POST 9/11 GLOBAL AGENDA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS TO THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS TOWARDS THE MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

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BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this doctoral thesis is in its original form and represents viewpoints and analysis which should be attributed to me except in parts where indications have made to the contrary. To the extent possible, the information contained herein is adequately referenced. It was largely the result of inferences and conclusions made personally by me the author **TARINGANA CASPER NYAGURA** through my familiarity with certain issues and developments in the public domain. The study was conducted in compliance with the ethical standards, presentation format, guidelines and guidance of my supervisor as delegated by the School of Human and Social Studies of the Atlantic International University, Hawaii, United States of America.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all the victims of global terrorism as well as those of unilateral and insidious actions taken outside the purview of the United Nations.

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MAP OF SUB-SAHARAN STATES

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AGOA	AFRICA GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY ACT
APRM	AFRICA PEER REVIEW MECHANISM
APSA	AFRICAN PEACE AND SECURITY ARCHITECTURE
AU	AFRICAN UNION
BRICS	BRAZIL, RUSSIA, INDIA, CHINA & SOUTH AFRICA
BWI	BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS
DRC	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
FDI	FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT
FTA	FREE TRADE AREA
GSA	GLOBAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE
GPSA	GLOBAL PEACE AND SECURITY ARCHITECTURE
HIV	HUMAN IMMUNO VIRUS
IPE	INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY
ISIS	ISLAMIC STATE
ITU	INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS UNION
MDG	MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS
NEPAD	NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
NWICO	NEW WORLD INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION ORDER
PDL	POVERTY DATUM LINE
PNAC	PROJECT FOR THE NEW AMERICAN CENTURY
RENAMO	MOZAMBIQUE NATIONAL RESISTANCE
RECs	REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES
SADC	SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
SAPs	STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES
SSA	SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
UNITA	UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA
UNSC	UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
ZIDERA	ZIMBABWE DEMECRACY & ECONOMIC RECOVERY ACT

ABSTRACT

The study was essentially about exploring the possible extent of the effect of the global security situation subsequent to the September 9 terrorist attacks in the USA on Sub-Saharan Africa's political economy and specifically the ability of the region to attain the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) whose deadline was the year 2015. The study noted that while at the dawn of the 21st century, there were a number of measures to deliberately end conditions of general underdevelopment in parts of the world such as Sub-Saharan Africa, the period was characterized by shocks and uncertainties which tended to impair the development agenda. Consequently programmes such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) whose success were premised on partnerships with the developed countries did not achieve the estimated success. This was worsened by the fact that the promulgation of especially NEPAD was coterminous with the terrorist attacks in the USA on 9 September 2001. After the attacks, the global agenda noticeably shifted from that of development to that of security as the USA and its allies formed a coalition of the willing largely developed countries to fight what they saw as global terrorism. This war clearly saw resources that could otherwise have supported Africa's development being channeled towards armament, surveillance and security programmes which continue to this day. The related effect of these programmes was that towards the year 2015, much of Sub-Saharan Africa's prospects of achieving the Millennium Development Goals were less positive with clear indications on the ground that many of the conditions which prevailed prior to the launch of the MDGs remained much the same. With a few exceptions, the region continued to be mired in endemic poverty, internecine warfare as well as intractable conflict, disease, illiteracy, high child mortality rates as well as the existence of large political spaces where democracy was in a wanting state, resulting in unprecedented migrant flows into Europe. These general observations led the study to conclude that Sub-Saharan Africa's lack of development and the failure to achieve the MDGs had a very direct relationship with the post 9/11 global agenda. To that end, and to ensure that Africa's development in general is less dependent on factors outside its control, the study made sector-specific recommendations which Africa must pursue to set itself on a path of sustainable development. Most of these recommendations require structural changes that must be done at the local level as well as the global level. Key among these are reform of the global architecture of financial institutions to reflect the needs of countries in circumstances as Sub-Saharan Africa and the development and promulgation of a global peace and security architecture that recognizes the aspirations of Africa that are related to its development.

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1.0   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As we get closer to the end of the year 2015, the year set as the deadline for the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), indications are that much of Sub-Saharan Africa will fail to attain these goals. The implications of this are that the intended development never as much as took place as intended. Noticeably, much of the region remains mired in the sort of challenges that inspired the institutionalization of the development agenda encapsulated in the MDGs; poverty, disease, illiteracy, high infant and maternal mortality etc.

At the same time, programmes such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) which provided some hope have not delivered as expected and the hype and pomp which attended their inauguration have lost steam and provide little hope of moving the continent beyond its current predicament.

While past failures to implement development blue-prints were attributed to exogenous influences, largely those linked to the neo-liberal and neo-classical economics, the failure of efforts to attain the MDGs have their explanation located elsewhere. Given the fact that the MDGs' launch are nearly coterminous with the September 11 terrorist attacks in the USA and the ensuing efforts to deal with the threat of terrorism, it seems commonsensical to link this failure to the counter-terrorism efforts by the USA and its allies. The aim of the study was thus to find the extent to which terrorism or insecurity of the center as well as efforts to deal with the insecurity impact on development of the periphery. This was with a view to identifying how future development plans can be safeguarded from such pitfalls so that rather than focus on development as an intellectual activity, it is indeed a practical experience.

