

**GLOBALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD
WORLD: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF ECONOMIC
LIBERALISM'S APPROACH TO AFRICAN
DEVELOPMENT**

BY

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
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**SUPERVISOR
PROF. MADUABUCHI DUKOR**

MARCH, 2016

TITLE PAGE

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Justin Ogoo Nwankwo
MAY, 2015

DEDICATION

To my most cherished father, Mr. Daniel Nwankwo, who remains an icon of discipline and focus in life.

And

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ABSTRACT

Human quest for development can be traced back to the onset of human existence. This explains why human history is replete with various attempts by man to improve his conditions at various epochs. At the wake of the 21st century, this noble quest has assumed a more generic status in an attempt to transform the whole world into a global village, where humanity would share a common developmental experience. The globalization project, amidst its plausible thesis of opening opportunities and benefits to the world especially the third world nations, have not been able to close the widening gap between the developed and developing nations. Indeed, contemporary research and studies on Africa have vigorously analyzed the African nations as underdeveloped or more euphemistically as “developing”. Some of these contemporary studies on African Development complete their thesis with prescriptions as to what ideas and policies should be implemented so that African societies evolve from state of underdevelopment to state of development. However, the problem is that all ideas, policies and solutions proffered to the African underdevelopment problem are material or economic in virtually every sense. In terms of African development, the core problem is that the West has moved development from its domain of human conditions and freedom to the domain of materialism and economics. Thus, the response to every development question has become an economic answer. To the above problem, changes in African perception of her unique role in globalization project and the best alternative approach for rapid African development is a serious concern.. Since philosophy is a critical reflection on human experience, this dissertation therefore seeks to use a dialectical method to appraise globalization and explore an alternative answer to the development challenges in the third world. The dissertation arrives at the conclusion that the surest path to Africa’s development lies in an understanding of development as an existentialist question emboldened in the mental decolonization and value re-orientation project for the African Personhood. Development must therefore be a systematic dialogue of African values, ethos and cultural conditions within the framework of globalization.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Globalization has become the focus of an extensive debate and scholarship at the wake of the 20th century. In these debates on globalization lies regeneration

of the aged longed human quest not only for development but also for a holistic sustainable process of development.

Indeed, human history is replete with various attempts by man to better his living conditions. In our own time, this noble quest has assumed a more generic status in an attempt to transform the world economy, culture, socio-political and even moreso, religious orientations into an integrated system. Today, more than ever, the world order in the aftermath of the Second World War has experienced a tremendous shift especially in the realm of emphasis on stable economic development and financial regulations of world trade. Put simply, there is a tussle of supremacy between capitalism and communism on which economic model that promotes rapid development and guarantees benefits to the so called developing nations

This global experience is interesting especially when one takes cognizance of the many inventories and initiatives not only in the sphere of political interaction between states and nations but also in the arena of economic transactions amongst the participating members. More still, there are numerable forms of international and local connections which take place in the mobilization of resources in these quests for development in the developing nations. However, while the proponents of the globalization movement have stressed its opportunities and benefits to the third world countries, there is also an increasing disillusionment towards it amongst the many schools of thought in developing nations. The rationale behind these changing perceptions and

attitudes includes the lack of tangible benefits to most developing countries¹ especially those in Africa.

Obviously, many scholars see globalization as socio-economic phenomena, involving the increasing interaction of national economic systems through growth in international trade, foreign investments and trans-border capital flow. These increasing interactions surprisingly do not translate to rapid increasing development as evidenced in the socio-economic analysis of human and societal development amongst developing nations.

Globalization promised to open up new and extensive opportunities for worldwide development. This “worldwide development” which the proponents of globalization offers, is first not progressing evenly as some countries, some regions and poles are becoming integrated into the global economy more rapidly than others. Secondly, there is huge significant evidence of holistic growth, human development, reduced poverty and overall indices of sustainable means of development in some countries while development in some nations, especially third world nations, slump heavily into poor human, economic, social, political and therefore societal underdevelopment.

But the central question to be raised in this current dilemma or disillusionment by the developing nations especially Africa is; Why would global debates especially in Western circles about African development subsists in an exclusive economic liberalization sense of development? How did the gap

between the “developed” and “developing” nations widen so much even in the very claims and promises of globalization? Are there key cultural dialogues, epistemologies and conditions that could define globalization in a sense of “personal or human development” for developing nations? Of course, the answers to these questions lie in a rethinking exercise of the economic liberalism’s approach to development issues in Africa. Perhaps, the most penetrating question that leads us to the problem of this study is; what alternative approach can globalization offer to a society in search of genuine rapid but sustainable holistic development? Again, third world countries and especially Africa have not broadly benefited from the Western paradigm of economic liberalism as development. But should third world countries consider abstinence from the current framework of globalization exercise all together? Or should they rather participate universally in a particularistic sense? It is proper to argue therefore that the entire project of decolonization is a search for an African alternative or approach to the “rethinking globalization movement” amongst the third world nations.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Many theorists and proponents of globalization have built systematic plausible thesis on the opportunities and benefits which the globalization process has to offer to the world especially to the third world countries. Indeed, development theories are virtually of the opinion that “development means

making a settled life for everybody.”² Hence, like all other ideologies, globalization promises comprehensive development as the final answer to all societal problems ranging from human impoverishment, to illiteracy, to violence and to better political and economic prosperities. However, the problem of this study which must be stated is that globalization from the lived experiences of the developing nations, has not fulfilled its plausible promise of benefits to these developing nations. Rather than creating such opportunities and benefits, the current trend and ideological framework of globalization have increased disillusionment among many policy makers, sociologists, philosophers and analysts in developing nations. Through the exerting influence of Western scholars, financial and trade institutions, development which is the sole aim of globalization is hijacked from its human domain and placed in the exclusive domain of economics. To conceive development in third world countries, therefore, became a project in search of economic gains and battle for superiority amongst the two super economic models of capitalism and communism in the Western world. The disillusionment which the proponents of globalization created with all its exclusive promises of massive economic development is heavily evident in the third world countries especially Africa. In Africa, there are fundamental epistemological brainwashing of the African psyche, worrying incidents of human rights abuse, poor conditions of scholarship and sponsorship for African scholars and academia. There is also a lack of Western interest in the African decolonization exercise which has been

addressing the problem of African inferiority complex in global discourses. Another worrying problem central to this study is the increasing gap between the Asians and the Latin Americans on one hand and Africa on the other hand in bridging the gap between the developed and developing nations. Most Asian nations and South Americans are gradually finding their footing in the remarkable sense of human development. There is increasing attention given to Asian Philosophers, scholars, technologists and scientists in the Western circles while the product of their universities appears to have a sense of confidence in asserting their ideas and innovations on the global stage. More and more, their scholarly and market products are becoming global brands. This is all thanks to a blossoming of Asian education creed leading to emboldening of the Asian mind and thus, a rethinking of their best approach to development. However, in Africa, the reverse is the case and the African person yet shows no serious commitment to untie herself from the apron string of Western neo-colonialism. The core question to be raised therefore is; why are there lacks of tangible personal development benefits from Africa's participation in the globalization exercise? What steady but surest path can African scholars and policy makers adopt in her search for a break away from Western exclusive economic liberalization of development? The surest path to this is an existentialist particularistic approach which infact addresses African development from personal values, cultural conditions and mental vitality. But does African development lie in an exclusive negation of the current globalization economic

framework? Of course, No! But there are dominant epistemologies African sense of development must be built on to hasten the gains of the decolonization project by African literatures and scholars. Indeed, the problem of development in Africa is now aged longed but it becomes more problematic when globalizations promises a sense of development that relegates humanism and African personhood to the background and promotes an exclusive materialist, monistic and Darwinist interpretation of development in Africa fuelled by Western neo imperialistic motives.

1.3 Purpose of Study

Already, scholars of various disciplines have pondered and are still reflecting on the overall impact and effects of globalization on the development of third world countries. This study is therefore not informed by the controversy hovering around the phenomenon of ‘globalization’ and its lofty claims, but rather by the apparent exclusive postulations of its economic tenets to African development. The increasing impoverishment of the Africans vis-à-vis other third world participants in the exercise has raised an awareness that the true foundation for development must not be economic bound. As a concept, development is broad and encompasses multiple dimensions for its realization. Hence, there is an urgent need for developing nations to ask fundamental questions as to what their immediate society lacks and to seek viable approaches in addressing the problem. In Africa, there are daunting challenges of freedom, liberty, equity, justice and rights thus making human conditions in the society

very deplorable. In the wake of the 21st century, some developing nations of Asia have turned around their development through unique approaches while participating in the globalization discourse. Yet Africa is trapped in a sense of development that fails to address its ineptitude in human development but rather is forced to view development as interpretation and application of economic principles and theories from Western globalization Institutions. The purpose of this work therefore lies in a scholarly effort to first support the Post Development theorists who have maintained that there are no significant tangible development benefits of the current globalization framework to developing nations. Secondly, the study calls for an African pause and rethink in its current economic liberalization approach to the challenge of development. It advocates viable existentialist alternative approach centering on the African person to the development challenge in Africa.

1.4 Scope of Study

This research work is a philosophical study and analysis on globalization, third world and African development. As a philosophical research work, the dissertation takes its scope within the domain of philosophy of development. Moreso, it limits itself within the area of cultural philosophy (hermeneutics) while expanding its frontiers to the borders of socio-political philosophy.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research study when successfully completed will contribute immensely to Philosophy and the Social science disciplines. It will also be relevant for politicians, policy analysts and policy makers.

Firstly, its significance lies in contribution to the series of scholarly works which have been written on international policies, theories of human development, in sociological field and most essentially to philosophy where the dialogue of man, science, culture and the society has continued to attract huge attention.

Secondly, the dissertation takes its relevance in the unique sense with which it seeks to fill a yawning gap in the literature addressing the over bloated economic impacts of globalization on African and third world countries development without much attention to the right approach or options which must be explored to enthrone sustainable development in Africa.

Thirdly, the dissertation will be relevant to philosophers and policy makers who participates in the decision making process of third world and African countries in particular. By exploring existentialist alternatives of personal capacities, skills and creativity, dormant epistemological shift, environment and eco-system resources, the sociologists, environmentalists and indeed students of economics could benefit from a more profound method of understanding the dialogue between cultures. The study also exposes how easily a dialogue of cultures in a more systematic pattern could lead to a process of human

development where the positives of external cultures are embraced and explored to enhance a unique sense of development in political, economic, social and overall societal sustainable march to better living conditions.

1.6 Method of Study

In researching and writing this dissertation, works on theories of development, third world essays and globalization were explored. The research utilized materials from Philosophy, Sociology and Political Science Department Libraries of some universities in Nigeria. Consultants and Program Coordinators of UNDP and UNICEF Project working in partnership with Anambra State Government in Awka is immensely valuable in gathering and analyzing some materials for this study. In reading, reflecting, questioning and seeking further clarifications; the theories, concepts, ideas and multicultural views contained in this research topic are aptly exposed.

In synthesizing the materials for this study, it became obvious that such a philosophical essay has all the ingredients of a multi-cultural study in a framework called globalization and development. The research exposed the multi-dimensional nature of the terms “globalization” and “development” but most essentially is how these two concepts “create conditions for the realization of human personality and attainment of societal goals.”³

Therefore, to adequately address the topic, this study seeks to use a dialectical method of philosophy to critique and appraise its findings. In its nature, dialectical method creates platforms of interactions beyond those of the initial

thesis. It raises questions which invite for more theoretical breakdown, cultural reflective feedbacks and antithetical conclusions. It therefore builds synthetic contributions which far extend into a comparative understanding of multi dimensional issues.⁴ It therefore serves as the appropriate method to use in a study of *Globalization and Development in the Third World*. This method is apt, especially in a critical appraisal and rethinking of a multi dimensional concept like development subtly espoused as exclusive economic liberalization for Africans by Western globalization agents.

In summary, this work is comprised of five chapters. In the first chapter, there was a general introduction of the work which entailed the background of the study, its problem, scope, purpose, significance and the methodology with which we engaged in this intellectual discourse.

In the second chapter, the work exposed the various literatures which have preceded this current research on globalization, development theories and its relations to third world countries. It also explores available literatures on African development in history.

In the third chapter, the third world, globalization and development theories associated to it was discussed and deeply reflected upon in the right of its role not just in economic, political or religious development but as it improves human conditions and helps in achieving societal set out goals. The philosophical and political frameworks upon which globalization project stands were also discussed.

In the fourth chapter, African developmental experience in history was studied with a view to highlight the historical failure of Western economic hegemonic concern for Africa. In critically delineating an all economic answer to the question of development in Africa, this chapter argued for a viable alternative of human capacity development as the key for African fruitful participation in globalization. In developing human capacities through vibrant and dominant epistemologies, the hope of Africa attaining ‘developed society’ status is comparatively projected in globalization.

In chapter Five, critical evaluations and synthetic interactions were employed to seek for African re-emergence in the global cultural and developmental dialogue. Final evaluations and submissions of the study on further alternatives and ideas for African attainment of sustainable development in an ongoing global dialogue were proffered.

ENDNOTES

1. M. Khor, *Globalization and The South: Some critical Issues*, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 2003) p. 34.
2. I.Osondu, “*The Third World: What is in a Name?*” in UJAH, Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities, (Vol 12, No. 2, 2011) p.6.
3. R.Aryes (ed.) *Development Studies: An Introduction through Selected Readings* (UK: Greenwich University Press, 2000), p.5.
4. R.J. Alexander, *Essays on Pedagogy* (London: Routledge Publishers,2008), pp 27-172.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Globalization is certainly at the heart of the contemporary age as an indispensable factor in the project of development. Hence, this literature survey intends to explore relevant works, authors and theories that have shaped the debate on the globalization process, developmental challenges and the third world discourse via-a-vis its parochial impact and challenge to holistic development and social change in Africa. The literatures of this work were reviewed under three thematic headings which include; Concepts of globalization, conceptions of development and discourses on the concept of third world.

Conceptions of Globalization

Obviously, many scholars see globalization as a mere economic phenomenon, involving the interaction or integration of national economic systems through the growth in international trade, foreign investments and trans-border capital flow. However, one can also point to the rapid increase in cross-border socio-cultural and technological exchange as an important and integral dimension of globalization. In this light, Anthony Giddens, a renowned sociologist simply defined globalization as the “decoupling of space and time.”¹ He emphasized that through instantaneous communication, knowledge and culture can be shared around the world simultaneously. The idea of a globalization as a shared

knowledge and culture was more explicitly portrayed by Rund Lubbers, a Dutch political economist, who defined globalization as

*A process in which geographic distance becomes a factor of dismissing importance in the establishment and maintenance of cross-border economic, political and socio-cultural relations.*²

In the entry for **Oxford Companion to Politics**, David Held and Anthony McGrew drew a cross line idea of globalization as that viewed in the socio-cultural as well as political structures perspective. They conceived globalization as

*A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, expressed in transcontinental or international flows and in networks of activity, interaction and power.*³

Observably, a common denominator in most authors is their optimism in the globalization process. For them, it is a universal process of transforming humanity into a single society or what Marshall McLuhan termed the global village.⁴ This transformation, for Henry Alapiki, is usually accompanied by the intensification of universal social relations “which link distance localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.”⁵

In describing the globalization phenomenon, Jan Scholte expressed his perception more elaborately when he wrote,

*Globalization refers to processes whereby social relations acquire relatively distanceless and borderless qualities, so that human lives are increasingly played out in the world as a single place.... Globalization is thus an on-going friend whereby the world has in many respects and at a generally accelerating rate become one relatively borderless social sphere.*⁶

While the above scholars view globalization from a “social relations” perspective, some others emphasize a more specific economic dimension. The tendency is always to view globalization as a rapid increase in cross-border socio-economic exchange under the conditions of capitalism thus making development an economic discourse and concern.

Prof. Oyejide, views globalization from an exclusive economic dimension. In his treatise on globalization, he remarked:

*Globalization refers to the increased integration across counties of markets for goods, services and capital. It implies in turn accelerated expansion of economic activities globally and sharp increases in the movement of tangible and intangible goods across national and regional boundaries. With that movement, individual countries are becoming more closely integrated into the global economy. Their trade linkages and investment flows grow more complex, and cross-border financial movements are more volatile. More importantly, globalization has been created and continues to be maintained by liberalization of economic policies in several key areas.*⁷

Anthony Giddens, an American political economist extensively discussed the globalization phenomenon from an economic perspective and from an international relations standpoint. In his essay “**Globalization and The States**”,

Giddens argued that globalization is not only economic or technological but it also represents the totality of the inter-relationships among states, among non governmental organizations, among individual companies and so on that constitute the international system. He argued that:

It is wrong to think of globalization as just concerning the big systems, like the world financial order. Globalization is not only about what is out there, remote and far away from individual. It is an 'inhere' phenomenon too, influencing intimate and personal aspect of our lives. The debate about family values, for example that is going on in many countries might seem far removed from globalization influences. Indeed, it is not.⁸

From the foregoing view of these authors, it is so evident that globalization is not a single concept that can be ordinarily defined and encompassed within a set time frame, nor is it a process that can be defined clearly with a beginning and an end. There are always authors and literatures which pose pro- globalization theories and discourse exclusively in an economic sense, but there are other literatures which stand out as anti- globalization essays, works and perspectives predominantly espoused by scholars from third world countries. Hence, a continued review of literatures on globalization must take into account these varying perspectives and orientations and place them side by side for a proper analysis and dialogue.

Nayef Al-Rodhan and Ambassador Gerald Stoudmann in their essay ***“Definitions of Globalization: A comprehensive Overview and Proposed***

Definition” observed that the key to a proper review of literatures on globalization is to acknowledge the fact that “an individuals political ideology, geographic location, social status, cultural background, ethnic and religious affixations provide the background that determines how globalization is interpreted.”⁹ This research work is primarily addressed to Africans including those in Diaspora. Hence, it exposes in later chapters, literatures that have interpreted globalization in the context of the third world development problematic especially in Africa. By implication, it expands the logic or views of globalization which are tagged “anti-globalization theories” but referred in this work as “rethinking globalization theories and authors” in the course of this dissertation.

A chronological attempt to review scholars view and notions on globalization is essential, so as to avail the reader an extensive and general historical evolution of the concept “globalization” by different schools of thought; policy makers, economists, political scientists and existential philosophers like Karl Marx, Martin Bubber and Marx Engels.

From the earliest times of its evolution as a concept, globalization has been rightly viewed by varied authors as the light of a new phase of era in human development. Here “globalization” is approached by its objective definitions and not as conceived by some schools or traditions as an elevation of colonialism, imperialism, liberalism and communalism. However, for the purposes of this research work, some of those theorists, scholars, essays and

literatures that espoused the idea of globalization from an entire economic spectrum of liberalism, communalism and imperialism are reviewed albeit some also subtly added a little other dimension to their conception of globalization.

Immanuel Wallerstein, in his work *“The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the 16th Century”* attempted the earliest precise definition of the term “globalization”. In the work, he defined globalization as a representation of the triumph of a capitalists world economy tied together by a global division of labour.¹⁰

In 1989, David Harvey in his work *“The Condition of Post Modernity”* succinctly described globalization as the compression of time and space.”¹¹

In 1990, Martin Albrow in his essay *“Globalization, Knowledge and Society”* defined globalization as all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society.¹² Also, in 1990, Anthony Giddens, who we have earlier highlighted in the prelude to these chronological definitions, attempted a description of globalization in his work *The Consequences of Modernity*. In his discourse on modernity, Giddens opined:

*...the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local; happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.*¹³

Again, in 1990, the political scientist, Arjun Appadurai wrote and deliberated extensively on the concept and emerging issues of globalization to modernity.

