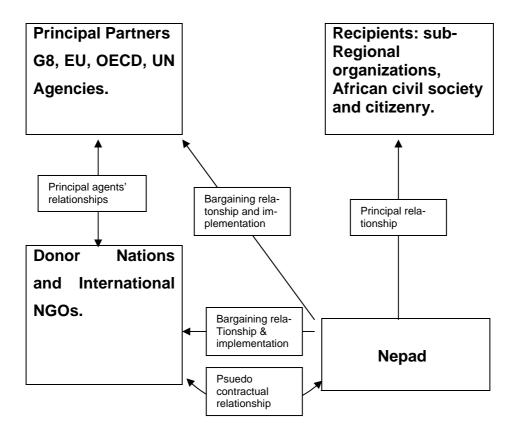


Figure 4.1: Partnership Relationship Model between Actors of Nepad.

The links indicated are less formal, emphasize relationships between actors in Nepad partnership as they are pressed together in the same African project. This archetype development partnership model reflects that each actor comes into it with its own interest, which rules out fully formal contractual agreement. There exists much capacity and latitude for multiple engagements and negotiations among the actors. In other similar patterns of partnership either between INGOs and local or between governments and civil society, the arrangement remains the same, particularly in the third world except in exceptional circumstances.

The focal point in the model (Fig. 4.1) is the dependent relationship and links that the actors – principal partners and the recipients are under less formal contract and are in bargaining exchanges with each other. It pinpoints who

and who are relating within the partnership environment at various levels. All the participants in the model are independent entities that try to exercise optimal influence, on the one hand and extract benefits, on the other. For instance, the G8 and donor nations are urged to facilitate the implementation process by advancing capital grants and technical expertise that they possess and which are not readily available in Africa.

Partnership for development has unique advantages and conversely its drawbacks, given its emergence as a revivalist or interventionist programme particularly in the African environment. Its advantages include exchanges of information and initiatives, infusion of resources, facilitation, political support, sharing and transfer of technical skills and technology. It seeks to influence autocratic leaderships and exclusive decision-making; it allows for dialogue and consensus building, enhances institutional development and capacity building. It induces a multiplicity of actors, interactions, interdependency and interrelationships. As it is with other social scientific concepts, its shortcomings are imminent. The major partners could withhold or withdraw sponsorship facility at will. There is also the fragility dimension, wherein the weaker members are economically vulnerable. This ultimately creates subordination to the powerful hegemon member states.

While the G8, as principal actors acquire the capital and technical means and the capacity to ease the implementation of the policy objectives of Nepad, the recipient lacks the resources to do so. This type of partnership draws unique difficulties. For instance, the question of capital resources, expertise, and information flow that the G8 acquires, accumulates, and disseminates in large scale, remain greatly in their favour, to wield extensive political and socioeconomic influence on the African partner, Nepad.

The interlocutors of Nepad are misrepresenting the cultivation of good governance, respect for democratic principles and the rule of law, political credibility, which are of significance to the G8 partners. The Zimbabwean political crisis provides the ready example. This is what Taylor, (2002) has reflected as a failure of Nepad. Thus, the partnership with the G8 can slide

into diminishing of the focus, perception, and the expectations of Nepad, which is already facing radical widespread critiques, if ethics that appeal to the major partners suffer subtlety and subterfuge.

Notwithstanding, partnership allows capacity for the actors to engage in trade-offs between devoting resources, requirements and contributions to match focal points of interest and building consensus. Within the context of partnership for development, the recipients owe themselves the responsibility in the pursuit of problem definition and guidelines that they seek to regulate and create an enabling environment for sustained partnership. The facilitators would have to deal with both political support and resources. This poses the question as well as challenges as to whether or not partnership can be articulated in a singular approach that defines partnership types. It is often the case, which particular priorities prevail over individualistic ones on issues that are defined both within regional and international jurisdictions, in a given partnership context.