The study was made necessary by the fact that since 2001, the threat of terrorism has spread to every part of the world to the extent that it has really become a global challenge whose implications to development anywhere, especially under conditions of

globalization and increased interactivity cannot be taken for granted. Recent months have seen the threat of terrorism spreading to parts of North Africa with no indication that the trend could soon be dealt with effectively. Emerging terrorist franchises such as the *Islamic State (ISIS)* and *Al Shabaab* with increasing visibility on the African continent have the potential to be real game changers in Sub-Saharan Africa's (SSA) political-economy.

There is thus a need to take development theorizing beyond the traditional approach which considered security as a peripheral issue. To that end, there is need to think seriously about a comprehensive global security architecture (GSA) which takes cognizance of the threat of terrorism as a significant inhibiting factor of development. By implication is also the need to think seriously about the way in which we promote and pursue globalization so that to the extent possible, we limit significantly the number of groups that feel disenfranchised by current approaches to global integration.

1.1   RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

This study is estimated to feed into future policy formulation and to inform development policy. This is in view of the fact that more and more, there is growing consensus over the need to end poverty in especially parts of the world such as sub-Saharan Africa. The study, realizes that due to the prevailing context of globalization, the global political economy is in one way or the other articulated. As such, the search for solutions to deal with development especially post the 2015 agenda requires a focus on the identification of those factors that tend to sustain poverty and under-development especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The study feels that the level of polarization of society which has resulted in increased incidences of terrorism requires moderation of hitherto dominant approaches to the relations among nations. There is a need to find a solution to the feelings of disenfranchisement by large sections of the global citizenry which gives rise to fundamentalism and extremist behavior.

1.2   RESEARCH GOALS/OBJECTIVES

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- To understand the post 9/11 development agenda and its implications to the global political-economy.
- To identify the issues that sustain African poverty and under-development.
- To gauge the progress made by Sub-Saharan Africa towards the achievement of the MDGs as well as to identify the key issues that affected the attainment of the MDGs.
- To understand the real issues that give rise to terrorism and other forms of extremist behavior.
- To recommend ways of ending poverty that is responsible for an increase in migration of Africans to European countries.
- To attempt to qualify the opportunity cost in terms of development as a result of a post-9/11 development agenda that focused more on security issues than development ones.

1.3   CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

A few months towards the deadline set for the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), very few African countries seem like they will attain these goals. The persistence of conflict in parts of the continent, notably in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the South Sudan and in the Horn of Africa, are some of the challenges to a prosperous Sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, the emergence of new terrorist franchises such as the ISIS and Boko Haram continue to pose challenges that look like they could make the achievement of the MDGs impossible.

At the same time, the new millennium has seen an unprecedented increase in the number of African migrants and asylum seekers crossing the Mediterranean into Europe. That

they are choosing to go to Europe is not an indication that all is well in Europe itself economically. Italy, Greece and several countries in the Eurozone have been in the throes of persistent economic crises which threaten the integrity of the European Union itself. The influx in cases of migration to Europe by Africans is merely an indication that the entire global political economy is increasingly unstable. As expected, it is those poor countries of Africa who are more vulnerable to the shocks of an unstable global political economy due to largely structural problems. As a result of these structural problems, there has been increasing insecurity in African countries. This insecurity consequently makes development slower or in certain cases impossible, leading the World Bank to estimate that by end of the year 2002, there were 1,200,000,000 people who lived below its Poverty Datum Line (PDL) which is set at an income of $1/day. Sadly, Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for a significant figure of this estimate (Sparks: 2007).

There are all indications to link all this insecurity to globalization, as well as the war on terror. As such there can be little doubt that terrorism today and the efforts to combat it are a major defining feature of not only the African but the entire International Political-Economy (IPE). The security of nearly every state is no longer guaranteed as it relatively was post the end of the Cold War when the only significant threats to the state were aggressive acts from actors in the international arena. Today, with terrorism has emerged multiple players, most of them who do not assume the character of the traditional state.

As a result of the geo-strategic dynamics, there has been significant investment by especially the developed states on measures that ensure their survivability from especially terror attacks. Prior to the attacks, the USA which was and is still the biggest economy was forced by the circumstances to focus more on its own security than on international development assistance. That also meant that its leadership role in pursuing the global development agenda as articulated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) was impaired or degraded due to the competing security imperatives. As a result there can be no doubt that this affected pursuit of the development agenda at many levels such as continental and sub regional. With respect to the African region, it will be recalled for

example that prior to the attacks on 9/11, the USA was engaged on partnering Africa in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as the blue-print of a development trajectory calculated to remove Africans from conditions that sustained poverty.

While there was no official pronouncement by the USA itself that it had degraded its commitment to the NEPAD project, there was little doubt that this issue became a back burner. Similarly, other development assistance programmes lost forward momentum as a result of the lack of funding them. It can therefore be concluded that the opportunity cost to Africa's development in general as a result of the 9/11 attacks is monumental and worth quantifying. Essentially, this is what this study sought to achieve.

1.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTEXT

On the 11th September in 2001, the USA was attacked by terrorists belonging to the Al Qaeda franchise. The scale and scope of the attacks and subsequent response by the USA and its allies saw the shift in the agenda from what had been defined at the dawn of the new millennium as the key issues. One such issue which was articulated as a key imperative was to focus global attention towards what became known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). According to Willies (2011), these goals were adopted by the UN in the year 2000 as a result of international conferences throughout the 1990s. It can be argued that a central theme across all the eight goals was the eradication of extreme poverty, which goal itself would make everything else that is positive possible; achieve universal primary education, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.