In his essay “*Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy*”, he averred that:

*the critical point is that both sides of the coin of global cultural process today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterized by radical disjuncture between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures*¹⁴

In 1992, Peter Dicken, attempted a comparative differentiation of the notion of “globalization” from “Internationalization”. In his work “*Global Shifts: The Internationalization of Economic Activity*”, Dicken observed:

*“...globalization is “qualitatively different from internationalization.... It represents a more advanced and complex form of internationalization which implies a degree of functional integration between internationally dispersed economic activities...and the degree of interdependence and integration between national economies.”*¹⁵

In 1994, Robert Cox in his paper “*Multilateralism and The Democratization of World Order*” remarked that the characteristics of globalization trend lies in new frameworks of understanding. According to Cox,

*The characteristics of the globalization trend include the internationalizing of production, the new international division of labour, new migratory movements from south to North, the new competitive environment that accelerates these processes and the internationalizing of the state....making states into agencies of the globalizing world.*¹⁶

In 1995, Mike Featherstone explored the first understanding of globalization that is deeply unique, non economy trapped and contextualized in a dialogue of cultures. In his work “*Undoing Culture, Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*”, he remarked that the

*Process of globalization suggests simultaneously two images of culture. The first image entails the extension outwards of a particular cultures to its limit, the globe. Heterogeneous cultures become incorporated and integrated into a dominant culture which eventually covers the whole world. The second image points to the compression of cultures. Things formerly held apart are now brought in to contact and juxtaposition.*¹⁷

This line of argument espoused by Featherstone distinctly shifted from an influx of all economic conception of globalization and addresses the humanity of man. It laid the foundational ground for a shift in the economic promises of development to otherwise what this study aims to attain, that is, a refocus on culture, man and humanity in the study of globalization in developing nations. In the wake of this conceptual shift, some scholars of developing nations started to question the project of globalization and what the developing nations should be doing to stay awake and bridge the gap between the developed and the developing nations. One of such incisive rethinking economic globalization carnage scholars in developing nations was Martin Khor.

In 1995, Martin Khor, a Malaysian political economist and indeed an outspoken scholar on the “Third world issue” generated a huge call for countries of the South to re-unite and rethink the globalization concept. A dialogical discourse

of his rethink exercise on globalization for the developing nations would immediately highlight the domination of third world nation's cultures and identity by a Western archetype. It deflates the overemphasis on economic development agenda pursued selfishly by Western globalization institutions and raises stark awareness of the continued impoverishment of the third world amidst lofty development promises and benefits in globalization. Suffice it therefore to say that Khor defined globalization as "what we in the third world have for several years called colonization."¹⁸ His description of globalization carves the perfect image of the Trojan nature of exclusive economic development offered to the third world by globalization.

In a strict philosophical work, Robert Spich, in 1995, advanced a philosophical interpretation of the concept of globalization. In his essay "*Globalization Folklore: Problems of Myth and Ideology in the Discourse on Globalization*", Spich philosophized that "globalization is a mind set, an idea set, an ideal visualization, a popular metaphor and finally, a stylized way of thinking about complex international developments."¹⁹ Reflecting further on the concept, Spich submits that

*Globalization is a conceptualization of the international political economy which suggests and believes essentially that all economic activity, whether local, regional or national, must be conducted within a perspective and attitude that constantly is global and worldwide in its scope.*²⁰

The above thoughts of Spich supports further the problem of this study, which is evident in narrow conceptions of globalization as purely an economic phenomenon. Politics and the whole issue of development is therefore submerged as political economy with economics at the center of development and not man.

In 1996, Mark Ritchie in an international forum on globalization presented a paper fostering globalization as an economic phenomenon titled “*Globalization vs. Globalism*”. In the paper, he echoed,

I will define globalization as the process of corporations moving their money features and products around the planet at evermore rapid rates of speed in search of cheaper labour and raw materials and governments willing to ignore or abandon consumer, labour and environmental protection laws. As an ideology, it is largely unfettered by ethical or moral considerations.²¹

In 1997, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which is the core foundational institutions driving globalization as exclusive economic agenda, acknowledged the growing economic interdependence from countries across the world, from Americas to Europe, from Latin America to Asia and from Australia to Africa. Thus, in a survey by the staffs of IMF tagged “*Meeting the Challenges of Globalization in the Advanced Economies*”, the survey referred to globalization as

the growing economic independence of countries worldwide through the increasing volume and variety of cross border transactions in goods and services and of international capital flows and also

*through the more rapid and widespread diffusions of technology.*²²

On his part in 1998, the Iranian Scholar and humanist Majid Tehranian chose to view globalization as a process that has been there for over 5,000 years and only became more popular and active in demise of the Soviet Union in 1991. In his treatise on the concept titled “*Globalization Texts, Concepts and Terms*”, he boldly affirmed that the process of globalization only accelerated since the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991.²³ Thus, the current elements of globalization according to Majid includes trans-border capital, labour, management, news, images, and data flows.²⁴ He also asserted that the main engines of globalization are the transnational corporations (TNCs), transnational media organizations (TMCs), Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and alternative government organization (AGOs).

Interestingly, Majid offered a second degree of abstraction insight, through a humanist perspective lens, on globalization which is worth reflecting upon. He opined *inter alia*,

*From a humanist perspective, globalization entails both positive and negative consequences. It is both narrowing and widening the income gaps among and within nations, intensifying and diminishing political domination and homogenizing and pluralizing cultural identities.*²⁵

This humanist's pluralizing cultural identity perspective of Tehranian would form subject of dialogue and systemic search for African dominant epistemology as regards development alternative approach in Africa.

In the dawn of the 21st century, James Mittlelman observed in his work, "*The Globalization Syndrome, Transformation and Resistance*" that the transformative nature of globalization has come to mean different things to different aspects of the human society. As he aptly observed "The dominant form of globalization means a historical transformation."²⁶ Hence, it is a transformation in different aspects; "In the economy...of livelihoods and modes of existences. In politics, a loss in the degree of control exercised locally... and in culture, a devaluation of a collectivity's achievements...."²⁷ For him, therefore, globalization is emerging as a political response to the expansion of market power and it is a domain of knowledge.²⁸

The thinker and renowned Scholar Malcolm Waters in 2001 attempted a deeper and more evolving description of the concept of globalization. In one of his essays on "***Globalization***", Waters declared boldly that globalization is better described as the direct consequence of the expansion of European culture across the planet via settlement, colonization and cultural replication.²⁹ Furthermore, Waters supports the thesis of this research, which is, that globalization is bound up intrinsically with the pattern of capitalists development as it has ramified through political and cultural arenas.³⁰ However, he remarked that globalization does not "imply that every corner of the planet must become westernized and

capitalist but rather that every set of social arrangement must establish its position in relation to the capitalist West-to use Robertson's term, it must relativize itself."³¹

Morestill, in 2001, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in its annual report of 2001 attempted a broad definition of the concept of globalization. According to UNESCO

*Globalization can be defined as a set of economic, social, technological, political and cultural structures and processes arising from the changing character of the production, consumption and trade of goods and assets that comprise the base of the International political economy.*³²

George Soros, a Greek analysts and public policy maker in 2002 advanced a notion of globalization that gives an insight of the overreaching influence of international organizations on the project of globalization. He saw globalization in his paper titled "**On Globalization**" as a development of global financial markets, growth of transactional corporations and their growing dominance over national economies.³³ Soros went deep to expand an analysis of globalization which is completely trapped in the domain of economics and in doing this, he saw economic expansion of governments as the surest route to engage in the project of globalization.

In 2003, Imre Szeman, published an article titled "*Culture and globalization or The Humanities in Ruin.*" In the paper, he viewed globalization as a moment in time. A given period characterized with mass migration, multiculturalism and

cosmopolitanism.³⁴ His conception of globalization stands out and totally distanced itself from multi proffering economic alternatives for the society.

In 2006, Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan and Gerard StoudMann, policy analysts and expert on security policy expressed a really philosophically oriented concern on the globalization concept. They argued that globalization has all to do with humans and their everyday activity. Hence, their conception of globalization is thus “a process that encompasses the causes, course and conveniences of transnational and trans-cultural integration of human and non human activities.”³⁵ These scholars unequivocally offered the begging question of human approach and option to the globalization Pandora. By highlighting the human and non human question, globalization in its essence is taken back to the domain of humanity and not economics where it truly appeals as a project.

While the views and conceptions of globalization continued up until the 2nd decades of the 21st century, it is pertinent to understand that great changes in perception have occurred in the different parts of the world. From the afore-discussed notions and conceptions, it is abundantly clear that globalization is closely tied to development.

To discuss globalization as a concept always invites for a discourse on the concept of development. This assumption is so because the gulf between the developed nations and developing nations is huge and it paints a gloomy picture whenever the Western claims of benefit arises in development studies. In terms

of development, what the West has always showed is material (economic) in virtually every sense. Since philosophy is a critical reflection on human experience, it is proper to use a philosophical lens to investigate globalization and ascertain actually how far it has aided development especially in the third world or developing nations. In the preceding paragraphs, we shall turn our attention to some theories and conceptions of development which has expanded the discourse on globalization especially as it affects third world and African development in the search for a better society.

Theories of Development *vis-a-vis* Globalization and Third World

Development is a multi-dimensional concept and any attempt to neglect any of its diverse aspects tends to distort the entire phenomenon. This explains why there is no univocal definition of the concept since each school of thought appears to define it from a limited perspective. There are neo-classical, orthodox schools and theories of development which view and advance development as exclusively economic growth while also there are moderate theories which advance development as a process of social transformation. Although, economic growth and social transformation are among the key aspects of development, they cannot however, suffice for the entire phenomenon.

This study and indeed, this literature review shall study development and theories that surround it from a philosophical dimension as a process of “creating the conditions for the realization of human personality.”³⁶ In this

sense, development in the lens of globalization becomes a human phenomenon which must begin with human beings and endure for their sake.

The problem in defining development stems from the following considerations. First, there are difficulties in measuring social and political indicators (e.g., the strength of the labor movement or the degree of social tension). Second, the concept of development is subject to value judgments concerning social objectives, and different groups or societies view it differently; such as political freedom, pollution abatement, number of hours at work, average size of the apartment, peace, equality of opportunity, and personal satisfaction components of development? Third, the development process represents a continuum and, therefore, there is a gray area where the classification of countries becomes difficult and the distinction between developed countries (DCs) and less-developed countries (LDCs) is blurred. For example, are the newly industrializing economies (NIEs) of Asia still less-developed countries? Simply put, is China still a third world country by Western canons? Finally, underdevelopment is a pervasive phenomenon that appears also in most DCs, affecting either some regions or some groups; comparatively on economic grounds alone, is Mississippi more developed than Taiwan?; Is Southern Europe fully developed?; or do Black Americans have a higher living standard than the citizens of Singapore? One can hardly think of any country, perhaps with the exception of some Northern European countries and Japan, where some of the regions would not be classified as underdeveloped, by either economic or social

indicators. Furthermore, the diversity of aspects to which the concept refers may imply that a country fares well with respect to some indicators and badly with respect to others. For example, is Mexico or Japan, where the same party has been governing for decades, more democratic than the Philippines?³⁷

Probably none of the particular findings discussed here would be surprising to those scholars working in the area of development, or familiar with Latin America, Asia and Africa, the sample of countries under consideration. Nevertheless, the results and the movement of development to the domain of human conditions of existence and capacities are of significant interest to the extent that they support or alter conclusions reached by development specialists.³⁸

Primarily, this review on ‘development’ delves into patterns with which diverse scholars have defined development. Empirical literatures dealing with development indicators are also reviewed with a view to assess the claims of globalization especially to developing countries. Through philosophical dialogue, the study examined whether a large set of indicators of development can be reduced to a smaller number. In reading through these literatures on development, we are interested in determining what measures characterize development, and which indicators offer the most information for African holistic renaissance.³⁹ Are economic indicators in particular GDP per capita—sufficient to identify a country as developed or underdeveloped, or do we need to complement them with the so-called social indicators ? Finally, different

methodological approaches to the concept of development are x-rayed and some critical definitions of the concept by philosophers of development were also exposed. The three main approaches or schools are the neoclassical, neo-Marxist, and structuralism. Ironically, these models fostered an understanding of development is that is defined and bound by economic principles and theorems.

The neoclassical school attempts to adapt a system of thought designed for the study of industrial societies. During the 1950s and 1960s, the field was dominated by Walt W. Rostow's linear model,⁴⁰ according to which development follows a linear path along which all countries travel. In particular, Rostow defined five different stages of growth: the traditional society; the preconditions for take-off; the take-off; the drive to maturity; and the age of high mass consumption. The general tools of the neoclassical analysis applied to growth and development are well known and are summarized in the analytical properties of the production function. For the neoclassical economists, development is mainly seen as a problem of economic growth. The most influential work in this area is that of Robert Solow.⁴¹ Recent contributions in the area of endogenous growth using dynamic optimization have also been directly applied to issues of development.⁴²

The neo-Marxist school, very influential during the 1970s, also uses a system of analysis initially formulated for the study of industrial societies, although it is

certainly very different from the neoclassical system. Its central thesis holds that the development process is a dialectic one. This means that the process is not harmonious, but one that mixes imbalances, growth, social conflicts, and stagnation. Paul Baran advanced his thesis that capitalism produces polarization, that is, development at one extreme and underdevelopment at the other.⁴³ Samir Amin analyzed and developed this thesis; he characterized peripheral formations by the predominance of agrarian capitalism, foreign capital, a large bureaucracy, and an incomplete proletarianization.⁴⁴

Arghiri Emmanuel furthering the neo-Marist model of understanding development analyzed how the increasing inequality between nations originates in an unequal exchange that tends to increase over time.⁴⁵ He maintained that the international system of relations is at the core of the problem of development and neocolonialism, and is responsible for inducing and maintaining the situation of the poor countries. This is otherwise understood as the "dependency view," used in particular within the context of the analysis of the development of Latin America. Some of the important advocates of the dependency view are the Brazilian sociologist Theotonio dos Santos, Celso Furtado, Eliana Cardoso, and Andre Gunder Frank.⁴⁶ It was only Frank Gunder who took a philosophical posture and advanced the thesis that the only political solution to these stifling economic domination in the garb of development was a revolution of socialist character.

On their part, the structuralist school arrived and claimed to have departed from the previous analysis of the neo-classical and neo-Marxist models on development. They attempted to identify specific rigidities, bottlenecks, lags, and in general intrinsic characteristics of the structure of developing economies that affect development policy. Scholars who made important contributions to Structuralism were Raul Prebisch, Hans W. Singer, Gunnar Myrdal, W. A. Lewis, and Albert O. Hirschman.⁴⁷ The two basic elements of the structuralist school were first, the concept of dual economy, that is, development takes place unevenly both within and between sectors. Second was the concept of complementarity in demand, that is, consumers demand for basic items is a function of income and is not affected by relative prices.

One important issue that has been at the core of the discussions of development concerns the role of the state versus the market. The neoclassical school, since it applies methods conceived for developed nations, advocates the role of the market mechanism. Neo-Marxists and structuralists, on the other hand, contend that the market mechanism and its emphasis on the price system are ineffective, unreliable, and irrelevant for the problems of developing nations. One interesting case has been the success of eight east and south east Asian countries (i.e., Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand) analyzed in the "*East Asian Miracle*" report of the World Bank. During the last 30 years, these countries have made extraordinary progress by using a peculiar set of policies that combined the market mechanism and the

intervention of the state.⁴⁸ Beyond this economic explanation, there is also the fundamental understanding of the human and historical experience perspective to the turn around in east Asia. This historical experience is what African philosophers of development have urged Africa to assimilate with a dominant epistemology. We shall turn attention to these conceptions in subsequent paragraphs.

There is another issue receiving increasing attention in developmental studies and that is the concept of "sustainable development." This is the acknowledgement, within the context of development, of concerns involving energy, environment, pollution, water, and population with an emphasis on their interdependent character and the scarcity of certain resources. The key question is whether it is possible to combine economic growth with the preservation of the environment, considering the argument that if the natural resources of a country are depleted owing to increasing exports, for example, the level of welfare of the society will decrease.⁴⁹ This has become a fundamental issue for the Amazonia, Southeast Asia, and West Africa. In reading through the literatures addressing the issue of development, one immediately recognizes the approach of some scholars arguing that sustainable development option is the sole answer to the question of underdevelopment in third world countries. However, this is not exactly so and may only address an extrinsic question without approaching the intrinsic human historical perspective.

Indeed, within these general trends that reflect the evolution and schools of thought in the study of development paradigm (i.e., the origin of underdevelopment), scholars have provided different definitions of development. Amazingly, many scholars both of developed and developing nations have placed huge emphasis on the economic component of development.

Irma Adelman, for example, defines economic development as the

*process by which an economy is transformed from one whose rate of growth of per capita income is small or negative to one in which a significant self-sustained rate of increase of per capita income is a permanent long-run feature. A society will be called underdeveloped if economic development is possible but incomplete.*⁵⁰

But later on, referring to the previous definition, she points out that

it is in no sense a 'single criterion' definition. On the contrary...assignment of an economy to the category of underdeveloped' must be predicated upon a rather complete examination of its economic and socio-cultural behavioral relationships."⁵¹

Adelman conceived underdevelopment as a "multidimensional process" and described it in a framework that combines economic measurable indicators (e.g., low income, low investment per capita) with non-economic/non-measurable indicators (e.g., dignity, respect, honor).

Robert E. Lucas, refers to the "problem of economic development" as "the problem of accounting for the observed pattern, across countries and across

time, in levels and rates of growth of per capita income."⁵² As to the distinction between growth and development, he argued thus:

we think of 'growth' and 'development' as distinct fields, with growth theory defined as those aspects of economic growth we have some understanding of, and development defined as those we don't.

Simon Kuznets provides us with an approximation of the concept of development. He argued that the principal objective of the theoretical work in the development field should be the development of an empirically tested and confirmed general theory of growth that includes a theory of technical change, of population growth, of changes in political and social organization, and of the role of international political relations. A general theory is not only needed to encompass each of these major elements but to describe the feedback mechanisms that link them together in a dynamic context.⁵⁴

In his penetrating comparative study of philosophy of development vis-a-vis the development of African philosophy, Josephat Obi Oguejiofor explored an exhaustive African contextual philosophical understanding of the concept of development. In his essay titled "*Philosophy of Development or Development of Philosophy? A Dilemma in Contemporary African Philosophy*", he argued that the word "development" is always better understood in a restricted sense of it. In such understanding, he conceived development as "advancement in science and its application in technology."⁵⁵ However, Oguejiofor continued his study of the concept of development by acknowledging that there are many other

aspects of development which are cultural, psychological, human, religious, economic and political developments. In relating development to the domain of philosophy, Oguejiofor observed,

*In a sense, most of these aspects of development have strong connections with one another. However what philosophy is being called upon to foster is development in the sense in which it implies advancement of the general visible conditions and standard of living, infrastructural improvement and in general keeping abreast with the most recent inventions in science and its application in technology.*⁵⁶

Furthermore, Oguejiofor continued that development understood in the above explicated sense, entails the “reduction of poverty and the improvement of other tangible factors that impinge significantly on the daily life of individuals and communities.”⁵⁷ Another interesting dimension of Oguejiofor’s discourse on development is his idea of what should be the concern of a philosopher in the issue of development especially in the current framework of globalization. To this question of the role of a philosopher, he opined the interest of a philosopher in this phenomenon must be focused in two directions. The first is the human agent of development while the second is on the structure of development. An exhaustive discourse on these key interests will be explored in subsequent chapters.

The conception of development from a personal perspective or human agent outlook draws a great insight into the philosophical implications of this research

work. In reviewing further literatures that aids us to understand the concept of development, the appealing notion of development from Walter Rodney and other scholars comes into discourse.