These contentions seemingly capture the delicate nature of development partnership and relationship with partners in which all parties reserve the capacity to differentiate between the issues of implementation and non-implementation. The implicit element in this partnership of choice is that, the actors have to maintain constant interaction and recurrent dialogue, if they don't, it will fail to build up trust to enhance the implementation process. Sustaining the trust and expectations of the partners is essentially critical in development partnership when the recipients honour the principles of and commitment made in the partnership. Consequently, the equilibrium outcome of partnership for development would rely on the level of trust and the quality of relationship between the donor principal and the recipient.

Given the unpredictable nature of the African political milieu, depressed economies, acute shortage of functional infrastructural and social facilities, poor policy and implementation environment, the partnership consideration of Nepad seem propitiously optimal and unavoidable. To ensure sustainability,

the African project must be partnership-driven. It may lead to better policy and implementation management as well as resources.

Development partnership, particularly in Africa, requires more of interaction, specificity, than episodic activity. This could enable (a) quick gain of access to technology, knowledge, and skills brought in from external societies (b) increase economies of scale by pooling various resources together (c) manage interdependencies (d) share strategic information among themselves. (Kogul, 1998; Oliver, 1990; Powell, 1990), quoted in Mitsuhashi (2002:109). These criteria are all true in a partnership-driven development policy programme such as Nepad. The development imperatives and socioeconomic challenges that perennially confront the continent leave no other option and/or demonstrate the necessity for development partnership to earn greater leverage in terms of resources for implementation.

# 4. 5 The Globalized World Order: Formations and Transformations in Africa

The concept of globalization, in simple terms, means the modern system of connection of people, capital, commodity markets, information flow and borderless interaction, with a view to actualize the end by the means. Wealth distribution is unevenly distributed in the international system, given states classification in the development index. Nations have always made various declarations with the policy focus on development to transform their societies with regard to political institutions, infrastructure, increased social schemes and economic growth policies, and resource allocation to generate growth from within.

Behind the globalization fad is the critical quest for understanding the new world arrangements and transformation in development terms. These are diffused in several important ways, which have brought certain interdependencies with spatial elements in focus. It is critically important to note that sustainable development could be viewed as a generic function of globalization. There is seemingly a growing interest in the prospect of the

concept as a strategy to fast-track global economic integration, not the least in relation to third world sustainable development agenda and even Nepad.

A variety of development related imperatives ranging from the possible role of poverty, human and physical capital resources, trade and commerce, communication and information technologies, capital investment, environment, and good political and economic governance have come to generate a great deal of universal appeal through international organizations, private sector INGOs, MNCs, and civil society. Of more concern are the obvious implications of these conditions in the developmental policies in the third world nations, particularly in Africa. This clearly affects the changing role and global perceptions of formations and transformation for sustainable development and globalization processes, and by extension in Africa.

Some major changes in reinventing the continent may be taking place through the programme of Nepad. It emphasizes critical themes that merge with the globalization framework and the sustainable development phenomenon. Nepad has come up with initiative such as APRM, human development, and regional security initiatives, with a nexus to trade and commerce negotiations with the WTO, as well as major international trading partners to offer not only funding, but more detailed attention and agreements for access to new markets for African produce, with a view to advancing international economic transactions, develop regional marketing strategies, for perceived economic benefits. Le Roux refers to these factors as, 'cooperative partnerships to capture the benefits of shared knowledge' (Le Roux, 2003:2).

This has led to increased pressure on governments to initiate policy development programmes and an efficient policy implementation process, linking such programmes through methodology to acquire modern management systems through globalization. This approach, will in turn, promote and secure through political economy paradigm, the integration of African economies into the global economy.

#### 4. 5. 1 The African Political Environment

The motivation for globalization lies in, among other things, the achievement of political goals through good governance, in the need to reform and democratize political systems and strengthen political institutions as obtained in the Eastern European countries, including Russia, understandably due to the command economic system which were common features in these countries and more importantly in Africa, where monocracy, authoritarianism, dictatorship and military regimes were rife. Taylor, (2002) and Ohiorhenuan, (2002), have argued that democracy is a fertile ground for development to take place in Africa so as to attract foreign direct investment. This perspective resonates in the principles espoused by the globalizers – UN, EU, OECD, EU, MNCs, INGOs, other aid donor nations and organizations, and international conglomerates to provide the necessary incentives for development. These bodies have tended to tie down assistance to basic conditions, such as, respect for democratic principles, good political governance, human rights, liberal economic pathos in exchange for funding, a critical shift towards globalization and sustainable development frameworks.