This study therefore sought to locate the development agenda in the period post the September 11 attacks in the USA in order to find the implications on the political economy of Sub-Saharan Africa. It was specifically intended to analyse this topic with the purpose of quantifying the opportunity cost, development-wise to the Sub-Saharan African region as a consequence of not only the attacks but the subsequent 'war on terror'

which became the major focus of undoubtedly the biggest economy in the world. The assumption was that any supposed lack of development could obviously have also resulted in security challenges to the region. These were also examined and the extent to which they could be said to be related to the 9/11 attacks and the evolving global security challenges which are posed by the Islamic State (ISIS) militants.

1.3.2   GENERAL OUTLOOK OF DEVELOPMENT

Despite the emergence of a few success stories, today there is notable global economic stagnation, which combined with USA unilateralism has tended to weaken the major International Financial institutions, chiefly the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs). Laszlo (2008) observes that as a result of this stagnation, trade wars have become more frequent, with several North-South trade agreements being cancelled and trade flows disrupted. It is also notable that since the attacks, the international financial system has become highly volatile. Subsequently, such an environment makes it difficult for any sustainable development agenda to be pursued by many countries and regions.

Indisputable and more significant to the analysis is the view by Moller and Ostrom (2009:107) that:

> …the USA has been and still is, albeit not to be same extent, the strongest (global) power. The USA is important for all other nations and a leading power in all global negotiations regardless of the subject; it is irrelevant to on-one and an enforcer in global negotiations.

With respect to its importance in the global development agenda and in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Moller and Ostrom (2009:108) observe that:

> …there are clear signals of temptations for the US to steer away from its hitherto strong and unequivocal commitment to world affairs and put America first.

With regards to the continent of Africa, clearly one commitment where there has been reduced interest by the USA is its commitment to the NEPAD initiative which it was so

upbeat about at the dawn of the new millennium. There has been apparently less zeal on the part of the USA to pursue this economic blue-print in order to end poverty on especially the African continent.

In the absence of meaningful development, especially the South African region has remained mired in many forms of latent conflict, which threaten the development of the sub-region thereby vindicating the several authors that attest to the correlation between a general lack of development and insecurity. Ealier in 1970, Melman (1970:139) cited a forecast by editors of *Armed Forces Management*, a Washington-based military trade journal in its July 1966 issue estimated that:

> …(reasoning that) poverty breeds violence, defence planners (in the USA) expect the incidence of conflict to increase in the future and be concentrated in the Southern hemisphere – in Africa along the littoral of the Asian sub-continent and in South America.

Contrary to this forecast, the only region which seems not to have experienced significant conflicts is South America. Africa and Asia have witnessed conflict hotspots essentially as a consequence of what Mkandawire (2006:2) sees as the persistence of poverty.

1.3.2   CURRENT INFORMATION

According to Sparks (2007:3), enquiry into development and the implications of such dynamics as conflict are important because as the World Bank estimated in 2002, there were 1.2 billion people who lived below the poverty datum line (PDL). A general survey also shows that it is in the regions with the greatest indices where there is persistent insecurity, leading Sparks (14) to conclude that:

> …in a terrible and distorted way, the horrors of September 11, 2001 and its continuing bloodbath (Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Maghreb Africa) have clarified the contours of the contemporary world.

He notes that its shape is far different from the rosy pictures of progress arguing that post 9/11, there is no unified sense of where we should concentrate either our theoretical or practical energies. In Southern Africa for example, that lack of consensus is evident in the fact that the region has failed to move the Southern African Development Community (SADC) organization beyond political objectives to commit itself collectively to integrating the economies of the sub-region. Each of the economies of the SADC region is still independently articulated to that of the former colonizing metropole. This situation is mirrored elsewhere across the globe post 9/11 where the current political economy is to a large extent characterized by a lack of consensus over such important issues as climate change, trade and tariffs to reforms of international institutions such as the BWI and the United Nations. The implementation of the *Ezulwini Consensus* Resolutions has continued to suffer resistance from the veto-wielding members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

The current situation in Southern Africa is thus that in the absence of a common and sustainable development agenda, few of the countries of the region will be able to meet the MDGs by the stipulated date. There seems to be no conclusion as to the best way to tackle some of the region's structural challenges leading President Jacob Zuma of South Africa to remark during the AU 2015 Summit in South Africa that:

> … while the AU has made strides since it supplanted the Organization of African Unity in 2002, it still has some way to go before it achieves its development goals. 585 million people or 72% of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa still live in or at the brink of poverty.

It can be said though that the region has not been a target of terrorist attacks and this could be owing to demographic factors where the population of Muslims is still relatively low as compared to other parts of the continent.

However, despite the absence of Islamic activity in the region, many states continue to be both politically and economically unstable, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC),

whose conflict continues to generate hordes of refugees who then become a social and political burden to the relatively stable countries. Zimbabwe and Mountain Kingdom of Lesotho routinely feature on the international headlines over conflicts located in their geo-politics and history. Significant features of these countries' current political economies are with little doubt related to the international political economy.