According to Walter Rodney, development is a personal issue. Personal development implies “increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well being.”⁵⁸ He argued in his work “*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*” that some of these implications of personal development cannot be easily calculated because they are virtually moral categories, which are conditioned by certain factors such as age and social status.⁵⁹ From his standpoint, it becomes obvious that development depends very much on the society in which an individual lives. This is exactly so because the aforementioned aspects of personal development in Rodney are best sustained through interpersonal relationships and co-existence within a society. For Rodney therefore, societal development will imply “an increased capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships.”⁶⁰ Rodney’s concept of development leaves one in no doubt that every individual and every society has the natural capacity to develop on its own. As a matter of fact, Rodney maintained that “every people have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting of the resources of nature.”⁶¹

In his essay “*The Third World: What is in a Name?*” Iheanyi Osondu made an extensive study of the concept of development, especially as it relates to the third world. He started his discourse on theories of development by acknowledging that “development theorists are of the opinion that development means making a better life for everybody.”⁶² In an attempt to describe what development entails, Osondu remarked,

*Development promises a comprehensive final answer to all societies' problems, from poverty and illiteracy to violence and despotic rulers. Development bears one ideological characteristic of suggesting there is only one correct answer and it tolerates little dissent.*⁶³

He summed up his conception of development by arguing that development theorists believe that every problem in every part of the earth can be solved using technology. But in so doing, he maintained, “they forget that there are problems that bedevil some parts of the earth such as political, economic and sociological problems that cannot be solved solely with technology.”⁶⁴

Adam Smith was amongst the earliest theorist that understudied the concept of development. One particularly radical but defining view of Adam Smith in the conceptions of development as economic development for a society was laid out in his iconic book “*Wealth of Nations*.” There, wealth for Smith “lay not in gold but in the productive capacity of all people, each seeking to benefit from his or her own labours.”⁶⁵ This democratic view of Adam Smith’s philosophy flew in the face of royal treasuries, privileges of the aristocracy or prerogatives

doled out to merchants, farmers and working guilds.⁶⁶ It is not coincidental that such democratic, egalitarian and philosophical views arose simultaneously with the America Revolution and only just preceded the French Revolution of 1789. It is therefore *in tandem* to argue that Adam Smith believed that the true development of a nation came from the labour of all people and that the flow of goods and services constituted the ultimate aim and end of economic life in a society. Summarily, Adam Smith held that “Individuals acting in their own self interest would naturally seek out economic activities that provided the greatest financial rewards.”⁶⁷

David Hume was another Philosopher who advanced an idea of development that was totally econocentric. In summation of his economic conceptions of development in a capitalistic model evident in his “*Essay On Money*” Hume concluded thus:

*From the whole of this reasoning, we may conclude, that it is of no matter of consequence, with regards to the domestic happiness of a state, whether money be in a greater or lesser quantity. The good policy of the magistrate consists only in keeping it, if possible, still increasing; because, by that means, he keeps alive the spirit of industry in the nation, and increases the stock of labour, in which consists all real power and riches.*⁶⁸

No wonder, we see that Hume’s monetary theory focused on the response of individuals and societies to the changing economic circumstances which happen to be accompanied by money flow.⁶⁹ In laying strong claims to Hume’s earliest foundations of the conception of development in economic terms as it is the

case now in globalization discourses, it is worth highlighting the most notable philosopher economist who was influenced by Hume and one of them is John Maynard Keynes

John Maynard Keynes advanced one of the strongest conceptions of development in the modern era. Keynesian theory of economic development is a refinement of Smith and Hume but most outstanding about his theory is that it served as a theoretical justification for intervention in crisis period by government to help reduce recession in the society as well as its attendant depressions.⁷⁰ In his work “*The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*”, he argued that demand and not supply is the key variable governing the overall level of economic activity. Keynesian theory laid the basis for most activities of Western financial institutions in mapping development agendas for the third world nations. As it were, his theory negates all human and historical *datum* for development and centers on interventionist paradigms which perfectly suits the project of globalization in third world nations.

Lassana Keita, an astute African philosopher critically appraised the Keynesian conceptions of development and in so doing argued for a conception of development that places the task of developing the African society on a historical and critical plane. He remarked that in the highly competitive struggle of economic and political model of development promised differently by Western Europe and North America on one hand and the communist world of

the Soviet Union and china on the other hand, the core main theorist that influenced post colonial Africa was the Keynes and Marxist models. For Lassana,

...those whose supported the Keynesian model indirectly endorsed the free market theories of Smith and Ricardo and assumed that free trade and markets were the essentials for economic transformations in areas deemed underdeveloped.⁷¹

Lassana Keita argued further that the Keynesian elusive economic development model revived the neo-classical model and was quite evident in W.W. Rostow's "The stage of Economic Growth" and W.A. Lewis's "Theory of Economic Growth."⁷² Keynesian ideas alongside Rostow and Lewis, argued Keita, simply remain at a theoretical level of finding and furnishing ideas to western imprimated globalization experience but without any significant results in implementation especially in Africa.

Furthermore, in reading through Marx conception of development as economic development, Keita philosophically echoed that it was the flaws of Marx stages of economic development especially his discourse on capitalism that first created the basis for European slavery, colonialism and world economic globalization and secondly, the dynamic rise of communism as vibrant economic alternative to development. Keita *inter alia* argued that Western Europe and North America experienced economic growth with the accumulation of captial and the raw material for such (economic and global

dominance) were obtained from the colonies. He therefore submitted that African development must address the human experience and conditions of living while generating fresh epistemologies to awaken cultural identities and creative abilities amongst African scholars and populace.

Maduabuchi Dukor, critically reviewed the African alternative to the conception of development vis-à-vis globalization. He proposed in his expose on development that the Third world and African approach to development must radically shift from economics to that of respect of cultures, individualities, authenticity of races and most importantly a renaissance of African metaphysical consciousness of her role in history. As Dukor opined

...despite the trace offered by the doctrine of post modernism into the western oriented public discourse on themes and motifs of culture and development, such discourse still centres on economics, scientific and technological development of western prototypes.⁷³

Dukor argued therefore that

The nudging and prompting of culture and authenticity of African culture must co-exist with that of other races in the global orbit. Hence any concept of development that promotes (economic western prototype).... The African prototype or the Asian is automatically out of the global process.⁷⁴

Nwakeze Ogugua, advanced a conception of development that rather revolts against the huge assumptions of economic gains for the African personhood and society. In his essay *Globalization and African Development*, he argued that

“the development talked about in Africa must be ontologically based, focused on world view, reflective of culture, person and value-centered. For him, ‘development entails the integration and harmonization of the human potential (givens) in various aspects of human life in the bid of man’⁷⁵ to survive this experiment called life and live at his best. Ogugua further argued that culture has an intrinsic role to play in an understanding of the concept of development. Thus, his analysis of culture as an acid to development in the formation of the individual is amongst the first task of philosophy in an identity crisis-ridden society such as Africa. As regards culture, in a study of development as human development, Ogugua echoed

culture aids in the development formation of the individual, that is refining of the individual, this brings out the subjective aspect, and bringing out of the spiritual form of society, in this sense, development is objectified.⁷⁶

Amartya Sen, in his work, *Development as Freedom* expounded the theory that development must be seen as freedom. Freedom, which primarily is within the constituent of the individuals show case of innate potentials and abilities, is the basis for development. For Sen, the level of freedom in a society shows the development of such society. It follows that both internal and external inhibitions on personal freedom stagnates development. Sen himself, a western scholar, shifted drastically from a ballooned image of globalization as economic liberalization for developing nations and argued that only in a personal sense can development thrive with freedom as the catalyst.

In 2007, Williams Easterly in his work, **The Ideology of Development**, conceived development as that phenomenon which has “its own intelligentsia, comprised of experts of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the United Nations.”⁷⁷ Alongside Keynes, Schumpeter and Marx, Easterly’s conception of development forms the bulk of the literatures and thoughts that have spurred the financial activities of Western institutions deluding them to conclude that development is all about financial restraints and market control in the third world countries.

In the words of Peet and Hartwick, development is a founding belief of modernity and modernity is that time in Western history when rationality supposed it could change the world for better.⁷⁸ In probing deeper into the concept and theories of development, Peet and Hartwick argued that most theories of development reach into cultures, and in most cases, western culture for explanatory and persuasive power, while the end product of such deep thinking, together with the dedicated practices of millions of well meaning people, and are political tools, with mass.⁷⁹

In 1999, the Human Development Index (HDI) under the auspices of United Nations Development program (UNDP) conducted a holistic study on the nature and contents of development across the world. In that research, the HDI measured development indices from different parts of the world with such

indices like access to knowledge, nutrition and health services, security; leisure, political and cultural freedoms.⁸⁰

But there is a turn in the tide of the study of the concept of development which apparently has great bearing on historical events of colonization. There are many literatures associated with this view but as Osondu aptly observed, “historically, the theory of development was laid and hatched during the period of colonization.”⁸¹ Hence, he argued that imperialism and colonization are concepts used in describing the state of relations between Africa in particular, plus other non European World and Europe from their first period of contact till the end of second world war.⁸²

Though the use of the term “development” has been exclusively confined to economic progress and in the words of Iheanyi Osondu, a close relationship to colonization, yet in reality the term applies to social, political technological and most significantly human progress as well. All these various sectors of society are so intertwined that it is difficult to neatly separate them. At a conceptual level, there are arguments of economic development and human development as the characterizing elements in an understanding of the concept especially in its relation to the term “globalization”. But note however, that there are other loosely related concepts to the notion or idea of globalization. As a concept, development needs to be distinctively separated from such concepts like

survival, growth and evolution.⁸³ In explicating these related concepts, the *Wikipedia Encyclopedia* opined:

*Survival refers to a subsistence way of life without any marked qualitative changes in living standards. Growth refers to horizontal expansion in the existing plane characterized by quantitative expansion such as a farmer increasing the area under cultivation and a rental business man opening more retail outlets.*⁸⁴

In essence, the encyclopedia defines development as a vertical shift in the level of operations that brings about a qualitative change such as a retailer to a manufacturer kind of scenario.⁸⁵

From the foregoing, it is obvious that underdevelopment is not the total absence of development. This is because, every society and individual can boast of one form of development or the other. Hence, the concept of underdevelopment becomes meaningful only “as a means of comparing levels of development.”⁸⁶

In this context, the major occupation of this work is what the viable development approach for Africa should be vis-à-vis Western exclusive economic conception of development on one hand and on the other side, the widening gap between the other developing nations and Africa. Another salient aspect of this work is the review of literatures on concept of third world.

The Third World: Origins and Conceptions

In the new unipolar world of globalization, the bargaining power and sense of solidarity of third world countries have never been weaker. The third world problem beginning from that of unequal development remains a reality which

requires a deep political and moreso, a philosophical reflection. But what is the Third World? Does the Third world even exist? If it does, then what are the conceptions that shaped and are still shaping the discourse on it in this 21st century? These are salient questions that lead to a review of certain literatures and scholars on the concept of the term “Third World.”

In his essay, “*The Third World: What is in a Name?*” Iheanyi Osondu, a historian remarked that the origin of the term “Third World” has been variously debated by different scholars. He however observed that the original use of that term was attributed to the French economic historian, Alfred Savvy.⁸⁷ In quoting Savvy, he recalled the first questions that shaped the origin and use of the term “third world”. These origins in itself were merely political origins and not economic as it apparently resembles today. In raising the question, “*Tiers Etat-What is the Third Estate*”? by the Abbe of Sieyes in 1789, the first of a long political debate on what should be the third party amongst the two strongest political parties of the early 19th to late 20th century was initiated. It became merely middle “term” to designate the third or neutral force in a balance of power between strong political parties and national ideologies like capitalism and communism. As Osondu rightly quoted Joseph love, the thirdness was closely related to some notion of neutrality in the emerging cold war...and the “third force” and “third position” were still not the (exact meaning) as the “third world.”⁸⁸ Furthering his essay on the third world and what there is in the

name, Osondu averred that the “Third World” became popularized during the first non-aligned movement conference held in Bandung (Indonesia) in 1955.

At this conference, representatives of 29 newly decolonized or independent countries used it as a way of identifying with, or stating their desire to pursue neutral unaligned foreign policy vis-à-vis the capitalist economy of Western Europe and North America (Euro America) and the countries with centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.⁸⁹

Hence, Osondu maintained that the term “third world” as used in the non-aligned movement conference was political not economic in application and is merely a product of the cold war between the capitalist countries of western Europe and North America and the centrally planned countries of eastern Europe and the soviet union. Osondu further observed in relation to the concept of “Third world” that a later reference simply was used with a geographical sense. Hence, the third-world referred to those areas of the world confined to the tropics and subtropics or within latitudes 35⁰ (degree) North and South of the Equator.⁹⁰

These are areas dominated by the inter-tropical convergence zone (ITCZ). Areas within their latitude that is not entirely affected or directly influenced by the inter-tropical convergence zone (ITCZ) due to their geographic position are Northern China, Mongolia, Korea and Southern parts of Argentina and Chile.⁹¹

Another literature that offers further insight into the concept of the third world is the *Wikipedia Encyclopedia of Development*. In its attempt, the encyclopedia noted that “the term “third world” arose during the cold war to define countries

that remained non-aligned with either NATO (with the United States, Western Europe and their allies representing the first world) or the communist bloc (with soviet Union, peoples republic of China, Cuba and their allies representing the second world.⁹² As the Encyclopedia detailed,

*This obsolete terminology (third world) provided a way of broadly categorizing the nations of the earth into three groups based on social, political and economic divisions, which has contributed to political bias.... Over the last few decades, the term has been mistakenly used inter-changeably with the Global south and developing countries to describe poorer countries that have struggled to attain steady economic development.*⁹³

The scholar and philosopher Gerard Chaliand in his *Magnus Opus* “Third World” advanced a conception of the third world that has all the historicity of the valuable literatures on “Third world.” For him however, these historical conditions combine to absorb the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania into the International capitalist economy by way of conquest, indirect domination or most recently “globalization”.⁹⁴ He went further to highlight and discuss certain key elements of the third world which are characteristics of the very foundation of the concept. The hallmark of such characteristics in the concept of third world is “underdevelopment”. In this underdevelopment, there are marked number of common traits which includes; highly distorted and highly dependent economies devoted to producing primarily products for the developed world and to provide markets for their finished goods; traditional, rural social structures; high population growth; and widespread poverty.⁹⁵ In his

work “*The Third World: A New focus for Development*”, Arthur Kasdan conceived the third world thus;

*Third World, the technologically less advanced, or developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, generally characterized as poor, having economies distorted by their dependence on the export to their primary products to the developed countries in return for finished products. These nations also tend to have high rates of illiteracy, disease and population growth and unstable government.*⁹⁶

Furthermore, he argues that the term ‘Third World’ was originally intended to distinguish non-aligned nations but remarked that China was not necessarily included because of their unbalanced alignment with Soviet Union during these days of the cold war.

The theories of globalization, development and the third world are always in constant interaction and debate. For a decade, the debates in the concepts have changed fundamentally and are now more tied to economic sense than the political sense. However, one can rightly adduce that globalization seems to transcend mere flow of trade or social relations to perpetrate some forms of socio-cultural imperialism as well as underdevelopment.

The basic logic to be deduced from these literatures is that there is an increasing gulf between developed and developing nations fuelled by the phenomenon called globalization. The central question to be raised is: do third world countries abstain from globalization? In responding to the above

question, Professor Ron Duncan of the Australian National University argued point blank that:

Although globalization may increase inequality in some countries, this can be remedied with structural responses. A rise in poverty among the poorest countries results from their not taking part in globalization.⁹⁷

But are we really to blame the poverty in Africa in a comparative sense with those of other developing nations on their abstinence from globalization? Certainly, this is not the view of some African scholars including this writer but rather that globalization in a more sustainable sense can uniquely bridge the gap first, between Africa and the other third world nations and secondly between third world and other developed nations of the West.

To this extent, we have tried to review the various conceptions of some schools of thought and authors on globalization , the conceptions of development and that of the third World vis-à-vis the search for sustainable development approach in Africa. Certainly, the literatures are not entirely exhaustive but they contribute to our understanding of these concepts. Also, it is obvious we have not explored an entirety of literatures that can appreciate the existential philosophical implications of the current globalization trend towards a sustainable development in Africa; however these will be our pre-occupation in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

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CHAPTER THREE

GLOBALIZATION AND THE THIRD WORLD

3.0 Historical Evolution of Globalization

Globalization is certainly a prominent factor in any discourse on modernity and development. Indeed, it is at the heart of the contemporary world as the defining process and the determining factor of its developmental project. But, it is not a novel phenomenon since it is an integral project in the age-long human quest for development. Therefore, an understanding of its historical evolution is pertinent for appreciating and assessing its contemporary form and index nature of measuring development benefits and gains.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to outline an exact history of globalization with regards to when, how and who initiated the idea of transforming the whole world into a single family. Yet, it remains an indubitable fact that “human-kind has always had within itself the innate and unquenchable desire, whether for good or evil, of unifying the world and creating one large human family.¹”

The realization of such a desire was attempted in the past through violent means such as war and the annexation of conquered kingdoms to victorious ones. For instance, we recall the several attempts by past Egyptian Pharaohs to rule the whole world, the expansive military feats of the Chaldean warlords, the campaigns and military exploits of the Persian kings, the concerted efforts made by different Roman emperors to extend and consolidate the Roman empire and

the two World Wars. All these were instigated and propelled by the quest to dominate the entire world by competing powerful nations. But, the aim of globalization, as economic, political and socio-cultural integration of the whole world into a single family, became more lucid in 334 B.C. This was when the Macedonian warlord, Alexander the great (336-323 BC), initiated the grand project of unifying the whole world through the diffusion of Greek language, culture and philosophy among all nations². This project known as *Hellenization* was greatly influenced by the idea that the Greek culture was superior to all others. Alexander inherited this idea from Aristotle, his teacher³.

As a criterion for accommodating other races into this “global kingdom,” Alexander attempted to purify them. Thus, he compelled the Macedonians to intermarry with these races. He even organized a “mass wedding⁴” in Susa, “in which he himself, his Chief Generals, and ... ten thousand other Macedonians married Persian wives⁵.” Alexander also conquered many cities and empires on which he imposed the Greek culture and enforced the *Koine* Greek as their *lingua franca*. Thus, E. Charpentier wrote that within a decade, Alexander:

had won victories during a march of 18,000 kilometers; he had founded more than 70 cities... many of whom were called Alexandria; he spread Greek culture with its art, its baths and its stadiums, and provided a common language as a means of unity⁶.

This imperial design was the first socio-cultural ideology historically recognized as truly global. But, it is necessary for us to note that slavery was a global

practice and an integrating factor in earlier periods of human history. This is because, as long as men have fought, they have also captured and kept slaves⁷. This explains why some scholars view slavery as an ancient approach to global integration no less significant in the history of globalization than Hellenization.

Meanwhile, globalization in its current form can be said to share in the historical patrimony of capitalism. As Henry Alapiki observed,

The political and economic processes of the past centuries (such as industrial revolution in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the experience of colonialism; and neo-colonialism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) created the Conditions for the emergence of a single modern world economy now referred to as globalization⁸.

The world order has drastically changed especially in the years after the Second World War. This is more palpable when we take cognizance of the myriads of inventions and initiatives found in the socio-political and economic interaction among nations. These combine to lend more credence to the description of the modern world as a global village.

Hence, the primordial attempts to transform the whole world into one cosmic polity, which employed violence in the past, have adopted a neo economic *cum* political ‘diplomatic’ approach in our own era. This new approach is *Globalization*.

3.1 Globalization in the Contemporary Era

Globalization is one of the most significant and widely discussed concepts in the contemporary world. Yet, it is one of the least clearly understood, and consequently, one of the most controversial concepts in scholarly discourses today.

The concept “globalization” is coined from the word “globe,” which is a device used in cartography as a scale model of the earth.⁹ Sometimes, the term is “used synonymously with world or earth.”¹⁰ In this sense, a global phenomenon is one covering or affecting the whole world. Literally then, to globalize is to cover or affect the whole world. Hence, globalization “points to the whole effort towards making the world a global community.”¹¹

In academic parlance, globalization refers to the increasing integration of the whole world through economic exchange, political configuration and socio-cultural influences.¹² Here, economic exchanges include cross-border trade, capital flow and financial investments. Political configurations are the renewed structures of the multinational organizations that enable them to wield more political power than many state governments. Cultural influences are obvious in the Westernization of many cultures especially those of the developing countries.¹³

As a world economic agenda, globalization is “meant to create a common and free market and thus open the whole world ... to the possibilities of

industrialization and economic developments.”¹³ It aims at the extension of economic forces beyond national and continental precincts. But most interesting to this dissertation is how globalization aims to enthrone a mono-economic society without entrapping the unique cultural elements of its participating cultures.

3.2 Basic Features of Globalization

Some basic features characterize globalization. These include economic liberalism, political liberalism and socio-cultural hybridism.

i. Economic Liberalism:

Economic liberalization, according to Martin Khor, involves “the breaking down of national economic barriers; the international spread of trade, financial and production activities and the growing power of transnational corporations and international financial institutions in these processes.” This is not a novel process, since over the past centuries firms have increasingly extended their tentacles through trade and production activities to other firms. But nowadays, it is achieved more diplomatically by “breaking down national barriers to economic activities, resulting in greater openness and integration of countries in the world markets.”¹⁶

ii. Political Liberalism:

The current globalization process seems to possess as its most important and unique feature, what we can refer to as the liberalization of national policies and

policy-making mechanisms. Until recently, national policies especially in economic, socio-cultural and technological spheres were solely under the jurisdiction of the state. But nowadays, the increasing influence of international agencies on the state has eroded national sovereignty.¹⁷

Thus, the ability of governments and the people to make choices from options in economic, social and cultural policies has drastically depreciated. In fact, most developing countries have relinquished their right of independent policy-making. This is because they have little or no option than to adopt foreign policies that may, on balance, be to their own detriment.