The donor aid in bilateral and multilateral formations have emerged in Africa since the 1960s, to assist in manpower training, technical assistance, and research studies, funding development of social and administrative infrastructures and in some cases in annual budgeting. The cessation of aid flows, the lifeline to most sub-Saharan African nations, as the main beneficiaries of the donor aid would mean the creation of official chaos and political instability in most cases. As a result, democratization dispensations had to be imposed on them so as to create conducive environment for FDI flows. For example: The Gambia, Burkina Faso, Benin Republic, Togo, Congo Brazzaville, Chad, Uganda and Ethiopia have been forced to democratize, though the military potentates in these countries changed uniforms and civilianized, as an indication of embrace of democratic norms and principles. To this extent, democratic principles and norms have to become transformational, but transgressional in Africa.

As observed by Nieryinck and Rogers, '... the virtue in the approach of the late John Wiseman, who argued for 'demo-optimism' in Africa on the grounds that, although obstacles to democracy were legion and democratic progress is highly uneven, comparative review indicates that the continent's political systems were overall, more pluralistic by the late 1990s than they were at the beginning of that decade' (Wiseman, 1999), quoted in Nieryinck & Rogers, (2003:6).

The Nepad programme as already observed has instituted the APRM initiative in an effort to emphasise the critical need of democratic appeal for development. Fourie and Vickers (2003), have premised that, 'An African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) consisting of Nepad member states will keep an eye on how their African brethren are sticking to the Nepad gameplan, implementing appropriately pre-agreed political and economic governance' (Gelb, quoted in Fourie & Vickers, 2003:11). To corroborate this argument, Harbeson has posited that, '...USAID has accomplished a change of emphasis from support for initial multiparty elections, ... to a broader range of objectives ... to follow the school of thought that holds that broadening the scope of democratization is at least as critically important to effective democratic consolidation ...' (Harbeson, 2000: 249).

These standpoints have revealed a clear pattern of appreciable political transformation in Africa in the context of the globalization process. The flow of ideas, contacts, and culture opens in national, sub-regional, and inter-regional policy mechanisms interfaces, in order to promote competition at sectoral stages. The existential implications of globalization have played out in the capacity functions for development in the continent, some of which are evident in the Nepad official document. Given this perspective, effective political reforms in African nations have been occasioned by globalization, which offers opportunities for some good policy formulations, but experientially are not viable in an implementation order likened to the globalization processes.

#### 4. 6 Africa's Globalization Strategy: the Nepad Initiative

African leadership initiated indigenous development programmes, which ultimately led to the evolution of Nepad. Sako, (2003) has described Nepad 'as an attempt by Africans to create conditions for sustainable development through programmes for strengthening peace, security, democracy, political governance, and enhance regional and sub-regional approaches to development; promote the growth of priority sectors such as infrastructure, human resources, agriculture, environment, culture, and science and technology; and mobilize resources for development with a focus on capital flows and access by African exports to markets in industrialized countries' (Sako, 2003:iii).

An important programme of Nepad initiative according to Sako, 'is the declaration on democracy, political, economic and corporate governance that was adopted during an African Union Summit in Durban in July 2002' (Sako, 2003:iii). Sciavone has argued that, 'The variety of approaches and interest, largely unconditioned by traditional ideological tenets, presents unprecedented challenges to international cooperation in all areas, from security, trade and financial issues to environmental protection ...' (Sciavone, 1997:2).