Sadly and in final analysis, one but cannot fail to agree with Amin's (1997:5) view that with the current rhythm of social and political change in the global arena, any theory to account for today's events runs the risk of being inadequate. He argues that if for example, neo-liberalism was assumed to be driven from some centre, how adequate would such a theory be to explain for example the riots in Britain in September 2011 and similar anti-(occupy) Wall-Street protests in the USA? Despite this possible difficulty, the focus of this study was however to attempt to come up with some theory which explains development in what Amin (1997:3) terms the periphery when there is violence in the centre.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0   CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews existing literature on the related aspects of development and terrorism, in other words the nexus between the related aspects of development and security. In other words, the desire is to examine the extent to which the agenda around the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is related to events of 11 September 2001. The basis for this relationship between security and development is that neither is possible without the other hence the approach in most literature on development to consider the implications of security or the lack of it towards development. For that reason, Ake (1981) observes that there is now little merit in the general tendency among Western economists whose general approach when dealing with the problem of under-development to reduce the problem to what he calls an aggregation of factors such as lack of capital, insufficient saving, lack of technical know-how, lack of entrepreneurial skills, lack of diversification of the economy etc.

Even as the approach of this thesis is to examine the implications of terrorism towards development, consensus seems to be evolving on the fact that development is not reducible to discrete elements, but rather that it is a complex phenomenon whose constituent parts have an organic unity (Ake 1981: 6). The focus of this review is to briefly look at some of the most notable debates regarding this phenomenon and essentially within the context of the global agenda subsequent to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA.

2.1   UNDERSTANDING SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

An understanding of the political space that is Sub-Saharan Africa is quite in order to understand how it fits into global geo-political reality. According to Amin (1997), the framework of our contemporary world is a historical product. Going by this view,

probably the best way to understand issues such as development in as far as they affect the Sub-Saharan African part of Africa is to start from the historical circumstances that defined this region of the continent. Sub-Saharan Africa was the object of the colonial politics of the nineteenth century and then at the end of colonial practice by the Western countries, it became the battle ground for the Cold War. Thus, it can be seen that this region of the world, has been a key arena of especially the ideological contestations between the East and the West. Despite this, this region together with parts of South Asia remained greatly impoverished. This impoverishment is attributable to much of the insecurity which made development nearly impossible leading Mandaza (1996: xiii) to conclude that:

> … both Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa are geo-political concepts the understanding of which cannot be achieved except through an analysis of the various historical, political and socio-economic factors that have over the last three to four centuries combined to define both the continent and the sub-region as we know them today.

During the Cold War era both the USA and the Soviet Union sponsored proxies in Sub-Saharan Africa. Basing on this known tactic, there is nothing that suggests that either the USA or the terrorist sponsoring countries cannot use the same tactics to further their aims. There are many conditions in Sub-Saharan Africa which will sustain the contest between the USA and terrorism. Chief among these conditions is what Mkandawire (2006) describes as the persistence of poverty which leads to the failure of the emergence of developmental states. Both internally and externally inspired forms of conflict are still activities which characterize the political economy of some of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Though there are fewer spots where there is open warfare in Sub-Saharan Africa, the few areas where it still exists has destabilizing effects to the entire region. An example is the insecurity in parts of Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. Because of the insecurity there, development has otherwise been slower in parts of Central and Southern Africa which vindicates the view by Bayart (1993: xiii) that:

… the reduction of war to a mode of political production is more viable South of the Sahara since it is in itself a source of accumulation, (which) enables the collection of international aid, - diplomatic, military or humanitarian; it enables the seizure of resources of the modern economy, and it enables the growing criminalization of the economy.

In this part of Africa, according to Giddens (1987) cited in Bayart (1993), war or conflict is not a negation of the state but rather a constituent factor of the state itself. Thus, it would be more expected that this region of Africa will readily embrace any initiatives that constantly keep the international political economy in turmoil. One such initiative is global terrorism and the efforts to counter or contain it.

POLITICAL-ECONOMY OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.2 CURRENT DRIVERS OF CONFLICT IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICA

There are multiple drivers of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa and yet it could be said that all are related to the international political economy. According to Amin (1997: 1) the hurdles that Africa continues to face regarding the development agenda is linked to the crisis of the capitalist enterprise. In his view, it is this current crisis which has led to neo-liberalism on a massive and global scale. According to Amin (1997), the crisis expresses itself in the fact that the profits derived from production do not find sufficient outlets in the form of lucrative investments capable of further developing productive capacity. Management of the crisis therefore involves finding other outlets for this excess of floating capital, so that its sudden devalorisation can be avoided.

Thus while other variables might be determinants of development agenda in Africa, in much of Europe and North America it is capitalism and the choices it makes in the face of the emerging realities which are primarily a function of the emergence of a multi-polar world with several significant non-state players. All this can be said to be a function of globalization.

Globalization though can be attributed as a major driver of conflict among African communities largely because the opportunities which it creates are unevenly experienced. According to Stiglitz (2002), the problem is not so much with globalization but with those that are at the centre of it. Coupled with the agency of globalization is the failure to fully democratize such international institutions as the Bretton Woods Institutions; the World Bank, IMF and the WTO. As such, it can be concluded that post-structural conditions account for much of the insecurity in Sub-Sahara Africa. Amin (1997) argues that for as long as the BWI continue to serve the purpose of subordinating the economies of the East and South to the imperatives of neo-liberalism, true development as well as enduring security will not be possible. According to Amin (1997: xii) part of the answer to the current crisis which has partly led to the emergence of large populations who feel disenfranchised is to realize that:

> Growth is not a natural project of market management and expansion policies, but that it is a possible result of transformation policies that have been thought through in all dimensions. It is only development which proceeds from such thinking which is sustainable.