Even in the developed countries, some large multinational corporations have also dominated their decision-making mechanism at the expense of state's sovereignty. This erosion of national policy-making capacity is primarily necessitated by the liberalization of markets and financial investments. Surely, an effective economic liberalization requires a porous political structure.

iii. Cultural Hybridism:

Culture is usually defined in blanket terms as the totality of a people's way of life,¹⁸ and globalization is principally meant to touch people's way of life in all of its ramifications. Thus, we can hardly discuss the current globalization process without situating it within a cultural context.

Indeed, globalization by its very nature connects people and culture. In most cases, this connectivity results in a kind of cultural hybridism. This is because

*The increasing traffic between cultures...suggests that the dissolution of the link between culture and place is accompanied by an intermingling of these disembodied cultural practices producing new complex hybrid forms of culture.*¹⁹

Cultural hybridization, therefore, occurs when a prevailing culture in a particular environment shares its territorial integrity with another. This results in a kind of syncretism to which both cultures surrender their identities. However, cultural hybridization is not cultural development. This is because cultural development involves a permanent improvement of the existing features of a particular culture, and the harmonious incorporation of borrowed aspects of other cultures. But cultural hybridization tends to forcefully displace some features of a particular culture by the staccato infusion of another. This explains why many scholars posit cultural hybridization as part of the negative effects of globalization especially on the cultures of under-developed countries.

3.2.1 Current Framework of Globalization

Some scholars have described the current globalization process as an old project with a new name. This is not unconnected with the apparent similarities between the framework of the current globalization process and those of its antecedents such as slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Hence, we shall briefly examine the current framework of globalization under its ideological, economic and political dimensions.

i. The Ideological Framework:

The current globalization process is, as can be deduced, an incarnation of *neo-liberalism*. This ideology, as the name implies, is an offshoot of the liberal political philosophy known as *Liberalism*. This philosophy holds that the justification of any political organization is based on its contributions to the interests of the individual, irrespective of the society. Hence, it rejects “both the view that cultures, communities and states are ends in themselves and the view that social and political organizations should aim to transform or perfect human nature.”²⁰

The Scottish economist Adam Smith, who arranged the ideas of economic liberalism into a distinct philosophical system, separated it from political liberalism in the twentieth century. This new system was called capitalism or free enterprise and was based on the classical principle of *Laissez faire*. However, the recent crisis in capitalism with its depreciating profit rates has inspired the corporate elites to revive economic liberalism. This makes it “neo-liberalism” or a new form of liberalism.

Neo-liberalism, as an economic philosophy, posits global economic liberalization and free-trade ideology. In this sense, neo-liberalism is often used interchangeably with globalization. According to Obiora Ike, it

is a kind of ‘economic fundamentalism’ that puts an absolute value on the operation of the market and subordinates people’s lives, the functions of society,

the policies of government and the role of the state to this unrestricted free market.²¹

Thus, neo-liberalism projects economic growth as an end in itself. This explains why the current globalization process tends to strive after mere economic progress, which on balance may hamper the holistic and sustainable development of humanity. This is evident in the seemingly religious character of this philosophy, as greed becomes a virtue, competition a commandment and profit a sign of salvation. Hence, neo-liberalism is not just economics: it is also a social and moral philosophy.

Around the world, powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Inter- American Development Bank have imposed neo-liberalism on the world market. The overall effect of this is that the rich nations get richer while the poor ones get poorer.

ii. Economic Framework:

The economic structure of globalization has taken a center space in the project of globalization and of development too. This assertion can best be appreciated in the phenomena of capital flow and free trade. From the features of globalization, it is obvious that prior to exchange of goods and services in international trade, cross-border monetary flow has been the most significant component of globalization. This cross-border money usually moves faster than its owners. Hence, it is hardly controlled.

Secondly, we can see that due to technological advances in communication and transportation such as the Internet and Cargo planes, goods produced in one country move rapidly into other countries. In most cases, these movements disrupt traditional productive patterns in the recipient country.

Of course, trade relations among nations may be free, but whether or not they are “fair” depends so much on the power, skill, experience and size of these nations. These factors are very asymmetrically distributed and utilized in our contemporary world.

iii. The Political Framework:

The post cold war era had witnessed significant changes in the old political structures shaped by the East/West conflict. Today, the design for a new World Order has substituted the bi-polar world. But the political dimensions of this new order are themselves subject to the economic influence of available markets, accessible resources and technological arrangements.

Thus, it is not surprising that the ideological and economic frameworks of the current globalization process are more influential than its political framework. However, they can function best only within a political framework. Hence, globalization adopts a kind of political diplomacy that allows nation states, especially the indebted ones, to possess a ceremonial sovereignty. This enables the multinational companies and other globalization agencies to exercise the real power in policy-making. This goes on to buttress Ralph Chiaka’s

observation that “the multinationals are potentially powerful political forces, which can act and at times do seek to shape the law...which have an impact on the political environment.”

3.2.2 MAJOR INSTRUMENT OF GLOBALIZATION

Many factors are very instrumental to the progress of globalization. Here, we shall briefly look at advanced information technology as a veritable instrument in the current globalization process. For sake of precision, we shall focus more on the role of the Internet in this ongoing project.

The term the *global village*, as I mentioned earlier, was coined in the 1960s by a pioneering media thinker, Marshall McLuhan. Probably, this was to express his belief that electronic communication would unite the whole world. Today, many scholars are of the opinion that the advent of the Internet over more than a decade has paralleled the emergence of globalization as a concept. However, the role of the Internet as an instrument of globalization is still very controversial.

Some scholars argue that many people within the developing countries see the internet as an opportunity to gain access to knowledge and services around the world in ways that are previously unimaginable. Thus, they hold that the Internet may facilitate the opportunities for economic development.²² The major argument here is that the Internet and other advanced information technologies such as mobile telephone necessitate and as well facilitate the development of infrastructures. On the other hand, scholars see the Internet as a mercenary

employed by the West to dominate global information system. This is premised on the fact that the developed countries generate most of the contents on the Internet, and English is its principal language. Thus, they view the Internet as an instrument for cultural imperialism by the West²³. In addition to the Internet, there are other catalysts to the current globalization process. These include mobile telephone, improved system of transportation, Satellite Broadcast, international and intercontinental confederacies.

3.2.3 PHILOSOPHICAL TENETS FOR A DISCOURSE ON GLOBALIZATION

Globalization when viewed with a philosophical lens could be seen for what it is-a human predicament! In offering benefits and opportunities, it also opens up gaps of unequal benefits and unequal opportunities to humanity. Since philosophy is reflections on human experience, it is essential that this study identify philosophical tenets or platforms on which the current framework of globalization and its promises of development to third world countries thrive on. In reflecting through these tenets, this discourse critically x-rays the philosophy behind a neo economic liberalist approach to African development. These tenets are Materialism, Monism and Naturalism

i. Materialism

Materialism is a philosophy that holds matter as the ultimate reality. In some circles, materialism could be an ideology or even a creed especially in

communist societies. For the materialist, matter is primary to spirit and mind. In his readings of Karl Marx as the greatest proponent of materialism, H.Elliot described Materialism as

*The conception of the universe from which we start is that of a great system of matter and motion undergoing redistribution according to fixed sequence, which in the terminology of science are called laws.*²⁴

In essence, materialism as a philosophy relegates man to a mere biological and sentient animal thus denying the reality of the spiritual realm in man. In the materialist realm, human actions are only expressible in terms of matter and motion. The current framework and indeed features upon which globalization projects itself and its developmental paradigms are essentially materialist in nature. As H. Elliot aptly remarked “An age of science is necessarily an age of materialism; ours is a scientific age; and it may be said with truth that we are materialists now”²⁵

Globalization within its neo –liberalist approach to development is intrinsically materialist. It does not consider the spiritual, the values, cultures, identities, norms and human rights of the third world nations. It does not see beyond the ephemeral and operates in a “here and now” principles as Eboh would describe it. For Eboh, therefore, “the religion of materialism has its own morality; the morality of no morality.”²⁶ This can also be said of globalization and its neo liberalist approach to African Development.

ii. Monism

Monism is the philosophical view that a variety of existing things can be explained in terms of a single reality or substance. It is a philosophical view that is always in opposition with dualism, pluralism or even more so nihilism.

Globalization in its current framework of economic cum political neo-liberalism has tried to advance a feature of the universe that is Western Universalist in nature. It has also advanced an approach to development that is monistic in its understanding of a multi dimensional concept like development. Here, Globalization and its agents present the phenomenon as one reality subsisting in western science, western economy and western political models. The plurality of the participating cultures in globalization is totally absent in its developmental tenets and framework. Indeed globalization does not respect cultures, individualities and authenticity of races that are currently in the world order except for the western culture and individuality. As M. Dukor observed of the monistic tenets of Globalization,

...despite the trace offered by the doctrine of postmodernism into the western oriented public discourse on themes and motifs of culture and development, such discourse still centers on economics, scientific and technological developments of western prototypes. The nudging and prompting of culture and authenticity of African culture must co-exist with that of other races in the Global orbit. Hence, any concept of development that negates the African prototype or the Asian is automatically out of the global process.²⁷

Globalization in its monistic foundation does not respect the plurality of cultures, individualities and authenticities of races. It is therefore argued that a concept of globalization and development must be pluralistic in nature so as to answer the inherent contradictions in its promises of equal opportunities.

iii. Naturalism

Naturalism as a philosophical concept was aptly defined by the American Philosopher John Dewey in an evolutionary sense. His definition sufficiently addresses the essence of a critique in the current framework of globalization as a naturalist ideology bent on stifling human values and human reason. For Dewey, “every existence is an event...we need not evoke God, reason or even pure intimidation to account for the idea of continuity. The idea of continuity is not to be understood beyond the physical as it involves complexification of organisms.”²⁸ Naturalism as postulated by Dewey has no room for the metaphysical as everything is natural. Globalization revolves around the logic of natural instincts and survival of the fittest. It thrives ontologically in compulsive profit making through natural process of continuous acquisition and inquisition into third world territories. The current framework of globalization deals with complexification in aspects of human relations, revolving neither along the supernatural, reason nor of human values but simply on economic survival and profit for the fittest. In a sense, globalization is an ensemble of Darwinism.

3.2.4 THE KEY PLAYERS IN GLOBALIZATION

Here, we shall summarily outline the proponents as well as the critics of the current globalization process, with a brief highlight on their *modus operandi*. We shall broadly outline them under the pro-globalization and anti-globalization schools.

i. The Pro-Globalization School:

Here, we have multinational organizations such as the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the World Economic Forum (WEF). These are international organizations that work in their different capacities to promote global integration through international cooperation on economic and socio-political issues.

There are also some businesses, which benefit directly or indirectly from free international markets. These include the International Chambers of Commerce, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development, Inter-Regional Economic Network, Liberty Institute, Internet and Telecommunications industries.

ii. The Moderate Globalization School

The moderate globalization scholars entail scholars, philosophers, political analyst, and environmentalists who have argued for a rethink in the entire

claims of the globalization project. These scholars are predominantly third world country elites who call for a reflective pause on the exclusive economic and dominating agenda fostered by the pro-globalization agents of the west. In extension, there are also other moderate schools of thought which includes Friends of the Earth Associations and social development agencies such as the World Vision International. Others include the World Social Forum and Marxist Organizations.²⁹

3.3 Understanding the Historical Origins of the Concept of Third World

The earliest usage of the term “third world” was hugely credited and traced to the French thinker Alfred Savvy. His (Savvy’s) conceptions of the term assumed the form of a political question bordering on the long French political debate of the early nineteenth century to late twentieth century. In attempting a truce between the two strongest French political parties and national ideologies like capitalism and communism, Alfred Savvy fundamentally sought a “*Tiers Etat*” to designate a neutral force or a third state to balance the power of the two opposing ideologies. Thus, the concept of third world benignly assumed the role of a neutral, a mediator and in most recent studies; a non-aligned movement in the struggle between strong conflicting ideologies, powers or movement. The shift from mere average understanding of neutrality to non-aligned movements or bodies was precipitated by the Bandung (Indonesia) conference of 1995.

At this conference, representatives of 29 newly decolonized or independent countries used it as a

*way of identifying with or stating their desire to pursue neutral unaligned foreign policy vis-a-vis the capitalist economy of Western Europe and North America (Euro America) and the countries with centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe and Soviet Union*³⁰

It follows therefore that the earliest conception of the term “third world” from the French historian Alfred Savvy and down to the non-aligned movement of the cold war era had a political application. As Osondu averred “it was merely a product (rationale) of the cold war between the capitalist countries of western Europe and North America, the centrally planned countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.”³¹

However, as the globalization trend took off, different concepts were either modeled to conform to the claims or otherwise critique the benefits of globalization and one of such terms were those of the “third world” and significantly the core issue of “development” in the so called “third world”. Hence, from a political interpretation of the concept to mean non-aligned countries of the cold war era, globalization wave of the later 20th century shifted the debate to further questions of economics, social conditions and cultural debates. Third world thus became a terminology of categorizing the nations of earth along the lines of “developed” and “developing”; it became ostensibly in certain circles a clarion call for a rethink of the globalization exercise sweeping across the world. This new shift from the political to the economic and social

human conditions was vividly captured by the Wikipedia Encyclopedia of Development thus:

This obsolete terminology (third world) provided a way of broadly categorizing the nations of the earth into three groups based on social, political and economic divisions, which has contributed to political bias... over the last few decades, the term has been mistakenly used inter-changeably with the global south and developing countries to describe poorer countries that have struggled to attain steady economic and human development.³²

In an appealing concept such as globalization, the reflective question to be adduced from the above extrapolations of the encyclopedia is this; why would some countries or some regions struggle to attain steady human and economic development? Does the struggle of the third world subsist in an existential lack or absence of ability to sustain development? Is this struggle a deficiency of human development or environmental socio-conditions? In an Africa sense, can Globalization erode cultural values and leave the region less unique as it met it? Or should there be a new focus of cultural and social development with emphasis on human capacity building in a way to improve standards of living? Indeed, what is the best approach for African engagement in the development debate at the table of globalization? Perhaps, the philosopher Gerad Chaliand's highlight of certain key elements in the concept of the third world could lay the opening foundations for a dialogical discourse of this historical trace of Africa as a third world region. For him,

There are historical conditions that combine to absorb the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin American and Oceania into the international capitalist economy by way of conquest, indirect domination and most recently “globalization.”³³

Furthermore, Chaliand opined inter alia,

The hallmark of such characteristics in the concept of third world is underdeveloped. In this underdevelopment, there are marked numbers of common trait which include; highly distorted and highly dependent economies devoted to producing primarily products for the developed world and to provide markets for their finished goods. (There are also) traditional rural social structures, high population growth and widespread poverty.³⁴

On the subject of poverty, unemployment, racism, violence, totalitarianisms social insecurity and wars, the real challenges of understanding the third world *problematique* comes into in mind. As Karl Popper wrote in his *Open Society and Its Enemies*, the real enemies of the open society are totalitarianisms, democracy and freedom. Thus, for Popper, “if we wish to remain human, then there is only one way, the way into the open society.”³⁵ Although Popper views his open society as a western social phenomenon, but the historical foundations and current dilemma of third world countries have all the elements typical of the problems discussed in *Open Society and Its Enemies*. However, in the context of globalization, can the third world, traumatized by colonialist policies and underdevelopment, ravaged by corrupt leadership of indigenous elite aspire to keep their national identities and still attain the height of “open society”

principles which are in them the “globalization principles” without a massive erosion of political, economical and cultural legacies?

On the political terrain, especially international social stratification, the notion of the third world is otherwise cognitive and meaningful to the extent it describes the developing indices of a nation. Hence, beside a notion of “third world” from the earliest political views to mean nations not aligned with NATO and capitalism or the Soviet Union and communism, the notion now fundamentally lies within the domain of development. To foundation the understanding of the term “third world”, it has become necessary that clear innovative thinking be directed towards the branch of philosophy which more or less is relegated to background and that is the domain of “philosophy” of Development. Indeed, developing nations are commonly referred to as third world. These developing countries can be found in Asia, Africa, Oceania and Latin America. Of course, these countries were at one point colonies which were formally led by imperialism. The end of imperialism, observed H. Nwainya, forced these colonies to survive on their own. As he further articulated,

...with lack of support, these colonies started to develop characteristics such as poverty, high birth rates and economic dependence on other countries. The term was (therefore) affiliated to the economic situation of these former colonies and not their social alliances to either capitalism or communism.³⁶

There are two perspectives predominant in an understanding of the idea of the third world. The perspectives while not conflicting *inter alia* gives a deeper historically horizon of the movement of an idea from a platonic realm of knowledge at the first level as (mere shadow or appearance) to a second level of knowledge as a reality. In reminding the philosopher of the difference between appearance and reality in his allegory of the cave, Plato distinguishes between levels of knowledge a subject or an object must undergo to become a body of knowledge. In appearing as a third alternative between two conflicting ideologies of capitalism and communism, the notion of the third world was merely an ephemeral, an appearance or otherwise a concept without a content which held no significant meaning to the two great bodies of knowledge in the post second world war era. As its name connotes, “non-aligned movements” which according to the historian B. Tomlinson was a movement with no direction, focus or set out ideologies. Hence, the term third world was to be a static non cognitive group of nations who rather in the Hegelian sense lacked consciousness and ability to comprehend reality in the platonic sense. The non-aligned nations at this platonic and Hegelian sense was not a reality or otherwise lacked conscious spirit, hence their inability to readily affiliate to the two most powerful conscious spirit pervading the world. In a political sense and perspective, for which they can be readily ascribed, the third world was allies and must be used for strategic economic, military and human supports. The third world was an appearance which could be readily seen and disposed of as

its survival and sustenance solely depended to the capitalist West or the communist Soviet Union. The Puritanism of the nineteenth century and twentieth century Europe have already laid the foundation of what became a broad concept of “third world” by the end of the First and the Second World War. Although it had a mere political connotation of non-aligned nations in its earliest usage but over time metamorphosed to more broad social, economic and humanitarian “underdeveloped” areas of the world.

In certain sense like in Hegelian expose of the absolute spirit, the predicament of the third world nations is indeed traceable to a derogatory notion of lack of super consciousness amongst the citizens of these so called third world countries. It is on this backdrop, that all discourse of the third world *problematique* by Western scholars is hinged on developmental indices of aids, foreign assistance, and ideological support. Most recently, it has taken the shape of a globalization movement to emancipate and upgrade the humanity of this class of world inferiors. In 1980, the philosopher economist, Peter Bauer offered an expansive reflective definition of the third world in a critical questioning sense;

...the attachment of third world status to a particular country is not based on any stable economic or political criteria, but is mostly arbitrary process. The large diversity of countries considered part of the third world ranged widely from economically primitive to economically advanced and from politically non-aligned to Soviet Western leaning....The central characteristics amongst all these (derogated) third

*world nations is that their governments demand and receive western aid.*³⁷

Peter Bauer strongly opposes this demand and constant reception of aid from western powers by the government of the so called third world countries. He critically concludes that “the aggregate term “third world” was misleading even during the cold war period because it had no consistent or collective identity among the countries it supposedly encompassed.”³⁸ The identity Bauer refers to is not merely cultural or economic identities of these so called third world nations but could be diagnosed philosophically to mean a lack of stand out human values, political ideologies and developmental acumen of these nations. It is one thing to be ascribed as developing (in all ramifications) and it is another to accept such descriptions and worse still, to continue to live with such conception for a quarter of a century as is the case in most third world nations especially Africa.

The rising of the conscious identity of most East Asian nations is gradually beginning to set them apart from their counterparts in Africa and as Martin Khor opined “we in the south are now having a rethink of the Globalization exercise and it must keep reflecting on the entrenchment of values in our society and attainment of such developments on a sustainable basis.”³⁹ In south America as with Asia, there are rising indices of development and unique cultural ideologies support these economic, political and social developments. Thus, a forging of identity in a globalization market place is making moves

across other designated third world nations except in Africa where cultural identity diffuses all the more and human development held to captivity by successive government corruption and draconian anti-human right policies across the continent.