In an effort to render an understanding of the dynamics of Africa's development paradoxes, Africa's marginalization, the need to map future strategies as recourse for action, the state of the political economy and the antecedents of development jigsaws in Africa need to be properly located. It could be argued that part of the problem lies in lack of motivation and incentive for research studies to carry out systemic analyses across the public sector policy processes so as to offer such deep knowledge on both the endogenous and exogenous impact factors that bear on the implementation process of development policies on the continent. But limited resource capacities and the inadaptability of the implementation process to environmental dynamics have persistently exposed Africa's policy development environment to fragility. With the acclamation of the globalization

process, the continent began with a concert of indigenous strategies to respond to the globalization process, a shift from 'dependency theory' to 'development theory'.

Behind the "nepadization" Kuye, (2002) fad, there is an important quest for understanding the interconnectedness of different strategies of Africa's development *vis-à-vis* the globalization and sustainable development. This offers explanations of the new mechanism being utilized for shaping the strategies of development in Africa and the transnational partnerships. The structures necessary for functional strategies have been established to coordinate and diffuse activities given the challenges posed to policy implementation dilemmas in the continent. African strategy is typically expressed in the Nepad programmes of action. These functions are entirely based on mutual understanding among the African leaderships, spatial linkages, and the focus on the UNMDGs, and the process of globalization.

The emphasis from ideological patronage to globalization has precipitated Africa's policy development patterns and policy action to shift to regional development policy programmes. This perspective underscores the obvious certainty that development in whatever concept and context does not come through any immutable and ordered form of activity, but rather relies on vision, active collaboration, and a concert of ideas to cause development and economic integration patterned activities.

Nepad has come to represent an institutionalized building block for the economic, social, political dysfunctions on the continent, that is, to purportedly deal with the imperatives of Africa's development. Young argues that, 'The webs of conflicts, violent social patterns and governmental dysfunctionalities in many parts of Africa make the state a far less dominating, agenda-setting actor than in the first post-independence decades' (Young, 2004:24). The end of the super powers' rivalry, in the 1990s, provided opportunities for Africa to seek programmes to meet the challenges ahead by the account of the past and the opening up of new frontiers with equally new enthusiasm for regional

programmes drawn from new cooperation and interdependency principles of sustainable development and the UNMDGs.

The concern about poverty eradication, development, integration of African economies into the global economies, and the rapid deterioration of the environment contribute to and bring forth the concepts of sustainable development and globalization. In light of the contention, Sciavone has averred that, 'Sustainable development, ... is development that does not threaten the well-being and survival of humanity itself. Sustainable development involves, in fact, not only the protection of natural resources and the physical environment but also the protection of future economic growth and future human development. Radical changes will be necessary in both policies and institutions if the needs and option of unborn generations are to be taken into account' (Sciavone, 1997:2).

There have been arguments, that the emergence of Nepad is not short of ahistorical, but it is without doubt creating institutions with broad political, economic and social aims for social equity, in line with globalization frameworks. However, a clear-cut classification of the Nepad policy goals, according to the main objectives of the globalization process, neo-liberal economic thesis, preservation of peace and security, economic growth and development, good political governance through APRM, transparency and accountability and the principles of the new public management, external funding, technical and humanitarian assistance and exchanges have essentially lend credence to Nepad, which are active strategies in the globalization process.

All these paradigms, in the context of African strategy, focus on development policy spaces and policy areas that are likely to be enhanced by institutional reforms and innovations, bringing sustainable development to the forefront of the continent in the quest for active participation in the globalization process. In furtherance of this contention, Dongoyaro has argued that, '... Nepad marks and demonstrates to the rest of the world, a paradigm shift in development policy planning in Africa. Nepad guarantees accountability

through its political, and good governance programmes. As a strategy, it focuses primarily on human capital investments, the creation of effective institutions, integration of Africa into the world economy and the overhandling of national strategies and goals towards Africa's development' (Dogonyaro, 2000:285).