Thus, coupled with globalization, it can be argued that the hegemony of the United States in sub-Saharan Africa is yet another key driver of insecurity. This hegemony, otherwise commonly referred to as the 'Washington Consensus' is operationalised through the International Financial Institutions which Korten (1995) sees as a form of colonization of the African economic and political spaces. In apparent reference the international financial system, which he describes as 'rogue', Korten (ibid) observes that the financial transactions under globalization have evolved as an institution which is transforming human societies in ways that no-one intended towards ends that are inimical to the human interest. However, Amin (1997) as well as the events of 9/11 and even the fall of the Roman empire clearly demonstrate that any hegemony is as fragile and precarious as the structures through which it creates. That the capitalist system is now more fragile is a fact of reality that the major capitalist countries are aware of. Therefore globalization

could be seen as a way by these capitalist countries to distribute the effects of any eventual fall-out. This distribution of the threat has resulted in every country being as equally susceptible to the risks that attend the capitalist enterprise.

2.3 THE MILENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGs)

It is necessary to develop our understanding of the MDGs so as to understand whether by their design, they had the potential to set Sub-Saharan Africa on a trajectory of sustained development.

2.3.1 ORIGIN OF THE MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Precisely, the idea of Millennium Development Goals was conceived of towards the turn of the new millennium. They were however promulgated in the year 2000. According to Willies (2011), they were the outcome of international conferences throughout the 1990s which sought to find the best ways to set the world on a path of sustainable development, this obviously after the failure of several blue-prints which had failed to remove large populations from conditions of squalor and poverty. It could also be inferred that the objective was to create sustainable global peace post the tumultuous years of the 19th century where scholarship had proved a nexus between lack of security and a lack of development.

2.3.2 STATED OBJECTIVES OF THE MDGs

The development debate was institutionalized and encapsulated into the MDGs with the following specific objectives;

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
2. Achieve universal primary education.
3. Promote gender equality and empower women.
4. Reduce child mortality.
5. Improve maternal health.
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.

7. Ensure environmental sustainability.

8. Develop global partnership for development.

2.3.3   THE MDGS AND POLICY OF EXCLUSION

What becomes obvious problematic especially in view of goal number 8 is how the USA could have lost sight of the impossibility of partnerships while Congress pursued a policy of exclusion at a time when globalization was the overarching ideology. The USA used policies of exclusion in determining who of the African countries became a beneficiary of such programs as the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Other countries such as the Republic of Zimbabwe were slapped with punitive acts such as the *Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act [2001]* which could be argued to have retarded development of nearly the entire Southern African region.

2.4   DORMINANT ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVES OF THE 9/11 EVENTS

Several scholars with a very high degree of success attempt to locate the events of September 11, 2001 within the general crisis of the capitalist state (Feefer, 2003; Zamreka, 2006). These scholars argue that the crisis of capitalism is as political as it is economic, and that in order to deal with this crisis, there is need to deploy political as well as economic measures. According to Diana (2006) in Zamreka (2006:262), researchers (who include herself), are uncovering extensive, credible evidence that the official account of 9/11 is untenable. These researchers argue that U.S as well as Western Intelligence knew about the 9/11 attack plans as early as 1995, and may have facilitated and exploited them for their own ends. Some even suggest that the U.S itself may even have directly planned and carried them out. According to the scholars of this school of thought, the possible reasons reside in a document entitled the 'Project for the New American Century' (PNAC). According to Diana (2006:268) this PNAC document of 1997 set out four main policy directions as follows:

1. To increase defense spending significantly.

2. To strengthen our (U.S) ties to democratic allies and to challenge regimes hostile to our (U.S) interests and values.

3. To promote the cause of political and economic freedom.

4. To preserve and extend an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity and our principles.

In pursuit of policy direction 1 (above)., the war on terror could therefore be seen as an attempt to distort the concepts of 'terrorism' and 'security' in order to frighten Americans into sacrificing their actual security and into colluding in an unprecedented imperial campaign for world domination. At the same time, the rest of the policy directions provide a clue into some of the foreign policy actions that the U.S was to embark on post 9/11 which among others could explain the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act [2001] which the U.S Congress passed against the Republic Of Zimbabwe. It could also be argued that the same considerations were used as the criteria in determining which countries of Sub-Saharan Africa were eligible to economic benefits under the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA).

While much of the above narrative is debatable, there is much that makes it attractive to buy into this argument. One of these is the fact that the PNAC document is not available in the public domain despite several scholars having had access to it soon after its production. It only disappeared from the public domain after analysts started to link the intent and purposes of this document to what was now happening.

In Feefer's (2003) view the other aspect which makes the idea of U.S collusion seem a credible view is the fact that the so-called 'war on terror' did not target those countries that had links with the suspected brains behind the attacks which included Saudi Arabia. Instead, the attacks targeted Iraq and Afghanistan which had nothing at all to do with the so-called terror attacks. In the final analysis, it is difficult to refute the claim by Diana (2006:262) that:

(George. W.) Bush's 'war on terror' evolved in the context of U.S ambitions for Middle Eastern oil and geo-strategic power after WWII.