In the search for a broad understanding of the concept of third world, there are salient re-occurring characteristics that confront the philosopher and such characteristics lie in the bipolar realm of developmental philosophy in third world nations and most importantly, the debate on multi-cultural philosophy in the task of finding a better habitable society for man. The core characteristics or indicators that are prevalent in most designated third world nations are poverty, inhuman government policies, poor health care systems, environmental problems, and highly uneducated populations. There are other factors of concern such as over dependency on western support, crisis of identity and lack of tribal tolerance, high birth and infant mortality rates and most foundationally, an erosion of the elite or the thinking class. It is in the lack of this innovative class or thinking class that Africa have failed and remained asleep amongst the globalization exercise movement. As H. Nwainya put it, “we can no longer create or recreate existing ideas, terminologies are near extinct and science does not simply exist in practice except for academic award of such theoretical titles for political ascendance and positional occupation.”⁴⁰ Moreover, there are other theoretical paradigms that helps one understand the real inherent crisis of

identity in third world nations. One of such crisis of identity in a development sense is otherwise known as “false urbanization”. Explicated in a penetrating sense,

False urbanization is when a country has a high percent urban statistic. The majority of urban population lives in the single biggest city. There is massive rural to urban migration. Primacy is also part of false urbanization and it is when the most population is in the main city, most of the time its capital city. The poverty permeates in the inter-lands but the major city apparently blooms.⁴¹

However, despite the glaring inherent characteristics and crisis identifiable with “third world” concept, the most central and fundamental characteristics of third world concept in the era of globalization is the dependency of the developing nations social, political, economic and human development on the Western countries or otherwise first world countries. For any meaningful progress therefore in a study of Africa as a third world in the Globalization system, there must be an appraisal of modernity, globalization, imperialism and development models in love exclusively with economic development for Africa.

END NOTES

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CHAPTER FOUR

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT IN HISTORY: CAPITALISM, COMMUNISM AND THE SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

4.0 Contextual Understanding of Development

Development is a multi dimensional concept and any attempt to neglect any of its diverse aspects tends to distort the entire phenomenon. This explains why there is no univocal definition of the concept since most schools of thought appear to pursue development models or paradigms within limited cultural perspectives. While the neo-classical, orthodox or most recently western model view development essentially in an economic sense, the Marxist-communist model understood development in a sense of social transformation. However, economic growth and social transformation paradigms may constitute genuine models of development yet they do not suffice as the absolute or perfect model for an understanding of the phenomenon “development” especially in third world continents like Africa.

This work embraces the other variants or paradigms of development as merely among key aspects of development and drives further to pursue an existentialist model of development submerged in the “creating of conditions for the realization of human potentials and personality.” In this paradigm, development is a human phenomenon, which must begin with human beings and endure for their sake. Hence, in the context of this dissertation, development is understood

and discussed both on personal and societal levels of consciousness and creativity.

However, in addressing the nature of the current African problematic regarding development as only a progress towards attuning to economic viable globalised western predicates and canons, it is necessary to understand and extrapolate the core perspectives inherent in the concept of development in particular and globalization in general. Of course, there are other variant and vibrant interpretation or conceptions of development, but for the purposes of this research work, emphasis is laid on two broad conceptions of development arising from the clash of civilizations in the West, East and now what we discuss as the south or the third world (Non-aligned) nations grossly marked with an identity of colonization. Here, development is discussed in a capitalist, communist and existentialist (personal) sense of its relationship with the respective society's growth.

4.1 Development as Economic Liberalism

The idea of development in the capitalist economic model has been broadly understood as the implementation of economic ideas and policies that led to increased private and public wealth and the introduction of novel forms of technology. This is otherwise known as “**developmentalism**” in relation to third world studies. However, in their earliest conceptualization of capitalism, philosophers and political economists like Adam Smith, David Hume, John

Stuart Mill, William James, Henri Bergson, John Arnold Keynes and Joseph Schumpeter believed they were showing concerns to the problems of their society. Earlier in history, Plato and Aristotle demonstrated similar interest in their society with their works. “*La Republique*”, “*Gorgias*”, “*Cratyle*” on the part of Plato and “*Metaphysique*”, “*Organon*”, “*Le Politique*” on the part of Aristotle respectively. Hence, these western philosophers felt that “feudalism” was a failure to their society and needed to be replaced with a higher theory that will challenge the problems of their society. In attempting this task of a philosopher to the society, development was rightly understood in an all element of economic sense and model, which will usher in great wealth and excess benefit to the public. For Adam Smith, “there is a justification to the development of capitalism, since it leads to a great wealth and excess benefit to the public.”¹ As Smith observed in his early essays,

*Capitalism in response to mercantilism, centers on the fact that production was enhanced by the assigning of specific tasks to individual workers. This division of labour would maximize production by allowing workers to specialize in discrete aspects of the production process.... Division of labour holds limitless possibilities for the expansion of wealth and expanding of the markets through manufacturing and trade.*²

One particularly radical but defining view of Adam Smith in the conceptions of development as economic development for a society was laid out in his iconic book “*Wealth of Nations*.” There, wealth for Smith “lay not in gold but in the productive capacity of all people, each seeking to benefit from his or her own

labours.”³ This democratic view of Adam Smith’s philosophy flew in the face of royal treasuries, privileges of the aristocracy or prerogatives doled out to merchants, farmers and working guilds.⁴ It is therefore not coincidental that such democratic, egalitarian and philosophical views arose simultaneously with the America Revolution and only just preceded the French Revolution of 1789. It is therefore *in tandem* to argue that Adam Smith believed that the true development of a nation came from the labour of all people and that the flow of goods and services constituted the ultimate aim and end of economic life in a society. Summarily, Adam Smith held that “Individuals acting in their own self interest would naturally seek out economic activities that provided the greatest financial rewards.”⁵ In a classical sense, Adam Smith’s political economy saw the 18th century society as one bedeviled with a challenge of feudalism and mercantilism and that the society only craves a new economic liberation for development to take place.

David Hume, a philosopher, economist and historian of a sort, lived in the 18th century and was a close contemporary of Adam Smith. In his political economy, Hume maintained a solution to the problem of his British and larger European development challenge in the light of a pure economic response. As an ardent student of the “Enlightenment Era” and the industrial revolution age resulting in changed economies, Hume argued that mercantilism was no more adequate to define the economic policy of Europe. For him, mercantilists

policies were strictly economic polices that “usually ended up in the abuse of a nations colonies, by not allowing them to trade with other countries. It also demanded that the colonies give all they had for the mother country.”⁶ David Hume, as most authors maintained, had a great influence on Adam Smith’s political and economic theories but what stand Hume out was his essays on the quantity theory of money, trade and development. As Sheila Dow, opined “at a methodological level, the influence from his empiricism is commonly traced to the development of econometrics”⁷ In his essay “*On Money*”,

*Hume set out a monetary theory of the price level which was “rediscovered” in twentieth-century monetarist theory. For Hume, the general price level was the outcome of the ratio of circulating money. Hume drew attention to the constant conjunction of events, observed in history of an inflow of specie and after a lag, a rise in the general price level. Where this inflow was the result of increased exports, the inflation would reduce the competitiveness of exports, so that competing nations would be able to regain some of their advantage.*⁸

In expounding his arguments on the correlation between money, prices and history, Hume maintained that the relationship between these was not a direct casual relation but rather that “the inflow of specie itself was simply the symptom of an increase in exports. It was, therefore, increase in economic activity which drove up wages and thus standard of living in society, not the inflow of money itself.”⁹ Hence, the outlook of a nation and the measurement of developments attained by the individuals from a detailed Hume observation of

human behaviour and the society in general was one anchored in economics. In his essay on “*Political Discourses*”, Hume vividly observed,

*Accordingly we find that in every kingdom, into which money begins to inflow in greater abundance than formerly, every thing takes a new face. Labour and industry gain life; the merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skilful, and even the farmer follows his plough with greater alacrity and attention.*¹⁰

In summation of his economic conceptions of development in a capitalistic model, Hume concluded thus:

*From the whole of this reasoning, we may conclude, that it is of no matter of consequence, with regards to the domestic happiness of a state, whether money be in a greater or lesser quantity. The good policy of the magistrate consists only in keeping it, if possible, still increasing; because, by that means, he keeps alive the spirit of industry in the nation, and increases the stock of labour, in which consists all real power and riches.*¹¹

No wonder, we see that Hume’s monetary theory focused on the response of individuals and societies to the changing economic circumstances which happen to be accompanied by money flow.¹²

In laying strong claims to Hume’s earliest foundations of the conception of development in economic terms as it is the case now in globalization discourses, it is worth highlighting the most notable philosopher economist who was influenced by Hume and one of them is John Maynard Keynes. Keynes was a noted scholar of Hume and no modern discourse on development can be

made without mention of “Keynesian theory of Development” otherwise discussed contemporaneously as “developmentalism.” Of course, there are many other modern philosophers who through their essays and discourses held an almost exclusive conception of development in a capitalistic economic perspective or model. Philosophers like J.S. Mill, William James, Henri Bergson all held a sense of society development that begins and finds its sublime relevance in a free trade, money and market expansion by individuals in the society. For this Western Philosophers, It is only in attainment of this development through individual labour that a nation retains its meaning and solves the problem facing its citizenry. However, there were extreme students of this view and their theories have not only shaped the debate, discourse and distinctions of the first, second and third world nations but have helped in laying the foundations of what is otherwise practiced as globalization in our time. Two outstanding philosophers that gave an economic interpretation of development which has helped in formulating a great deal of the framework in current globalization and development discourse were Joseph Schumpeter and John Keynes. Indeed, the Keynesian development theory according to Lassana Keita vigorously calls for a rethink in the African experience of globalization.

John Maynard Keynes, the nineteenth century economist greatly laid down the theory of modern day economic theory and practice that have attracted the attention of philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists and historians. As it is

popular known, the “Keynesian Economics” was a revolution in economic thinking. The theory upturned the older ideas of neoclassical economics on free market (capitalist) assumptions of its stake to provide ultimate end to employment problems through workers adjustment of their wage demands. As he argued, there is a need for state intervention by the introduction of fiscal and monetary measures to mitigate against the adverse effects of recessions and depressions in the society.¹⁸ Keynesian theory of economic development is a refinement of Smith, Say and Hume but most outstanding about his theory is that it served as a theoretical justification for intervention in crisis period by government to help reduce recession in the society as well as its attendant depressions.¹⁹ In his work “*The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*”, he argued that demand and not supply is the key variable governing the overall level of economic activity. On a philosophical plane, Lassana Keita remarked that in the highly competitive struggle of economic and political model of development promised differently by Western Europe and North America on one hand and the communist world of the Soviet Union and china on the other hand, the core main theorist that influenced post colonial Africa was the Keynes and Marxist models. For Lassana,

...those whose supported the Keynesian model indirectly endorsed the free market theories of Smith and Ricardo and assumed that free trade and markets were the essentials for economic transformations in areas deemed underdeveloped.²⁰

It is therefore proper to argue that Keynesian economics sought an exclusive economic response to the challenges of the society. Hence, in modern history, the idea of fiscal policy and monetary measures by regulating agencies like the World Bank, Central Banks and International Monetary Fund have been resorted to while solving development problems. By advocating activist economic policy by governments, Keynes laid the earliest foundations for what globalization institutions namely World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) is experimenting with the third world nations today. It is not surprising that Keynesian economic theory is the background for “developmentalism” which is strictly a study of third world countries development from the myopic lens of western financial institutions and agencies. As Lassana Keita observed, the Keynesian elusive economic development model revived the neo-classical model and was quite evident in W.W. Rostow’s “*The stage of Economic Growth*” and W.A. Lewis’s “*Theory of Economic Growth.*”²¹ Keynesian ideas alongside Rostow and Lewis simply remain at a theoretical level of finding and furnishing ideas to western inexperienced globalization experience but without any significant results in implementation especially in Africa.

Joseph Schumpeter in his popular book “*Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*” began by criticizing Karl Marx theory that capitalism will collapse and will be replaced by socialism. He argued that although capitalism has internally generated sources of annihilation, yet it will not collapse on account of the rise or

revolution of the proletariats.¹³ For Schumpeter, capitalism will only collapse as a result of creative destruction. As he opined;

...the success of capitalism will lead to a form of corporatism and a fostering of values hostile to capitalism especially among intellectuals. The intellectual and social climate needed to allow entrepreneurship to thrive will not exist in advance; it will be replaced by labourism in some form.¹⁴

He points out that intellectuals whose very profession relies on antagonism toward the capitalist's structure are automatically inclined to have a negative outlook toward it even while relying upon it for prestige.¹⁵ But in taking this study of the possibility of capitalism's collapse, Schumpeter developed a capitalist theory of entrepreneurship. Thus for him, in the internal crisis of capitalism, led by the elite of capitalist societies, there is a rising of what he otherwise called "wild spirit" which is translated in a literal economic sense as "entrepreneurship". He argued that "the innovation and technological change of a nation come from the doing of new things or the doing of things that are already being done in a new way"¹² Schumpeter laid huge emphasis on innovation and argued that the development of a nation revolves around her innovation, entrepreneurial activities and market power.¹⁷ In arguing for innovation originated market and entrepreneurial driven societies, Schumpeter laid the foundation for his "*gold monetary standard*" in his history of economic analysis. The gold monetary standard of Schumpeter has been long overtaken but the lessons are quite evident in the foreign policy of most Western and first

world nations. Indeed, it is the Schumpeterian theory that laid grounds for the activities of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank activities in the current framework of globalization. Schumpeter criticized the works of Keynes as abstract models and lacking in adequate illustrations on how to deduce policies and ideas that can translate to transformation of the society. He therefore argued that his task was to integrate history and sociological understanding into his economic theories. Both Keynes and Schumpeter maintained that monetary institutions are central to economic development of any nation and their theories have set the tone of the current globalization discourse hugely anchored on IMF and World Bank regulation and setting of standards for the so called developing and third world nations. The development of these third world nations are strictly on economic sense of funding, lending, borrowing, debt release, subsidy and monetization indices. It is not surprising that the economic and monetary value of a nation stands out as among the core determinants of its development indices or marks.

4.2 Marxist Critique of Capitalism: Communism As Alternative Economic Model for Development

In taking a historical survey and ‘*epoche*’ of the different philosophers or political theories on economic development from the modern to the neoclassical thinkers, it is worth observing that a great deal of these scholars had a soft spot for not only an economic answer to the mounting and complex challenges of development in their societies but also an analysis that sees capitalism in its

purest form of free trades and liberalization as the surest path to achieve development in a society. However, Karl Marx in his discourse on “*Stage Theory of Human History*” started by arguing that “feudalism was a social order with a particular historical role to play according to his materialist conception of history”²² For Marx therefore, capitalism was historically slated to be surpassed just as feudalism was overtaken by capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth century West. As Lassana Keita wrote about Marx,

*Feudalism was a social order with a particular historical role to play according to his materialist conception of history. This social order was predicated on a particular set of productive and technological forces. Feudalism met its sociological demise when a fortuitous conjuncture of historical forces that developed first in maritime Western Europe led to germination and rapid growth of the economic system known as capitalism.*²³

However, the development of capitalism heralded and justified by Adam Smith as “private vices and public benefits” while leading to great wealth for some, led also to exploitation and misery for labour into the capitalist equation of land, labour and capital argued Karl Marx. Hence, Marx championed a fierce rethink project of the capitalist system in the nineteenth century and also laid the ground for many theories that critiqued capitalism. Very striking to a study of the Marxist economic model of development is as Keita aptly observed, “...by the time Marx came along to engage in his comprehensive critique of capitalism the idea that the essence of economics was growth was firmly entrenched.”²⁴ What was novel with Marx was that under the influence of the

age of Darwin, he interpreted capitalism not only as a system of growth but also one of evolution.

In mounting a vigorous critique of capitalism, Marx maintained that “capitalism would eventually be forced to evolve into a new system that would develop out of capitalism”²⁵ Of course, capitalism is only but the last of the four stages of economic development propounded by Karl Marx. In his materialistic conception of development as economic development, Marx had argued that “human civilization has manifested itself in a series of organizational structures, each determined by its primary mode of production, particularly the division of labour that dominates in each stage.”²⁶ The Marxist four stages of economic development starting with the tribal stage, to the primitive communism down to the feudal or estate property stage will finally lead to capitalism. With capital dominating the mode of production, Marx saw an inherent danger in his economic stages of development and most significantly realized that the new capitalist system “seemed to be dominated by three main characteristics; the need to exploit labour so that gains be maximized and costs reduced, the need to constantly increase capital holdings and the need to seek out new sources of raw material and labour inputs.”²⁷ Thus, there was a need for a new stage of economic development and that was what came inexorably in the form of communism.

In reading through Marx's conception of development as economic development, Lassana Keita philosophically echoed that it was the flaws of Marx stages of economic development especially his discourse on capitalism that first created the basis for European slavery, colonialism and world economic globalization and secondly, the dynamic rise of communism as vibrant economic alternative to development. Keita *inter alia* argued that "Western Europe and North America experienced economic growth with the accumulation of capital and the raw material for such (economic and global dominance) were obtained from the colonies (*of the developing or third world nations*).²⁸ *Emphasis mine*. In arguing as to the conditions of the rise of communism or in its broader sense "socialism" as a viable economic alternative to development, Keita opined,

*It was this dynamic that led Lenin and Mao (Tse-Tung) to adapt Marx's critique of capital to the social conditions of Russia and China respectively to stave off the threat of becoming colonies of the economically dominant western nations.*²⁹

The communist revolutions of Russia and China were founded on the principles of Marx's critique of capitalism, as an exploitative economic system and the need to therefore have a strong state to resist such. For Lenin, continued Keita

*...the expansion of capital into all parts of the globe was an intrinsic part of the western imperialist project. Lenin's text **Imperialism- The Highest Stage of Capitalism** bears this thesis out.*³⁰

Hence, the decolonization process in Africa and other parts of the non European and Western world was seen by many of the anti-colonial leaders, not as a struggle against colonialism but also a struggle against capitalism in the form of imperialism. The result was that the rise of the Soviet Union and the modern day China, as a political and technological power was seen to represent the correct model of development and by extension, a model to overcome colonialism and to rapidly develop the society both economically, technologically and with social considerations too. Sadly, Africa and most developing nations of South America and Asia became “contested territory for the colonizing West and the communist bloc led by the Soviet Union.”³¹

It is salient to remark, at this stage, that development merely became a subject of colonial discourse, a conscious activity to not only under develop Africa and other developing nations as Walter Rodney opined, it also became a metaphysical way of seeking absoluteness or supremacy between two fundamentally economic models that had less significance attached to the subjects of development. Moreover, beyond the metaphysical and epistemological sphere of mental colonization, development became purely an economic model struggle for extra labour and extra capital inflows from Africa. In the perspective of Frantz Fanon and Kwame Nkrumah, the Soviet model of socialism and state power was seen as the solution to the question of transition to development in their post colonial and decolonization literary discourses.

Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Ben Belle of Algeria were amongst political leaders that also adopted the new socialist model of development. These post colonial leaders had a lot to do as at the time, with regards to moving their young nations from an ugly era of colonization to a decolonized state, hence they needed appealing ideologies to project to their people. Except for Fanon, who was purely elite of a sort, most other students of socialism in post colonial Africa were Presidents or front line Pan-Africanists who experienced colonialism at its purest practice in Africa.

Thus, for a proper historical deconstruction of the pseudo neo-colonialist posture of assisting development in Africa, it is essential that a survey of African experience in slavery, colonialism, imperialism and now globalization experience is x-rayed in a philosophical perspective. This is to highlight the annihilistic implications to African identity and development, of a strict adherence to an understanding of development in a wholly economic sense just as it obtains in the current framework of globalization. Indeed, the East-West conflict in the form of the cold war was a fiercely contested one; the West emerged triumphant at the dismantling of the Soviet experiment. Hence, development in all its dimensions observed Lassana Keita was “being confidently promoted by the West as entailing a necessary adherence to the neo-liberal economic model in the context of what the West in the globalization agenda promulgated as “free markets and democracy.”³² The West has accorded

to itself the role of provider of technology, good and services. Thus, what we have now, following the era of the cold war, is a return to the global economic arrangements that held sway before the rise of the Soviet Union and the communist bloc of nations. It is for this reason that the

*issue of development for those areas of the world deemed 'developing' has fallen under the almost complete purview of western theoreticians. The obvious empirical proof of this claim is that the vast majority of books and journals articles on the development are produced in the west and acted on by western agencies.*³³

In this regard therefore, the African subaltern has little voice. The new globalization options of sustainable development, renewable energy and poverty alleviation has all economic undertones and are ministered at the micro level by western non-governmental organizations and at the macro level by the officials of the West's financial and credit institutions. Paradoxically, globalization experience anchored on a narrow sense of economic development for Africa is not significantly different from the scenario obtained during the colonial era. A philosophical X-ray of colonial discourses in Africa by Africans themselves and western scholars on the other hand, opens up to a searching mind, the grand orchestration of first, western underdevelopment of Africa from economic to social and then psychological rape of identity and second, of African thinkers quagmire and predicament in failing to swiftly embrace the decolonization task heralded by Aime Ceasier. It is abundantly evident that post colonial theories of Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere sought a socialite

economic society for Africa without intrinsically seeking a recapture of the true humanity and personhood of the African which ironically was the worst underdevelopment suffered under slavery, colonialism and imperialism. Perhaps, it is pertinent to engage in a thematic survey of African experience of colonialism since it was the deviating link and foundational point where Africa was not only conquered for her economics services to the West but most pathetically administered up until this twenty first century by agents of globalization as a subject to be understood exclusively in an economic development sense.