Dogonyaro has further explained that, 'It is a commitment by our leaders to work together to extirpate poverty, to integrate markets and productive forces of the continent in partnership with the rest of the world... . It is driven by the realisation of African leaders as to where the continent is today and the accompanying perception, conviction and vision to change the negative status of the continent. ... it underscores the centrality of the African person, both as the subject and object of development. At its center is the emphasis on collective self-reliance, and a political and economic approach to Africa's development' (Dogonyaro, 2002:285). He argues that, 'Nepad has adopted the millennium development goals (MDGs) applicable to these, that is, poverty reduction in all programmes, and the undertaking to support existing poverty reduction initiatives at the multilateral level (in the form of PRSPs); achieving universal primary education by 2025; and regarding health to reduce infant and child mortality ratios by two-third; reducing maternal mortality by threequarter and providing access to all who need reproductive health services by 2015'. (Ibid.:2002: 286).

Herbst and Mills, quoted in Vil-Nkomo, (2002:304), have paraphrased their understanding of Nepad as, 'Nepad is modeled on America's Marshall Plan, targeting annual investment of \$64 billion (R717 billion) to achieve a growth rate of seven percent to reverse African economic decline and arrest poverty. It is a simple bargain with the international community; in return for increased aid investment and debt relief and improved trade access. Africa will commit itself to good governance and the rule of law'.

All these extrapolations elevate the arguments that African leadership having experienced underdevelopment for decades have adopted a development policy programme that encapsulates, not only the millennium declaration

goals, but also the principles of globalization. Within this context, Nepad seemingly appears as the strategic template for Africa's development in the new millennium. Accordingly, Matisson (2002) has captured the scenario as, 'Nepad is based on this exchange; in return the West opening doors to aid and trade, Africa through "peer review", will police its own adherence to standards of good governance, the protection of human rights and the rule of law, and the progress of economic globalisation' (Sunday Business Report, quoted in Vil-Nkomo, 2002:303).

The principles of globalization, sustainable development, and MDGs have all been argued as the essential elements in the policy programme of Nepad. Given the contentions that have been rendered, it could be summed up that 'Nepad, has four character composite foci, as the African strategies for the globalization process: neo-liberal principles that lie at the heart of the vision; antithesis of Africa's underdevelopment; regional integration; and partnership both internal and external. Ignatius has argued that, 'Africa needs more globalization not less', quoted in Brownell, (2004:316).

In corroboration of the African strategies, Fourie and Vickers have this to say: 'Nepad's key aim of sustained economic growth for Africa is premised on participating countries overcoming the "problem of weak and incapable states". This translates into broad prescriptions for so-called good political and economic governance, specifically at the state/governance level: an embrace of the neoliberal principles underlying that prime motive force post-1989, globalisation' (Fourie & Vickers, 2003:11/12). It could be argued that the Nepad's main objectives are the African outlook strategies for the globalization process.

#### 4. 7 Concluding Reflections

For each new way of life there must be a social base uprooted from its previous identity, available for a new identity that could be drawn into the new context. The African renaissance concept is one example, which again has demonstrated the intersection between Africa's development through Nepad,

the UN MDGs, sustainable development phenomenon and the globalization process. The concept of Nepad has been fortuitous in encapsulating the sustainable development and globalization principles. The relational analysis of African Renaissance as a causal link to Nepad emphasizes the significance of its contextual variables.

African Renaissance has created changes and developmental aspirations than development causing the concept. A case has therefore been made, the theoretical premise of the concept can no longer be separated between political (transfer of power) and economic nationalism (development and economic growth prospects) as distinct categories of analysis: it is critical (and as this chapter shows) to explore the intersection and synergy of the two. The point of departure in understanding the 'how' and 'why' of the intersection and synergy is the attainment of political independence in Africa on the one hand and the evolution of Nepad on the other. These scenarios could aptly be termed 'between Exit and Engagement' with the developed nations.

The criteria and the factors that constitute the development imperatives of the continent have been highlighted as the conditions that led to the emergence of Nepad. The imperatives assume the political, socio-economic, and leadership characters that presuppose the concept of Nepad. The African Renaissance concept has become the function through which the African Renaissance concept has become the philosophy through which African political imperatives had been reined in and thus generated the regional development and economic integration opportunities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.