2.5   ASSESSMENT OF PRO-AFRICA DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

Consonant with the MDGs, there were a number of development initiatives which focused on the Africa region in general. There is a commonsensical link possible by innuendo which links the scope trajectory of the pro-Africa development initiatives with the view that the U.S had a part to play in the September 11 events. This also shows that there was never a commitment by especially the U.S to the success of the MDGs. Just like the so-called Washington Consensus economic prescriptions to countries of the African continent, the U.S as the major contributor of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to Africa, was never unsure that that the MDGs were unattainable. As would become apparent with the implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), the direction and priorities of trade, largely in superintended by the developed world had profound impacts on the economies and stability of the developing world – in largely negative ways. (Oli et al, 2007), with respect to Africa, leading Oli (ibid:xiii) to observe that:

> … it is no coincidence that those countries that are furthest away from achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are those that continue to suffer political and economic instability.

2.6   EFFECT OF MIGRATION ON DEVELOPMENT

Governments, development specialists, and others have rediscovered the connections between migration and development. Yet while increasing volumes of research have focused on the actual and potential contributions of migrant communities to sustainable development or poverty reduction in their countries of origin, the findings have not been systematically translated into policy guidance.

There is little doubt that since the turn of the new century, the number of African migrants destined for Europe has increased to crisis levels. Consequently, it can be estimated that these rates of migration have had an effect on development of the sub continent and especially its capacity to meet the MDGs deadline. There can also be little doubt that this migration has been of little doubt to the African political economy.

CHAPTER THREE

THESIS STATEMENT

3.0   CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

This Chapter outlines the assumptions informing the study based on evidence available in the public domain. It also makes reasonable inferences based on commonsensical conclusions that can be ordinarily drawn from issues in the international political economy.

3.1   THE THESIS OF THE STUDY

Since the dawn of the new millennium, there has been an increase in the number of African migrants and asylum seekers who are daily risking their lives to cross to Europe. This is a clear indication that the African political economy in general since the year 2000, has been on a negative trajectory contrary to the optimism that characterized much of the period around the turn of the new millennium. It could be suspected that the agenda post the 9/11 attacks in the United States of America could be the single most set of events which has created more poverty in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, leading to a situation where, in Sparks' (2007:15) view:

> …there is no unified sense of where we should concentrate either our theoretical or practical energies, because there is no conclusion as to the best way to tackle some of the world's problems.

With regards to the conditions of Sub-Saharan Africa, according to Sparks (ibid), the methodological implications for any intellectual effort to search for a solution are that it is necessary to proceed from a historical perspective. However, the problem with the historical method is that it tends to be rendered irrelevant by success stories such as the so-called Asian Tigers who have emerged from similar historical circumstances of colonization and poverty to become some of the most shining examples of how to achieve developed country status despite historical circumstances that looked similar to

those of Africa at the conclusion of colonial enterprise in the 19th century. Therefore the option that remained for this study was to use the post-structural method as opposed to a purely historical approach. The post-structural approach of necessity required the researcher to assess the dependency thesis to explain the supposedly increasing poverty in what Amin (1997) terms the periphery.

The fact that events which affected the United States of America would have an impact that would be felt by the weaker countries attests to the currency of the dependency thesis of development. According to Sparks (2007) citing Servaes and Malikhao (1994:9), this thesis entails that development in the centre, determines and maintains under-development in the periphery. A corollary implication under the current circumstances is also that globalization tendentiously leads to an increase in poverty of the populations who have been historically marginalized leading to Dirlik (2003:275) in Sparks (2006:126) conclude that:

> …if globalization means anything, it means the incorporation of societies into a capitalist modernity, with all implications of the latter- economic, social, political and cultural.

Sadly, African countries are structurally ill-prepared for this incorporation resulting in them being more vulnerable to shocks introduced into their political economies from outside. Thus in a nutshell, the thesis proposal of this study is basically that insecurity in the centre under conditions of globalization result in the persistence of poverty and underdevelopment in the periphery. Thus in a nutshell, the study tends to agree with Kelly's (2000) observation cited in Willies (2011:197) that:

> …Globalization has entered into the development discourse of many governments, either because it is regarded as an opportunity to promote growth and poverty alleviation or because globalization is viewed as an untenable reality within which nations must either play the game or lose out in the search for development.

In the process of this compulsion and with respect to the area of trade, Pereira and Bresser (2010:19) observe that globalization is as historical as it is contradictory because in his view, trade liberalization is damaging 'only to those poor countries' that are still trying to begin their process of industrialization or that have infant industries. Majority of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, save only for the Republic of South Africa could be said to be in the category of countries described above.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0   CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

Having satisfied oneself that issues that impact on development are at once as largely both political as they are economic, it became apparent that a combination of the political-economy and post-structural methods of analysis would complement one another to best inform the inquiry. That said, it must be highlighted that the main method was the political-economy one.

4.1   EXAMINATION OF THE POLITCAL-ECONOMY METHOD

The manner in which the study made use of the political-economy method was to begin by contextualizing the inquiry within the broader international political economy during the period leading up to the events of 9/11 as well as post those events. This way it was easy to establish causations mainly by innuendo, commonsense as well as empirical developments in both national as well as international affairs. The underlying assumption was that in order to properly understand why certain events happen in the way and at the time that they do, it is necessary to understand the wider political context of those events. To fully appreciate the utility of this method, it is probably best to understand its strengths.