4.3 Slavery, Colonialism, Neo-colonialism and African Development

Having attempted an exclusive contextual expose of development as economic development in Western development theories, it is appealing to explore the core foundation that informed and drives an all economic perception of development in Africa by Western scholars. The simple foundation is the African colonial historical experience. But the issue of African development itself is smeared with a lot of controversies. This is because the place of Africa in the history of human development is still a case of fierce debate among scholars. While some view Africa as the cradle of human existence and civilization, others present it as a European invention, whose history until the colonial era, cannot go beyond documented evidences.

According to Paul Valley “for almost four million years, the ancestors of humanity existed only in Africa, and nowhere else on the face of the earth.”³⁴

Valley tenaciously held that it was in Africa that the first tools were made and it was here that human beings learnt to make fire. Moreso, he argues that

*It was in Africa that the branch of our ancestor who later evolved into homo sapiens, lost contact with the branch that remained apes....*³⁵

Hence, he concluded in his essay “Africa is the parent of all humanity.”³⁶ In a historical sense, man was able to develop beyond other social animals because he had the capacity to make tools. Valley and the proponents of this evolutionary theory hinged on ‘capacity’ and not ‘rationality’ of man and maintained that “the very act of making tools was a stimulus to increasing rationality than the consequence of a fully matured intellect.”³⁷ In the light of a study of African development in history prior to colonialism, it is proper, argued Valley and Walter Rodney, to say, that the working man was no less civilized than the thinking man. This thinking is akin to Obi Oguejifor’s argument that “scientist’s no longer dispute that Africa is the cradle of the human race and its evolution to the stage of *homo sapiens*... before the beginning of the Neanderthal period of Europe.”³⁸ The famous Nigerian political thinker, Obafemi Awolowo also viewed the use of stone tools as a technical revolution among primitive people in which Africa was clearly in the lead.³⁹ These accounts only serve as a historical portray of Africa’s advancement in a “capacity perspective” from the Paleolithic era through the

crude agricultural period to the iron age. By 600 BC, history has it that the African continent has been able to produce what Thomson described as “the best steel in the world of the time, and certainly equal to or even better as the steel produced in early modern Europe.”⁴⁰

The debate on African development in history took a different dimension in Prof. Innocent Onyewuenyi, who *inter alia* sought to foster an African philosophy anchored on a mental superiority of the African above the west and in such attempt, highlight colonialism as merely a cog in the wheel of African earliest development which was cemented not in mere economics but in mind consciousness of the sciences, virtues and essence of human conditions. In his Pedagogical work, *The African origin of Greek Philosophy*, Onyewuenyi argued extensively of Egypt as the home of philosophy and human development. According to him, the Greek philosopher and historian Aristotle first acknowledged this claim when he wrote

*The sciences, which do not aim at giving (physical) pleasure or at the necessities of life were discovered and first in the places where men began to have leisure. That is why the mathematical arts (science or precise knowledge or philosophy were founded in Egypt; for there priestly caste was allowed to be at leisure.*⁴¹

This argument of Onyewuenyi holds water for some scholars especially with the understanding that the priestly caste was the seat of wisdom in the ancient civilization.

However, as regards to the apparent underdevelopment in the contemporary Africa vis-à-vis the progress of modernity in other third world countries, some scholars of even African descent have questioned the authenticity of the above claims. In a penetrating analysis, Araoye Oyebola in his work, *'Black Man's Dilemma*, retorted thus:

*Through out history, the black man has shown an appalling loss and lack of integrity in position and intellect and the thinking world cannot fail to be struck by the negativity, opportunism and parochialism of black people's activities.*⁴²

Evidently, Oyebola's view sharply contradicts those of Prof. Onyenwuenyi and this represent only a microcosm parcel of the divergent views of Africa's development in history and in some, a denial of colonial impediment to a rather blossoming ancient foundation for holistic development in African history. The re-occurring questions in the words of J.O. Odey is "where were Africans when Europe was developing?"⁴³ To appreciate this question, it is now necessary to explore Africa's interaction with other continents and the influences they may have exerted on the development of its identity, culture and people.

4.3.1 Slavery in Africa

Slavery can be broadly defined as the complete domination of a person or a society by another.⁴⁴ It is an age-long practice in which people own their fellow human beings. Some scholars opine that slavery began in the pre-historic times. But, others have traced the history of slavery to the development of farming,

about 10,000 years ago.⁴⁵ In a sense, slavery within the context of our research is viewed as a global institution whose origin appears to be coterminous with human struggle and western struggle for extra labour during the emergence of feudalism. However, this sense is only in a transatlantic dimension, for as J. Crowther remarked, “long before its contact with other continents, slavery was practised in African societies.”⁴⁶ Although slavery was a universal phenomenon, the African experience of the phenomenon was very excruciating, denigrating and laid the earliest foundations of an understanding of the African from a stereotyped economic perspective. The labour imported from Africa in the form of slavery sustained the mayors and Lords agro interests and served as the engine of ‘settlement development’ in what is today North America, Europe and some states of South America. Only in Africa were large sections of populations dispersed in millions as slaves to work in mines and increase income. Thus, Obi Oguejiofor very aptly described the African slave trade as “the most iniquitous transaction in human history.”⁴⁷ This most iniquitous transaction in Oguejiofor’s words refers to the transatlantic slave trade, which was of course triggered off by the advent of Europeans in Africa.

It is pertinent to remark that the transatlantic slave trade siphoned the labour force of Africa and moved the same labour force to the west in view of economic development only. Thus, the experience of slavery in Africa can be argued as the experience that has plunged the African continent into its perpetual economic quagmire and over dependence in western cannons and

theories for a revival. Indeed, some scholars observed that the effect of slavery on African identity was not limited to visible factors since the most excruciating are the invisible bondage of the political, economic, socio-cultural and psychological effects. George Ayittey, in a commentary of the psychological trauma and denial of personhood resulting from the African slavery experience wrote:

*It was probably this (psychological trauma), rather than the physical and economic damage of the slave trade, that wrenched the heart from the inner psyche of blacks and assailed the very cultural soul of their existence.*⁴⁸

From the slavery state of mind through to the current globalization theories, the African is not only persistently stigmatized as inferior, underdeveloped, developing and third world ridden, but is clearly discussed in and for economic interest. He is also ignominiously left suspicious of any unique interaction or contribution with the outside World (first world, developed world) in the real value or meaning of globalization project.

4.3.2 Colonialism in Africa

Broadly, colonialism refers to “the rule of a group of people by a foreign power.”⁴⁹ According to Michael Crowther, between 1885-1906, most of what is now described geographically as West Africa was formally occupied by European powers. He went further to note that the greater part of this area was occupied with the force of arms. Hence, where the occupation appears to be

peaceful, it was usually because the Africans, “having seen the success with which European led force overcomes their neighbours, decided resistance would be futile.”⁵⁰ In the defeatist and defenseless predicament, Africa lost its sovereignty to Europe and North America and in so doing surrendered all subsequent library works to a study of a conquered people by the conquerors. Thence, they (Western World) began to dictate the cause, tempo, rhythm and tenets of African development according to their own interests. These dominating tenets are anew in globalization trends of today as it was at the dawn of colonialism in nineteenth and early twentieth century Africa.

Ralph Chiaka observed sadly the assault on agriculture and food production in Africa. According to him, “...during the colonial era, agriculture in Africa became merely a means of extracting the raw material and human wealth of the colony on behalf of the colonizing power.” Agriculture, which is the sole source of living, was no longer seen as a source of food production for the local population.”⁵¹ Not surprisingly, the British philosopher, John Stuart Mill taught in his political philosophy that colonies should not be thought of as civilization or countries at all. For him, these are mere “agricultural establishments” whose purpose was to supply the large community to which they belong.”⁵² The above view of J.S. Mill was also expressed by virtually philosophers and political thinkers who maintained a sense of societal development as merely economic domination, empowerment and wealth creation for the West. Smith, Hume,

Keynes, Schumpeter and Marx all saw African continent as a breeding ground for a supply of scarce labour in Europe and as an economic alternative to a rather dwindling and fluctuating western economy. On his part, Hegel drove the African colonial discourse and its inherent denial of humanness to a metaphysical level and conclusion. By denial of consciousness to the African space and mind, Hegel sought to justify colonialism from a metaphysical sense and no wonder, his historical materialism subsisting in the movement of the absolute spirit did not make mention of African space. Hegel, therefore, laid the theoretical and conceptual ground for what Nazist movement undertook as a holocaust project in the Second World War. Beyond Jewish first hand victimhood, Africa was immediately in the Nazist plan to be annihilated and their lands (African) used for arable economic purposes. It is only in this perspective that one can comprehend how and why Africa was plunged into perpetual servitude, dependency syndrome, political quagmire, cultural alienation and most piercingly, perpetual economic impoverishment and Trojan promises of development with macro and micro global economic theories. As a matter of concern, the colonial experience is now in most development studies, a sole criterion for arguing the need for assistance, aid grant, debt relief and adjustment in structures by the west to Africa and third world nations. It is, to say the least, that globalization and development for the third world nations is merely an elevated colonial discourse. This conclusion is abundantly evident in an analysis of the concept and phenomenon of “Neo-colonialism”. In this

concept, the entire project of economic domination and hence, understanding of development as merely economic development in Africa is exposed. To say the least, the conceptual and political framework of globalization as we argued in an earlier chapter still remains neo-colonialism disguised as neo-liberalism.

4.3.3 Neo-Colonialism vis-a-viz Neo-Liberalism in Africa

Neo colonialism is defined broadly as “economic domination and consequent political power over underdeveloped nations by former colonial powers.”⁵³ It is a disguised form of imperialism by which a country continues to exploit its former colonies through market forces. In its ideological sense, neo-colonialism has refined itself to answer neo-liberalism, a distinct philosophical system, separated from political liberalism. This ideology was swan-songed by Pan-Africanist Movement in a quest to end colonialism in Africa. In this and with this ideology and philosophy (neo-liberalism), neo colonialism is sustained and heralded in Africa in a new garment of globalization. As an economic philosophy, neo liberalism anchors the ideological framework of the globalization and development agenda in colonized or third world nations. Neo liberalism posits global economic liberalization and free trade ideology and in doing so, rises as the answer to crisis of economic liberation subsistent in Adam Smith’s capitalism. Neo liberalism claims to offer a new form of liberalism but this new hope projects economic growth as an end itself. As Obiora Ike remarked,

It is a kind of “economic fundamentalism’ that puts an absolute value on the operation of the market and subordinates people’s lives, the functions of society, the policies of government and the role of the state to this unrestricted market.⁵⁴

In a criss-cross analysis of neo-colonialism on one hand, and neo-liberalism on the other hand, it is interesting to remark that African countries got political independence but have remained economically dependent on their colonial masters. The African remain, not only economically entrapped, but psychologically raped, humanly denigrated and cultural alienated. The African is totally dependent on western epistemological *datum* and volumes to analyze and comprehend his own realities. The neo-colonial, neo-liberal and globalization project has relegated every other aspect of continued African support from the West to the background and have rather chosen to vigorously highlight the need for only economic emancipation and development in Africa.

In specific terms, neo-colonialism is

“the form taken by political and economic forces that set trade patterns, investment policies, debt managements, technological introductions, political alliances, etc with a hidden advantage for the West.⁵⁵

The West had sought to maintain its ascendancy as the provider of goods and services to former colonies. Hence, she secures the monopoly and superiority of its industrial sector and offers development to the colonies to the extent of their dependence in so called globalization pact. As Barret opined, in creating “an irreversible cycle of indebtedness and declining productivity in the traditional

sectors of the economies of the so-called developing world”⁵⁶, the West hides the true intent of neo-liberalism vis-à-vis globalization. In a contextual instance, mention must be made of the activities of the economic hit men trained by United States of America in the wake of the 21st century. In the perfidious activities of these economic hit men, African countries were ensnared in a web of debt that ensured their unflinching loyalty to United States of America.⁵⁷ With this and similar current globalization debt traps, Africa remains subjected to the whims and caprices of the West.

Today, many African countries are subject to the new form of colonialism called globalization and significant proportions of these countries national income are used for servicing foreign debts. This explains why in the heat and peak of United Nations Millennium Development Goals project, almost all African countries are currently clamoring for debt relief and foreign aids. However, what is worrisomely obvious is that current world development order itself is dehumanizing, materialistic and quite monistic. As Ankomah, the Ghanaian Philosopher opined,

*...unless the current world economic order... which has ensured Africa's subjugation is thoroughly reformed or dismantled altogether, debt relief and even fair trade will only amount to a tinkering of an exploitative order that should have no place in the 21st century.*⁵⁸

Neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism and most recently globalization have all a common imperialistic trait of total dominance and exploitation. Thus, the

current development plans and goals shipped down to Africa is centered on giving conditions, terms and modalities of financial aid, debt relief and poverty alleviation. Globalization is simply designed to accentuate resource transfer from the poor debtor to the rich creditor nations. This pseudo and dwarfed development agenda was lucidly portrayed in the 2005 debt relief proposal to Nigeria by the Paris club. In this proposal,

...Nigeria's creditor nations in the club had agreed to write off sixty percent of what the country owes them. To harness this, Nigeria would pay \$12 billion dollars in two installments within a period of eight months.⁵⁹

Surely, this proposal is outrageous for a country that finds it extremely difficult to afford an annual debt service payment of \$2 billion. Since the Paris club proposal, there have been multiple of other debt relief proposal to Nigeria especially from America and World Bank agents which are targeted to subtle economic crumbing and destabilization of the country. In Western journals and magazines, these proposals are heralded as ground breaking and millennium development goals achievements but yet in Africa, it is heavily evident in continued mental, physical, economic and human impoverishment along the streets.

In another instance, mention must be made of the neo-colonial activities of exploitation and underdevelopment epitomized in western scramble for oil wells in Nigeria and gold mines in South Africa. These scrambles are not

wavering until date and could be hypothetically linked with covert instigation of breakdown of law in most African nations. The uprisings in Egypt, Libya and Morocco could all be connected to a western interference and search for natural resource control through allied and stooge African leaders. In Nigeria, the recent cases of boko haram uprising, kidnap of two hundred and seventy six school girls should all be critically placed under reason to ascertain the validity or otherwise of the claims that such anarchy are western sponsored with the sole intention to disintegrate the nation into smaller controllable nations. All attempts are geared towards securing soft passages to the rich oil well countries while promising in return, lofty globalization macro-economic development ideas including the most recent which is “sustainable development.”

In the recent claims of sustainable development alternative, renewable energy resources and environmental concerns are projected by sustainable development theorist as most viable alternative for developing nations. However, many communities and Ogoni land precisely in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria is heavily impoverished, with polluted environment and basic education far removed from its people yet. As one writer put it,

*The multinational oil companies in Nigeria have extracted more than 64 million barrels of crude oil worth approximately \$30 billion (as at the year 2000) in Ogoni land alone. But at present poverty in endemic in Ogoni land.... Education and health facilities are primitive at best, and few Ogoni homes enjoy the most basic services such as electricity and running water.*⁶⁰

Furthermore, the diamonds of Democratic Republic of Congo played “a most crucial role in Britain and its allies winning the second world war”⁶¹ At that time, Congo was the biggest diamond producer in the whole world. But today, even with the projecting economic development wave of globalization and sustainable development alternative, Congo is amongst the poorest countries in the whole world. Today, the living and human conditions of existence in Congo calls for a rethink of the entire stereotyped economic agenda of globalization.

In undertaking this neo-colonial expose, it is necessary to note that in the globalization project, the former colonial masters has employed shrewd economic and strategic political means to ensure Africa’s subjugation. These means were initially laid at the early stages of post-colonialism through pathetically installed African stooges in the form of leaders. Hence, as a mental exercise in neo-colonialism, most post-independent leaders had a surge to install socialist systems for immediate economic boom in their nations. Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere particularly strikes as political theorist than philosophers, thus their speedy embrace of socialism was not only later dropped but has already created a huge mental gap that could have been used in first embracing a culture and personhood that was bastardized over a long period. Perhaps, it took Leopold Sedar Senghor’s *Negritude* for an Ideological return to the real question for African development, which is the question of personal or human development.

4.4 Development as Human Development: The Viable Alternative African Approach.

In the African search for an alternative unique and culturally driven development experience in the globalization essay, emphasis must be retained on a recapturing of the African psyche, in the creating of conditions for the realization of human potentials and personal capacities.⁶² In this sense, development is not wholly an economic or social phenomenon but rather a human phenomenon “which must begin with human beings and endure for their sake”.⁶³ It is only in this sense, therefore, that this dissertation argues that the task of a philosopher to his city or continent is to seek answers bedeviling his society in a pragmatic and to say in a manner, the radical sense of questioning imposed assumptions. In this context, Pauline Houtondji remarked that the real fundamental questions must be asked. Here, the central questions to be asked in the very words of Lassana Keita are; what is the responsibility of African philosophers and other intellectuals in relation to development in their own society? Again, what is the future of socialism as a doctrine and its relevance to Africa, considering the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and the economic disruptions taking place in modern China? Moreso, Keita asked, what type of economic, political and culture system can make Africa regain its sovereignty and autonomous decision making for real African development? In the initial response to about ten questions posed by Lassana Keita, of which this study just highlighted few, Pauline Houtondji remarked “needless to say that

such questions can only emanate from a philosopher and a committed one who is concerned with the destiny of his own society, and particularly the immense (development) tragedy that contemporary Africa is going through.”⁶⁴

Continuing his essay, Houtoundji echoed,

*I would therefore respond to Lassana Keita and to all those who are puzzled like him that the important thing is not philosophy as such, it is simply a human approach- a mental U-turn. What is important now is critical thinking. This is the type of thinking we should develop in our universalities and research centres making us imagine the possible beyond reality and seeing to it that the common places of the present do not become the measure of everything and should also be measured, relativised, put in their legitimate place, ordered and subordinated to other exigencies and tested against higher standards if we want to pull out of this conformism and resignation.*⁶⁵

It must be argued, therefore, that the Third World and African approach to development must radically shift from economics to that of respect of cultures, individualities, authenticity of races and most importantly a renaissance of African metaphysical consciousness of her role in history. As Maduabuchi Dukor opined

*...despite the trace offered by the doctrine of post modernism into the western oriented public discourse on themes and motifs of culture and development, such discourse still centres on economics, scientific and technological development of western prototypes*⁶⁶.

Dukor argued therefore that

The nudging and prompting of culture and authenticity of African culture must co-exist with that of other races in the global orbit. Hence any concept of development that promotes (economic western prototype).... The African prototype or the Asian is automatically out of the global process⁶⁷.

Alongside the philosophical call for more eclectic and integrated approach to African development through the lens of culture, there is also an urgent need for a grasp of the analysis of African development from both the personal (human) and mental angle. Here the burden of inclusive development is not abandoned to what is otherwise a multifaceted cultural African society study but is fundamentally and existentially too, laid on a human and personal axis. While it is imperative for African culture to be scientific and less anachronistic as Dukor, Samir Amin and most African scholars argue, it is also important that we do not underestimate the most latent danger of African culture which is its multifarious nature. This multifacety, of course, is a conscious colonial creation of artificial borders and amalgamation of what are otherwise unrelated cultures in African space. What is therefore urgent is for philosophy to produce a more option of African development integration based on existentialist orientation.

In this existentialist standpoint, the concept of development is for once, centered on the 'subject' of development which is man not in external conceptual and theoretically analysis like economics, political, culture and other forms of arguments on development. As Frantz Fanon rightly observed on the above subject, "every generation of a people must out of a relative obscurity

discover its mission, fulfil or betray it.”⁶⁸ In this light, the discovery of the ideal path for an African development must start with the African individual and endure for their sake. In the words of Aryes, “development studies especially in African context must pursue a model of development committed to the “creating of conditions for the realization of human potentials and personality.”⁶⁷ It is this creating of conditions that have eluded the many essays and discourse of development amongst Africans themselves and western authors on the other hand.