4.1.1   STRENGTHS OF THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Granted that the locus of the inquiry was Africa, Ake (1981) argues that it is in political-economy approaches that lie the greatest potential for understanding the continent. His view is that, this method, based on dialectical materialism as it tends to be, assumes that material conditions, particularly the economic system are the decisive formative influences on social as well as political interactions. As such these material conditions do

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constitute the essential point of departure for discovering the laws of motion of a society as well as the primary means for explaining the dynamics of and in that society.

In Ake's (1981) view, what is particularly unique about today's society is that it is more connected at the global level. The implications thus for applying the political-economy method of inquiry into social and political relations is that it must contextualize both political and economic issues within the framework of globalization. A key feature of the current dispensation is the fact that decisions that are made in very far away locations have a very local effect and such could be said about the decision by the USA and its allies to wage a war against global terrorism. Thus, while the USA was the target of the terrorist attacks, much of the world suffered from the collateral effects arising from the response to the terrorist attacks. As such, it became inevitable to internationalize the effects of the event even though the cause might have been local politically.

In the final analysis, and given the connectivity which characterizes today's civilization, it became unavoidable to be drawn into or affected by what turned out to be the global agenda in the aftermath of those local attacks.

4.3   CONTEXTUALISING THE INTERNATIONAL VS THE LOCAL

Since the political-economy method is based on dialectical materialism, Ake (1981) further argues that the methodological implication is that whoever chooses to use it must pay particular attention to the economic structure of society and then indeed proceed to use that understanding as a departure point for studying other aspects of society. As such, for this study, it was necessary to understand the international economic structure and key issues therein as a basis for understanding developments at the local level; the local level in this instance was Sub-Saharan Africa.

4.4   THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF WAR

While Von Clausewitz is famous for having presented the view of war as 'politics by other means', one cannot ignore the economic and opportunity costs of deciding to wage

war. The two could be synonymous but one is evidently more expensive than the other in material ways. To wage a war such as the war on terror which arguably has no clear objective requires the participants to make bold economic decisions. There is more that is forgone by a state which chooses war over diplomacy. Sadly, under globalization, whatever is forgone is shared among all the members of the international community. Some of course will tend to lose more, and such could be said of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa due to post-structural and historical factors. Given this region's history, it generally agreed that the countries of this region are more vulnerable to shocks in the global economy as noted in the *UN Development Report 2014*. Sub-Saharan Africa is poorer than most regions of the globe. As such it is critical to gauge and appropriately estimate how much the region could suffer as a result of global action such as the war on terror. This therefore suggests the centrality of economic and post-structural conditions as the proper context of understanding the politics of development or the lack of it.

4.5 WHY ELSE THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY METHOD

This inquiry found every reason in appropriating the political-economy method. Another distinctive feature of this method noted by Ake (1981:4) is that it encourages one to systematically account for the different interactions of the different elements of social life especially economic structure, social structure, political structure and belief system. These elements are all important to determining whether development takes place or not. He also argues that in this method, the economic factor is the most decisive of all elements of society and which largely determines the character of all others. There is no doubt that the economic conditions of Sub-Saharan Africa are the once in a more wanting state and as such the ones which prompted the agenda around the MDGs. Most countries of Europe and elsewhere long attained these so-called MDGs and had no business in worrying whether the global agenda supported their achievement. Sadly, that same Sub-Saharan Africa belongs to a continent which has little power at all at the United Nations.

4.6   NOTABLE KEY ISSUES IN THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

The study desired to isolate notable issues in the international political economy in order to assess their influence on the attainment of the MDGs by Sub-Saharan Africa. Notable were upheavals and uncertainties in the international political economy especially both before and after 9/11. These upheavals tended to generate shocks which required the major economic powers such as the USA to adjust their international positions. It is during this adjustment that the USA security apparatus might have been caught off-guard or ill-focused. Whatever, uncertainties might have been there, it is clear that no one country at this juncture had established itself as the leader in the global political economy. Most countries were at least still trying to secure a foothold. At the same time, a China that was promising like it threatened the global leadership of the traditionally strong economies was the focus of most attention which led to the threat being posed by Islamic fundamentalism to be ignored.

4.7   POST-STRUCTURALISM

The other method used in carrying out the study is post-structuralism, which is a modern philosophical school of thought that grew out of, and in response to, the philosophy of structuralism, which many of the pivotal thinkers of post-structuralism were extremely critical of. It generally agreed in social and political science research as one of the major driving forces in philosophy today, intricately connected as it is with postmodernist thought.

4.7.1   ETYMOLOGY OF POST-STRUCTURALISM

An understanding of the history of post-structuralism is quite in order here just to give context to its relevance for the current study. Structuralism as a school of thought hit its stride during the radical movements of the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in France, although it had its roots back at the beginning of the 20th century. Post-structuralism

grew as a response to structuralism's perceived assumption that its own system of analysis was somehow essentialist and narrow. At the root of post-structuralism is the rejection of the idea that there is any truly essential form to a cultural product, as all cultural products are by their very nature formed, and therefore artificial.

4.7.2   APPLICATION OF POST-STRUCTURALISM AS A METHOD

Post-structuralism is related to post-structuralism. In structuralism one looks at the foundational structures implicit in all productions of a culture, and carry out an analysis of the many parts that create something, to get a better understanding of the creation. In the case of this study, it was necessary to understand capitalism as that something which creates the current political relationships. There is no doubt that terrorism as we know and experience it today is related to capitalism. Linguistics was one of the first fields to use structuralism to its advantage, and its application quickly spread to other fields. The basic premise of structuralism is that all things have a structure below the level of meaning, and that this structure constitutes the reality of that thing. Terrorism and the different narratives that are associated with it are best understood when one starts from an understanding of the underlying issues. And as will be appreciated, the best way to deal with terrorism is to deal with the issues that give rise to it.