According to Walter Rodney, development especially after the underdevelopment of Africa by Europe, must critically centre and focus on personal development. Here Rodney argues that “personal development implies increased skill and capacity, greatest freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being”⁶⁸ The Rodneyian understanding of development consciously ignores political, economic and social-cultural questions and rather engages in complex questions of morality, status, education and worldviews. As Rodney X-rayed in his analysis of personal development indices,

Some of these (personal development indices) cannot be easily calculated because they are virtually moral categories which are conditioned by certain factors such as age and social status. But it is obvious that their achievement depend very much on the society in which the individuals live. This is because the aforementioned aspects of personal development are existential and are best

*appreciated in interpersonal relationships within a society.*⁶⁹

As Nwakeze Ogugua and Oduah opined in their essay on *Globalization and African Development*, the development talked about in Africa must be ontologically based, focused on world view, reflective of culture, person and value-centred. Furthermore, ‘development entails the integration and harmonization of the human potential (givens) in various aspects of human life in the bid of man’⁷⁰ to survive this experiment called life and live at his best. Perhaps, It is instructive to highlight Iroegbu’s analysis of development in an existential sense. For him,

*...development is the progressive unfolding of the inner potentialities of a given reality. It is to develop, that is to bring out to light, sentential functional and epistemic what was enveloped; folded or hidden.*⁷¹

Of course, in arguing for a development study for Africa modeled in a human existential approach, it will be inconsistent to fail in recognizing the role culture plays on existential conditions. This is no less a ‘*sine qua non*’ in development since the study of development is tied to culture. However, culture in this context is not culture in a loose or broad sense of it. It is not a study of culture as a constant conjunction for every theoretical study but it is culture, in its epistemological role to knowledge. It is an assumption of its exquisite spiritual and moral obligations for a proper study of human reality. In the sense of an existential role of culture in the study of development as human development

for Africa, Ogugua cautioned that culture must not be shifted to the region of feeling and emotions. For him,

...the track of the essence of culture must not evoke hostility or various sensitivities which tends to remove discourse about it from both the metaphysical epistemological regions where real knowledge resides and always shift it to the region of feeling.⁷²

On his part, Batista Mondin strictly averred in a mention of culture in human development that it is

...the spiritual form that a social group assumes in its historical becoming. It is exquisitely human reality; the fruit of intelligence and will, of fantasy and sentiment. It is not a physical, material reality, but rather first and above all a spiritual and moral reality....⁷³

It is therefore consistent for a mention of culture in a study of development model that must transcend beyond economic, political or social models. Development as human development begins with a critical task of the formation of the mental states of the individual and this is a task for philosophers of African origin to their society. As Lassana Keita earlier opined “the core duty of African philosophers is to respond to the problems and ills of the society with questions and relevant answer.” Like Samir Amin, Keita and Ogugua argued that the analysis of culture as an acid to development in the formation of the individual is amongst the first task of philosophy in an identity crisis-ridden society such as Africa. The crisis is not only subsistent in globalization experience of the African but extend to a deliberate dehumanization and

bastardization of the African person in studies, theories and programs of development geared towards pseudo economic emancipation while poverty and standards of living keep dropping with speed. As regards culture, in an existential study support of the viable alternative of African development as human development, Ogugua echoed

*culture aids in the development formation of the individual, that is refining of the individual, this brings out the subjective aspect, and bringing out of the spiritual form of society, in this sense, development is objectified.*⁷⁴

Unlike the materialization of development agenda evident in the western study of African development as exclusive economic development, it is fundamental to insist that the real project of development must not only be man, but must have man at the centre and no other. It means, therefore, that every development study on Africa vis-à-vis globalization must be designed with the African “persona” in view and the holistic vision of his reality taken into account otherwise such studies will lose touch with reality as many Western, African and Third world literatures have done. In this light of this theoretical literature derails, Lashan opined,

*A valid reality, a valid mode of being, is not something that can be modified or changed to suit your whim or convenience. It is valid by this? Mean that it works: It is possible to accomplish specific goal while using it, and that human beings can survive in it, precisely because it is a clear definite system of construing reality with its own laws. We cannot play with reality, changing it when wish.*⁷⁵

To change a valid reality, a metaphysical and existential one for that matter, is to lose touch of it and even contact. Hence, attempting to dwarf and mutilate the phenomenon of development especially in the third world and Africa precisely, is losing touch of reality by the imperial western progenies. In mounting hidden underdevelopment and unrealistic economic agenda through globalization, the western scholars mutilate reality in the African sphere and dehumanize the African person in a most glandiose deception scheme. Today, the African is not physically impoverished but is morally impoverished, culturally impoverished, socially impoverished, mentally impoverished and most interestingly, humanly downgraded as inferior and ‘developing’ with a note to remind him how less he shares in the absolute spirit of Hegel nay the renaissance spirit of the French and American Revolutions.

The study of development as economic development for Africans and by Africans is an anti-humanistic agenda. It is an exercise in the globalization **Pandora**, to further reduce the early rise of the black consciousness. The African must simply be seen as no more made of a form, an essence and a consciousness. He is typically construed as a matter and every study of his quest for development starts and ends with a materialistic undertone of his *utilitarian object-status* in the global discourse. As Ougua and Oduah concluded “...development studies and policies, which have reduced man to matter is anti-humanism.”⁷⁶ They went further and argued comprehensively

that this materialistic conception of the African man and his sphere remains the error at the bottom of Western understanding of development in and for Africans.

Perhaps this obtaining of a new dwarfed image of an economic man for the African in his search for development is not entirely alien to western scholars and philosophers. In his reflections on *Culture and Man* in his philosophical anthropology, Batista Mondin remarked,

The modern and contemporary philosophers have obtained a whole new series of images of man, images which have often sparked great interest. For example: anguished man (Kierkegaard), economic man (Marx), erotic man (Freud), existent man (Heidegger), Symbolic man (Cassirer) utopic man (Bloch), Problematic man (Marcel) cultural man (Gehlen), fallible man (Ricoeur)⁷⁷.

The economic man of Karl Marx has taken huge dominace in the wake of modernity and explains why modern ideologies such as globalization and development construe all human activity in the light of economics. The above thesis is hugely experimented on the third worlds countries today.

It is, therefore, salient that a holistic vision of the ideal African development starts with the individuals. Studies of African development by scholars must start off with an epistemological deconstruction of the African mind on what he holds as truth, values and self worth. It is only in this dimension that this dissertation is drawing the attention of the African. From this epistemological footing, there begins a study and research for pragmatic theories capable of

bringing out the capabilities, skills and ingenuity in the African sphere. The tag of “developing” or “third world” is irrelevant in African development study so long as the philosophy for African development is first set out and comprehended in African schools, high institutions and market places. However, the current globalization exercise chiefly championed by western macros organization like World Bank, International Monetary Fund and MNC’s are antithetical to a conception of development as a genuine and committed human development of the individuals of a society especially in developing nations. They tend to overlook that the conception of development as human development carries with it the echoes of Amartya Sen when he averred that development must be seen as freedom. Freedom, which primarily is within the constituent of the individuals show case of innate potentials and abilities, is the basis for development. For Sen, the level of freedom in a society shows the development of same society. It follows that both internal and external inhibitions on personal freedom stagnates development. Sen himself, a western scholar, shifted drastically from a ballooned image of globalization as economic liberalization for developing nations and argued that only in a personal sense can development thrive with freedom as the catalyst.

On his part, Walter Rodney gave the most profound expose of a need for a shift by African scholars from the idea of development as economic agenda only, and a return to an existential and epistemological study of African development

from a personal sense of it. Rodney argued that every individual and society has the natural capacity to develop on its own with a unique identity. He opined

inter alia

...as a matter of fact, every people have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources of nature”⁷⁸

In rethinking globalization exercise and its economic development agenda intended for continued imperialism by the West, the African scholar must first create pragmatic mental conditions for an African renaissance in values. It follows that personal freedom will always lead to societal development which in turn ensures the protection of the freedom, autonomy and identity of the members of that society. This epistemological and value-taxed responsibility for an attainment of African mental and human development is the duty of the philosopher and that is what this research work aims to turn the attention of the African scholars to. It is to the task of what paths to follow, for a proper foundationing of the idea of development as human development in African discourse, that this study will turn its attention to in the next evaluating chapter.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Evaluation and Conclusion

5.1 Appraising Africa: Development, Decolonization and Globalization

In addressing the nature of this current African problematic regarding development as a progress towards exclusive viable economic policies and strategies, it has become necessary to identify the varied conceptual dimensions that created this current predicament in the first place. Indeed, it has become necessary to evaluate the historical origins if we are to offer solutions to the development question in Africa. Part of the problems of a study in African development has been inability of scholars to address the predicament in ways that are broad or comprehensive enough. As Sanya Osha aptly observed

At the moment, Africa's intellectuals are showing much impatience at Africa's disappointing political and economic performance and at a deeper level, this impatience is directed at the difficulties Africa is experiencing as it seeks to come to terms with its post colonial status, modernity and the new economic phenomenon known as globalization.

Beyond the impatience of African intellectuals in coming to terms with a post colonial status continuously tagged to African experience especially in the market place of globalization, there is also impatience on the part of western scholars in its agenda to reverse drastically any meaningful gains of decolonization literatures and exercise on Africa. Indeed, what this dissertation have argued is that at the heart of the globalization is an obvious politics of

enthronement of the western universal as a morbid quest to abolish once and for all, the human-cultural question of African development. This unholy impatience of western politicians, economists, scholars and even anthropologist is driven by a morbid desire to reverse the gains of mental and human decolonization literatures on African and to finally achieve an aspiration to universalize all notions and projects of development.

This new economic liberalization approach to African development is an ethos of universalism promised by globalization proponents but it failed to take into account, a devaluation of the exigencies and conditions of the particular. Perhaps, this universal devaluation of the unique and latent capacities of the particular is an orientation that has emerged partially in the aftermath of the September 11 attack in the United States of America. Moreso, it is still an orientation historical rooted in master versus slave relationship of the slavery cum colonial experience of Africans. In a more moral sense, some scholars argue that part of the legacy and lessons of the September 11 attack is the strong critique of particularistic manifestations of cultural difference that usually present themselves as being at odds with the western universal. But instead of promoting narrowly a western universal all approach to development and therefore globalization exercise in the third world countries, the September 11 tragedy alongside aged long historical alienation of particularistic cultures and

identity especially Africans; have provided further reflective pathway to redefine the conception of the universal.

In redefining the concept of universal, it is important to rid off any hegemonic logic and to concentrate for the sake of real development in Africa, such concepts as personhood, sovereignty, citizenship and patriotism. However, we must avoid the appeal to redefine the universal according to the dictates of African agency so that Africa does not entirely miss out the most liberating gains of first, decolonization and then secondly, globalization. A particularistic African approach to redefining what ought to be agents of her development agenda in a universal sense is a *sine-qua non*. It is only in coming to terms with a real sense of African personhood, African citizenship, sovereignty and belongingness can Africa understand the whole inter-play between her quest for meaningful participation in the globalization arena. In this redefinition, decolonization which is an entirely African project by Africans begins to take its rightful literary position as the surest pathway to a meaningful development in Africa. By all intents and diversity, any genuine search for African route to development must be subsistent in the decolonization discourse which starts with mental decolonization and extends to all tends and facet of the decolonization literary, political, economic and cultural agents. African emergence from a third world or developing continent status will surely be the end of all decolonization discourse but until then, this dissertation, like most

other literatures on African development, is an existentialist alternative to be primarily advocated in the decolonization path for a holistic African participation in globalization.

The current wave of globalization as we have argued in this work, is presenting new kinds of challenges in terms of economic crisis, political crisis, security crisis and human rights crisis in Africa. This new challenges, different from the ones earlier presented by colonialism and neo-colonial African experience, are prompting different kinds of international response to the African crisis, one which is now threatening to exclusively redefine the essence of humanity, sovereignty and national identities in Africa. This international or western response to crisis in Africa does not take into account detailed and varied nation building discourse in African nations. They also muddle up their response in a simple web of econometrics and simply redefine issues of African development in the thin lines of politics, modernity and liberal economy. Osha opined about this western response to African holistic development crisis thus,

...this kind of response is coming at the moment African nations are trying to reframe the question of the classical nation-building project as part of the ongoing process of decolonization. It is also coming at a moment of a reconfigured pre-colonial idea that is skeptical about orders of otherness that establish and defend hierarchy rather than equality.²

Within the context of this disconcerting international climate vis-à-vis African development, Africa's problems have become even more amplified. This new

engagement with the econometrics and politics of globalization rather than address the mental, historical demands and specificities of Africa's underdevelopment creates its own peculiar version of a negative African backwardness in comparison to other third world countries of Asia and South America. These nations have drastically left Africa behind in their trail and have significantly bridged the yawning gap of development between them and the West. China, Brazil, Argentina, Thailand, South Korea, Malaysia and some of the recently referred Asian tigers are experiencing burgeoning economic, political and most especially mental superiority in their relationship with external agents of globalization in their respective countries and continents.

In most of these third world countries and continent, there is already a changing perception of attitude towards globalization and development policies. As Martin Khor, a renowned south-east Asian economists and policy analyst averred,

*The reasons for the changing perception of and attitude towards globalization are many. Among the most important factors are the lack of tangible benefits to most developing countries from opening their economies, despite well publicized claims of export and income gains; the economic losses and social dislocation that are being caused to many developing countries by rapid financial and trade liberalization; the growing inequalities of wealth and opportunities arising from globalization; and the perception that environmental, social and cultural problems have been made worse by the workings of the global free-market economy.*³

Furthermore, in a reflecting essay, Khor recalled the peculiarity of the East Asian predicament that gave rise to the rethinking exercise of globalization and development in his region. He remarked,

The latest round of financial crisis, starting with what happened back then in east Asia in 1997, the widespread doubts over the appropriateness of the standard policy responses to crisis by international financial institutions, and the failure of the WTO's Seattle meeting, have catalyzed a serious rethinking of the orthodox policies and approach to globalization and liberalization.⁴

Inter alia, he concluded,

The rethinking exercise, which was most recently given a platform at the tenth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD X) in Bangkok in February 2000 provides an opportunity for the South to take a more active role in reviewing recent developments in the global economy, their impart on developing countries, and the role these countries can play in reversing the negative aspects, while taking positive measures individually and collectively in pursuing more appropriate policy options and negotiating strategies.

Although a policy analysts and economists, Martin Khor offered a depth of philosophical analysis of the development quagmire bedeviling the third world nations. Since his analysis and essays, a rejuvenated search for viable alternative developments for third world countries have clicked a higher gear. Khor's argument that globalization has fostered inequality, created environmental, social and cultural problems vis-à-vis global free market economy lies deeply at the heart of the African scholars call in **Codesria**

Conference of Kampala 2011 for an African approach to development. Indeed, the aged long challenges of poverty, hunger, corruption and now, terrorism in African soil have provided resurgent radical reconsideration of African developmental experience in globalization.

In this dissertation, there has been an analysis of three conceptual categories that helped us to grapple with the current nature of the African problematic and these are development, decolonization and globalization. Of course, these categories were not intended to address all the dimensions of the African problematic. They were rather meant to provide a broad and multilayered nature of the issues and problems related to Africa's struggle to emerge as a force in the world order. It is important to highlight at this juncture that none of these three major conceptual processes have been fully realized or implemented within African itself. There are already many scholarly literatures addressing them and philosophers are not wanting in that regard.

For a proper appraisal therefore, it is important to remark that if our understanding of development derives from the western idea of enlightenment; if it stems from the western reformulation of the project of modernization, democracy and faith in the promise of science and technology; if it stems from a sense of a radical discontinuity with medievalism and in a belief in the socio-economic rationalities of Smith, Kant, Hume and J.S. Mill, of Marx, Keynes and Shumpeter; if finally it stems from an espousal of a politically appropriate

sense of progressivism, then all these theories, legacies and influences have had problematic diffusion into Africa. Certainly at the wake of globalization, there have been powerful moments of assimilation and acceptance just as there have been equally dramatic reversals of those moments of assimilation. The point, however, is that Africa has not yet decided on which path to follow as regards development. They are yet to discover that version of development. They are yet to discover what version of development alternative is the priority for troubled and colonial predicated cultures. Moreso, African scholars and citizens are yet to resolve the contradictions of the continual tussle between its indigenous traditions and the wide ranging economic transformations proposed and promised by the project of globalization. This predicament has been a crucial concern that faces studies and essays addressed towards the construction of African development.

Africa developments have never and should never be the same as Euro-development. Rather developmentalist expressions and foundations in Africa should be a conscious combination of aspects of western development modul, secularism, Christian cosmology, Islamic beliefs (especially in multi-religious countries like Nigeria), indigenous African systems of knowledge and other synergetic cultural forms that lie outside these categories. Indeed, African developmentalist expressions should not be an external invention of economic post colonial desires of the West but must be authentically human driven and

suffused with profound hybridism of universalist essence of man in science and therefore technology as promised by globalization.

In African space now, there is a crisis at the heart of the project of development. Unless development is disentangled from the unclear logic of economic hegemony, it will not be able to transform into a promise of cosmopolitan inclusiveness. In other words, with only the economic alternative espoused and superimposed on African mentality, development loses its aura of cultural elitism and consistently fail to present itself as a kind of multicultural cosmopolitanism. So, if Africa as a third world continent has not discovered what way to approach development, that is, she has not defined its relationship with a promoted economic universalist paradigm, then it would not be able to establish what belongs to the realm of globalization as universal and what belongs to the realm of the African as particular.

Similarly, decolonization as a mental project and re-identification process all over Africa has been uneven. If colonialism assumed different features, histories and outcomes, decolonization has also been diverse in the nature of its unfolding. In Nigeria precisely, decolonization argued S. Nnoli “has been inflected with the politics of ethnicity,⁶ and I add too, politics of race, territoriality, citizenship and belonging. Some of these have had profound effects on the dynamics of nationhood and in extension, development in Africa.

Indeed, every history or project of nation-building after colonialism is unique and cannot be underestimated, As Osha rightly opined,

If colonialism created the first modern African nation states, decolonization has been with varying degrees of success, an attempt to consolidate the features of these artificially imposed political geographies. Consider the relative embeddeness of thoroughly artificial identity constructs such as 'francophone', 'anglophone' 'sub-Saharan Africa' and the equally incongruous 'commonwealth nations'. It is always convenient to associate decolonization with political liberation, but reality tells us otherwise.^{7(Emphasis Mine)}

Decolonization, in reality therefore, as argued by Senghor, Diop, Amin, Okere, Keita and this dissertation, is modern Africa's self-reflective search for identity. At the national levels, decolonization is national identity building. It implies, as this work has argued, that Africa's best approach to development is self-reflection directed specifically to realization of human conditions and capacities in Africa. In a sense, as C.B. Okolo would argue, African development must start from an entronement of a superiority complex in African cosmopolitan relation and in this case, globalization. If as Chinweizu averred, that the African man has been given fresh tools to interpret his realities, then it is urgent that there is a re-tooling of the African mind and that is where the attention of African development should primarily rest before, during and after interactions with globalization agents of the West. Clearly, Africa suffered envious holistic underdevelopment during the era of slavery and colonialism but the greatest impact of this historical anomaly is on the African person and his mentality.

Furthermore, we must bring into light, the error of mistaking decolonization by many scholars as political independence alone. Intrinsicly, decolonization for Africa and most third world nations entails more than political liberation; it must be rather an invitation to nation building but with adequate resources and training in terms of personnel and human institutions in the society. This caveat is very important because as Africa grapples with the incomplete and inadequate processes of development theories alongside her struggle for decolonization, the question of globalization without a human face cannot be assimilated or even imagined at all. The core question to be asked and answered at this stage of our research and by African scholars indeed is this; what ought to be Africa's response to the bold claims of abundant benefits from globalization yet with so much underdevelopment engulfing Africa? To this question, Sanya Osha offered us as clue of what could be the way forward when he wrote *inter alia* that

...the economic power of the western nation state sponsors of globalization derives from what amounts to their politically created 'hard currencies' which have been overvalued to attract cheap labour from the non-European world and to acquire products from the non-European and African world as cheaply as possible. This is the significance of the concept of "unequal exchange".

In continuation of his search for a way forward, Sanya echoed a direct economic response thus,

...in response, Africa can seek to create its own continental-wide hard currency which would have as its collateral, Africa's abundant mineral and petroleum resources...the rate of currency exchange between the western currencies of dollar and the euro could be established by fiat-in exactly the same way the west has established the value of its own currencies. The ultimate goal would be intra-continental trade within an African commonwealth of nations. In this content, infant technologies could be protected by a prudent application of the principle of autarky.⁹

However, it is important to note, that the technological or cultural transformations necessary for development as argued by Sanya, Mbembe, Gyekye and most pan-Africanist like Nkrumah, Nyerere and even Awolowo, would not be possible without the implanting of the modalities that make such possible. Such modalities are human capital, cognitive capital and then physical institutions to shoulder the diversity of African identity. On his part, Senghor's negritude aptly addressed these human and cognitive modalities. He laid the appropriate foundation for an epistemological attention to a viable African approach to development, which is, conscious African creation of awareness, capacity building and human conditions of existence.

To take on the human dimension of development, would of course, entail Africa standing the western pseudo economic project of globalization on its head and employing an intra-reflective project whose goal must be meaning development in a holistic sense. Thus, Africa's response to globalization should then be primarily the globalization of the African personhood in the first instance. It

must be a response properly guided by thematised body of knowledge and education of the African person.

5.2. Existentialist Humanist Approach and African Development

Edmund Husserl's phenomenology directly influenced the foundations of existentialist Philosophy. Indeed, Martin Heidegger, one of the Husserl's students at Freiburg dedicated his major work, "*Being and Time*" to his old teacher. However, Husserl's phenomenology and the existentialism propounded by Heidegger has one huge remarkable difference. Whereas, Husserl laid the emphasis on essence and thinks of phenomenology as a natural science, Heidegger and all existentialist laid their emphasis on existence. Thus, Jean Paul Sartre, in following the tradition and teachings of Martin Heidegger made the most outstanding assertion of existentialism doctrine, which is, existence precedes essence. In his work "*Being and Nothingness*", Sartre explicitly adopted existence as a process of self description when he wrote,

Human beings, through their consciousness create their own values and determine a meaning for their life because the human being does not possess any inherent identity or value. By proposing the acts that constitutes him or her, he or she makes his or her existence more significant¹⁰

With this propounding of existence as preceding essence thesis, Sartre influenced and shaped the post war literary and philosophical output of his associates, notably Simone De Beauvoir, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Albert Camus. Existentialism as a doctrine and a cultural movement therefore

flourished in post Second World War European literatures evident in the works of German philosophers like Martin Heidegger, Martin Buber and Soren Keirkegaard. It was also expounded in France by Gabriel Marcel and Jean Wahl while Miguel de Unamuno championed the cultural movement in Spain.

In Africa, through the project of decolonization, many African philosophers have argued that existentialism as a doctrine has become the most authentic path for a self discovery and re-intergration of Africans in the global stage. Here, the existentialist philosophical works of Leopold Sedar Senghor, Tom Mboya, Kwasi Wiredu, Lassana Keita, Maduabuchi Dukor and Chukwudum Okolo rekindles the African struggle for an authentic existence especially in global discourse. To be sure, there are philosophical implications of an existentialist approach to the question of alternatives in African development. The most outstanding is the question of | “authenticity|” which existentialism holds at heart.

5.3 Existence as Preceding Essence: Implications for African Development

The proposition “existence precedes essence” is central for an understanding of existentialism, philosophy and its implication to African Development. Broadly, existentialist doctrine holds thus “men must choose the principles by which they live ...they make their essences as they go along and do not live out a predetermined essence or blueprint”¹¹ If the above assertions holds forth, it

implies that every generation of a people both Western and Africans alike must out of necessity discover its mission and assiduously work to fulfill it. However, with the historical experience of slavery, colonialism and neo-liberalism, the African is now trapped in a predicament of choosing his cultural past or embracing his unfolding future in modernity. As Dukor observed, “there seems to be a sort of contradiction in the concepts of modernity, development and authenticity that negates the African prototype”¹²

Thus, in addressing development and its existentialist alternative approach in Africa, Africans must have to reinvent a sense of human action. They cannot just be idle in globalization process. They must have to be a conscious effort and activity to contrast between what it is to be African in a particularist sense and what it is to be African in a universalist sense. Their activities and creativity must make them more African and less Western in acquisition of knowledge and scientific innovations. It is the power to choose who they want to be without external limitations that marks the beginning of a meaningful participation in global development. As Soren Kierkegaard opined, “existence primarily means the unique concrete being of the individual human person. The existent then is the contingent –the particular that refuses to fit into some system constructed by rational thought”¹³ An existent, continued Kierkegaard

*Is not just an ‘it’; the existence says ‘I’
and in uttering the personal pronoun lays
claim not just to a unique place and*

*perspective in the world but to a unique
being*¹⁴

The import of Kierkegaard's existentialism is that Africans must move consciously to evaluate their unique role and place in global development. Across the breadth of Africa, the individuality of the African person must not be defined by Western epistemologies or prototypes. It must rather be defined in self critique of held norms, traditions and cultures within the African universities and amongst her scholars. By placing emphasis on uniqueness of place and perspective, Kierkegaard drives home the importance of locating any renaissance in African development first within the African space. Moreso, African personhood and therefore development must not possess any inherited, inherent or imposed identity for its authentic emergence.

Comparatively, existentialism as a philosophical system was instrumental for the renaissance of modern Europe. Africa could also appropriate its strong tenets of 'authenticity' and 'nothingness' as strong springboards for a scientific breakthrough, literary creativity and human values development. Here, Africans must drop all previous concerns on slavery and colonialism and start creating new set of conditions for their survival in the global stage.

The awakening of creative abilities in Africans is similar to what Martin Heidegger called "authentic existence" in his work "Being and Time." For Heidegger, philosophy is closely associated with *Dasein*, that is ,Human Existence. Thus in responding to the question, What is Being?, Heidegger gave

the most outstanding notion of existentialism that influenced Jean Paul Sartre.

For him,

To exist means to belong to an articulated structure....Nothing can be unless it belongs to some articulated structure to which other beings also belong. Being unfolds itself in different epochs of world history...it is an unfolding activity.¹⁵

If being is an event and belongs to an articulated structure, it implies that the African is a being with as was espoused by Chukwudum Okolo. Africans must therefore work collectively in unveiling their potentials to the world. The Heideggerian import to African development implies that there is a whole new opportunities for an unfolding of new bodies of knowledge and values upon which Africans can be studied in the global stage. This unveiling of the African spirit and togetherness will give birth to a resurgent African politics, religion and sciences. It is this authentic existence that will drive African development and restore a sense of responsibility and respect from her global partners.

5.4 Providing for Popular Epistemologies in the Existentialist Approach to African Development.

Development for Africa through the lens of globalization is a theme fraught with a multiplicity of western generated ideas, models and research paradigms. Pathetically, all these ideas are offered with the goal of massive economic stability and then “alleviating poverty”. The discourse of African development is only but carried mainly by economist and other social scientists. As we have argued in this research, these economist and social scientists limit the question

of development in Africa and most third world nations to the exclusive *irritating issue* of achieving economic growth within the context of neo-liberal economic principles. Notwithstanding the fact that there are until now, novel paradigms of development that search for solutions of African under development under the theoretical rubric of “alternative development”, the problem is rarely studied in an epistemological sense to attain holistic answers. For a proper footing, it is important to take an epistemological review of the African traditional economy. Here, the early works of Kwame Nkrumah in his Conscientism doctrine and those of Julius Nyerere on Ujamma is aptly viewed as literatures that sought to enthrone an African brand of socialism after the colonial experience. These literatures sought to impose a western socialist variant as real development paradigms for the new independent states but only succeeded in mutilating what was the ideal traditional African economy. As Egbeke Aja wrote,

*Before the advent of colonization with its concomitant western culture, African economy was distributive in nature. This implied that those who labour are to reap the fruit of their endeavour thereby ensuring security while the lazy ones are adjudged the irresponsible members of the family.*¹⁶

Hence, even economic development at the time was simple, humane and mainly subsistence in nature. There was virtually no competition and transactions were carried out through exchange of goods and services. There was no excessive monetary value attached to goods and services. Labour was a communal affair

used in boosting skills, creativity and products for the good of the society. In other words development was not a monetized economic circle but one of values centering on dignity of labour, respect for age grade systems and supporting of one another in the community. The human capital, no matter how unexposed to education was the sole energy in traditional African economy.

This dissertation argues that one of the most viable alternative approaches to African development is in shifting investment to human capital in Africa, in other words, investment in education. But education is not just the inculcation of facts as knowledge, but as Nyamnjoh put it “a set of values that in turn appraise the knowledge being acquired.”¹⁰ Thus, when the values are not appropriate for progress, the knowledge acquired is rendered irrelevant and becomes merely a hyped cosmetic. In taking this critical appraisal of development as economic development in Africa, this work avers unequivocally that the values acquired during the slavery and colonial era in Africa taught the superiority of the West. These teachings set the tone for a total assimilation and imbedding of dominant western epistemology. The obvious result is that knowledge, needed for unique African development is rendered irrelevant by a dysfunctional set of values. In this regard therefore, development in a human or educational sense of it was greatly hindered and retarded. This research work proposes amongst others, first a rethinking of the dominant epistemological underpinnings of western education ubiquitous in all

spheres of contemporary African classrooms, libraries, research centers, technological centers and indeed, African political landscapes, ideologies and orientations. It is urgent for these dominant epistemologies to be re-visited because they are not always sensitive to the predicaments and expectations of ordinary Africans.

One of such problematic dominant western epistemological export to Africa is the outright conception of witchcraft and occultism as against science and technology. By espousing the witchcraft nature of the African body of knowledge in the pre-colonial era, this epistemology rendered science too technical and mathematical while maintaining that the African mind is too anachronistic. Interestingly, some African scholars like Houtoundji concurred with this dominant epistemology and this has made it difficult for the African mind to keep pace with scientific theories and technological breakthroughs. The above dominant western epistemology made it difficult for emerging African philosophers and scholars to espouse universal concepts within African society without risk of being branded intellectual impostures as most of the body of knowledge contained in universal concepts are western imbued. As Nyamnjoh critically observed, “this epistemology has little room for popular cravings to understand the underlying order in the African world.” There are, of course, serious weaknesses in this epistemology especially when compared with ‘dormant’ traditional epistemology of the African continent. The Western dominant version of African witchcraft and occultism as anachronistic tends to

limit reality to appearance and this is what economic globalization and its macro Western institutions of World Bank and IMF pursues in her development agenda for Africa. Nyamnjoh's reflections collaborates our appraisal that

*under this kind of epistemology, reality is presented as anything whose existence has, or can be established in a rational, objective manner, with universal laws operating only in perceived space and time. In the social sciences, such a perspective has resulted in an insensitive pursuit of physique sociale... The science inspired by such an epistemology has tended to celebrate dichotomies, dualism, teleologies and analogies....*¹⁷

The assumptions made here and which must be reversed with a new vibrant epistemology in African universities and intellectual circles is that African mind is uneducated and lacks the mental capacity to engender theories and practices of social and scientific development. The "anachronistic epistemology" justifies therefore colonialism, neo-liberalism, racism, imperialism and in the sense of globalization; an economic irony of the African quest for the metaphysical. African scholars must therefore resist these western messianic epistemological footings which is an attitude of arrogance, superiority and intolerance towards creative abilities in Africa. The recent overt inquest by Americans into Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria and covertly into China, Egypt, Morocco, India, Brazil and now Nigeria is huge evidence that this epistemology stifles creativity and abilities of nations to rise. The zeal in the West to obstruct this creative difference in third world nations has not excluded violence as an option. It is an epistemology that neither knows compromises, nor negotiation for conviviality.

Therefore, it is only in critical self reflecting activity borne of passion for human education and conscious identity uniqueness, can this epistemology be dethroned or otherwise assimilated in a dialogical sense of its complementarity to African creative abilities and differences. African leaders and elites must as a matter of urgency create amongst its circles indomitable spirits of “we can do it” mentality and be willing to embrace failures as a necessary path to human development aspirations. Failure in itself is not a vice but the inability to correct the failures of the past and repeating them again is where the vice lies. Similar to Euro or Western development, African elites and leaders must subscribe to a thesis, antithesis and synthesis cycle until the wrongs are right and the imperfects become perfected.

Interestingly, the Western epistemological import has survived in the African continent more than most other third world continents because it suits the purposes of the agents of westernization than because of its relevance to understanding African situations. It is therefore important to point out that some African universities who run educational programmes along the western models are seldom tolerant of challenge, stimulation, provocation and competing perspectives at any level. Here, one remembers the many universities in African nations from Nigeria to South Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Egypt and Cape Verde strictly molded on western curriculums and modules. In these universities, especially private and even some government owned universities; lecturers are employed based on the source or country of one’s

academic trainings. Doctorate degree holders from African universities are easily ignored and academic certificates from Western universities are referenced as litmus test of excellence and qualification.

Furthermore, in these universities, research grants, scholarship or even research questions are allowed only for those who concur to overall Western basic assumptions on the African worldview and conditions. Those scholars deemed to have radical ability to question existing assumptions are neither granted scholarship, grants nor even entirely considered for employment. This is particularly rampant in South Africa where scholars like Cabral, Mkandawire, Berger and Zeleza have written volumes to discourage such epistemological apartheid dispositions. Cabral precisely have called upon African universities, academics and researchers to embrace the responsibility of challenging such unfounded assumptions based on vested interests and hidden agendas. But the task of challenging these assumptions is no easy task especially when African scholars rely on some of these Western agents in Africa and abroad to fund and disseminate their research. As Susan George aptly observed “...through the university institutions, they create aids, funds and grants. In this tact, the powerful are able to perpetuate their ideologies by ensuring that only people with the ‘correct’ ideas are recruited and/or retained to work there”¹⁴ Through provision of funding, sponsoring and propagating books, magazines, journals, conferences, symposia, professional associations and fellow allies, the neo-liberal wings of Western imperialism is infused into the hub of African viable

path to African development which is education. Globalization in this sense takes a mental siege of the highest echelon of African learning and stifles it of her human capacities to think freely. It tightens the gasp of breath from intellectuals who ordinarily should champion the epistemological shift and then engineer viable development paths.

To the above predicament of the African human development condition with regards to the central role education plays, this research work proffers a *domesticated dialogical epistemology alternative*. Here, the emphasis must move from “censorship” to “recognition” of African researchers who are critical of conventional Western wisdom instead of. By recognizing African scholar’s creativity in addressing the African conditions and challenges, there is a landmark and creating of space for scholarship amongst young African scholars. It is in this recognition can African epistemology begin to correct prevalent situation whereby much noise is made of what African states, societies and economies are not, while only little is heard of what they actually represent to their people. By accepting the domestication epistemological option, through popular organized recognition mediums, the research agendas and outcomes of critical African scholars will hugely expose superior African identity and development issues. These works becomes subjects of discourse in Western circles and could also enrich scholarship in the West. T. Okere’s work in hermeneutics has stood out in this sense and today can be counted amongst others as work on African existentialism viewed in Western academic circles

with admiration and ardour. Of course, there are other literatures of sort as the gap is now gradually been closed up in a sense.

There is also a need for the *domestication of research funding* in Africa. Indigenous organization, societies, individuals and corporate bodies must take up the challenge of this alternative human development approach, through sponsorship of research, symposia, conferences, workshops, and publishing of books, magazines and journals rich in African heritage, culture, identity and technological innovations. As well as sponsoring the elites, young students within the university must also be sorted out and given adequate domesticated support so as to avoid Western radicalization when finally they find their way to the shores of Europe and America.

Furthermore, on the part of the academia and researchers in Africa, there must be more attention paid to the plight of the African people. Like in the task of a philosopher to his city, African researchers must place priority in researching and addressing the levels of misery and need for sustenance, creativity and rationalization in Africa. As Zeleza and Olukoshi opined in their study, the only way African universities and researchers can contribute towards genuine, multifaceted liberation of the African continent and its peoples is to avoid joining the bandwagon. It rather lies in their careful rethinking of African concerns and priorities and coming up with educational policies that are sympathetic to the needs of ordinary Africans. This is what African

development future subsists in especially in an era of convoluted economic globalization armada in Africa.

Finally, development as a human approach alternative for Africa must make a difference firstly, in the lives of the masses. Unlike the lofty promises of tangible benefits from globalization, the development experience of the African must start and be felt at the streets, the colleges, universities, workshops and trade centres. This difference must mean that in all areas of the social, physical and mental life of the masses, perceptible and incremental growth of possibilities and opportunities both in material and non-material senses are abundantly evident. African development approach in a dialogue with globalization must therefore optimize the capacity of mass society to intervene intelligently, creatively and knowledgably on the individual and his or her environment so as to sustain noticeable transformation. On a comparative basis, Asian and South American society's hugely third world too, has used her agrarian nature and radical thinking elites to spark social change in their societies. Indeed, for over three decades now, Asian developing nations have engineered a "rethinking exercise of the globalization economic agenda" and they have successfully demonstrated that development alternatives at the level of mass society for the third world today is at heart, an agrarian question, requiring a human oriented answer.

5.5 Conclusion

One acclaimed benefit of globalization is its increment of value and benefits to mankind as a whole. However, this discourse on the third world suffrage has been hinged on whether globalization is actually a non partisan development; locomotive, nonracial, non imperialistic and non-ideological. This study became relevant therefore, because of globalization's economic approach to Africa which always tends to obfuscate what the real agenda of globalization phenomenon and project should be in Africa. These economic implications and pseudo promises have led to conclusion of many third world scholars that globalization with its Western tenets is an imperialist and neo-colonialist agenda of the twenty first century. However, in a strict philosophical sense, this study concludes that the universal foundation of globalization project in Africa lies in extreme Western materialism. In this sense, the economic approach to third world development agenda by the West is simply deduced to the simple logic that matter is the primal element justifying universalism and therefore human (African) existence.

Moreso, there is a philosophical conclusion that globalization is a monistic theorem, where there is one and only one feature of the universe; that is Western feature. The particularistic manifestations of African ability, creativity and profound humanity are not *in tandem* with this global feature and therefore must be epistemologically alienated at globalization table. It is worth highlighting at this concluding stage of a subtle Darwinist foundation in

economic variant development agenda, where the survival of the fittest takes over the universal and stifles particularistic self presentations as is the case with third world and African development experience in globalization. In all, globalization has emasculated African education and culture; bringing about development in the West but yet continues to spread alienation and poverty through its macro-economic institutions of IMF and World Bank to third world nations.

Therefore, in addressing the viable alternative approach to African development, this study concludes that one must bear in mind that the concept of development is a holistic concept which must not narrowly or naively manifest itself in an all economic sense but rather in a dialogical manifestations of the cultural, the environmental and most fundamentally the human or individual sense of capacities and unlimited abilities. Thus, the search for a development formulae or alternative for Africa lies squarely in Africa embracing the broad existentialist de-colonization exercise in all its manifestations. This existentialist approach is itself the human, the personal and the individual particularist solution for awakening of African development. For this to be achieved, African scholars, leaders and elites must be functional in a sense of embracing what really works with sound domesticated epistemologies and rejecting what is merely Western imposed utopias.

Finally, this study concludes that for African personal development approach to be successful there must be a fast revival of African languages. It is only these languages that provide the basis of social identification and most significantly, opens access to the knowledge of the people. It is in these languages that we find creative aptitude and the inventive instinct of the people are articulated. It must also be through these languages that African scholars will attempt to introduce ideas and innovations on a mass scale basis. African languages must take centre space in our epistemological developmental endeavours. The people who need development is the peoples of Africa, hence, if development must spring up, then there is need for an inclusive (not exclusive economics approach) human approach and this approach can only be sustained in proper epistemological footings led by ontological African sense of humanity and appealing community languages of its communication.

END NOTES

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2. Ibid. p.170
3. M. Khor, *Globalization and the South: Some Critical Issues*, *Op.Cit.*, Pi.
4. Ibid, P.ii
5. Ibid.
6. S.Osha quoting S. Nnoli and Osaghae, *Op. Cit.* P 171
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. p. 172
9. Ibid. p. 173
10. F.B. Nyamnjoh, “*Relevant Education for African Development: Some Epistemological Considerations*” in L.Keita (ed.) *Op. Cit.*, P. 126.
11. Ibid. 127
12. E. Ajah “*African values system*” in http://academicexcellencesociety.com/African_value_systems_and_the_impact_of_westernization.html
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid, quoting Sussan George
15. “Existentialism” in A.R. Lacey, *A Dictionary of Philosophy* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London) p.63-64
16. M.Dukor, “*Globalization and Development*” in *Essence Journal, Interdisciplinary-International Journal of Philosophy*, No.4, 2007, p.v
17. L.Okika, “*Soren Kierkegaard and Existentialism*” Unpublished Essays, Bigard Memorial Seminary Enugu, 2007, p.7
18. *Ibid. p.8*
19. M. Heidegger, “*Being and Time*”, *A Dictionary of Philosophy*, *Op.cit.*, p.228

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