4.7.3   POST-STRUCTURALISM AND BIAS

As with any qualitative study bias is inevitable. The burden of the researcher is to see how to minimize the effect of such inherent biases so that the research is as objective as possible. Post-structuralists hold that in fact, even in an examination of underlying structures, a slew of biases introduce themselves, based on the conditioning of the examiner. The specific conditioning of this examiner which could have had an effect on his views is the fact that he resides in a political space that has seen the extreme consequences of the contestation between extreme neo-liberalism and extreme, albeit morally justified, resource nationalism.

4.7.4 DIFFERENTIATING POST-STRUCTURALISM FROM POST-MODERNISM

It is important here to make a distinction between two methods that look similar when in actual fact they are different in application. Post-structuralism is importantly different from postmodernism, although the two are often considered one and the same by the general subject. Although there are certain areas of overlap, thinkers from one school almost never identify themselves with the other school of thought. Postmodernism importantly seeks to identify a contemporary state of the world, the period that is following the modernist period. Postmodernism seeks to identify a certain juncture, and to work within the new period. Post-structuralism, on the other hand, can be seen as a more explicitly critical view, aiming to deconstruct ideas of essentialism in various disciplines to allow for a more accurate discourse. Both terrorism and development need this deconstruction.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.0   STRATEGY AND TECHNIQUES

The major strategy for the study was to read and analyse data that is available in the public domain and then to make reasoned conclusions that to the extent possible are corroborated by other credible data.

5.1   DATA PRESENTATION

5.2   POVERTY & EQUITY DATA FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

GNI per capita, Atlas method (current US$)

$1,683 2013 $1,720 2014

GDP growth (annual %)

4.6% 2013   4.3% 2014

Population, total

506.9 1990   936.3 2013

Poverty headcount ratio at $1.25 a day (PPP) (% of population)

56.6% 1990   46.8% 2011

Source: The World Bank at: www.povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/region/ssa

5.3   COUNTRIES ELIGIBLE FOR AGOA

The following countries were eligible for AGOA benefits up to the year 2015. The list excludes 9 countries from Sub-Saharan Africa.

Angola; Benin; Botswana; Burkina Faso; Burundi; Cameroon; Cape Verde; Chad; Comoros; Republic of Congo; Cote d'Ivoire; Djibouti; Ethiopia; Gabon; The Gambia; Ghana; Guinea; Kenya; Lesotho; Liberia; Madagascar; Malawi; Mali; Mauritania; Mauritius; Mozambique; Namibia; Niger; Nigeria; Rwanda; Sao Tome and Principe; Senegal; Seychelles; Sierra Leone; South Africa; Tanzania; Togo; Uganda; Zambia.

Table listing AGOA eligible countries, the effective date of their eligibility, and the effective date of their eligibility for AGOA apparel benefits where applicable.

COUNTRY	DATE DECLARED AGOA ELIGIBLE	DATE DECLARED ELIGIBLE FOR APPAREL PROVISION	SPECIAL RULE FOR APPAREL
(Republic of) Angola	December 30, 2003		
(Republic of) Benin	October 2, 2000	January 28, 2004	Yes
(Republic of) Botswana	October 2, 2000	August 27, 2001	Yes
Burkina Faso	December 10, 2004	August 4, 2006	Yes
(Republic of) Burundi	January 1, 2006		
(Republic of) Cameroon	October 2, 2000	March 1, 2002	Yes
(Republic of) Cape Verde	October 2, 2000	August 28, 2002	Yes
(Republic of) Chad	October 2, 2000	April 26, 2006	Yes
(Republic of) Cote d'Ivoire	Restored October 25, 2011		
(Union of) Comoros	June 30 , 2008		
(Republic of) Congo	October 2, 2000		

(Democratic Republic of) Congo *	Declared ineligible January 1, 2011		
(Republic of) Djibouti	October 2, 2000		
Ethiopia	October 2, 2000	August 2, 2001	Yes
Gabonese (Republic)	October 2, 2000		No
The Gambia	December 31, 2002	April 28, 2008	Yes
(Republic of) Ghana	October 2, 2000	March 20, 2002	Yes
Guinea	Restored October 25, 2011		
(Republic of) Guinea-Bissau	Country declared ineligible on December 20, 2012		
(Republic of) Kenya	October 2, 2000	January 18, 2001	Yes
(Kingdom of) Lesotho	October 2, 2000	April 23, 2001	Yes
(Republic of) Liberia	December 29 , 2006	January 24, 2011	
(Republic of) Malawi	October 2, 2000	August 15, 2001	Yes
(Republic of) Madagascar	June 26, 2014		

(Republic of) Mali	Restored on January 1, 2014		
(Republic of) Mauritania	October 2, 2000 Restored December 23, 2009		
(Republic of) Mauritius	October 2, 2000	January 18, 2001	Yes
(Republic of) Mozambique	October 2, 2000	February 8, 2002	Yes
(Republic of) Namibia	October 2, 2000	December 3, 2001	Yes
(Repulic of) Niger	Restored October 25, 2011		
(Federal republic of) Nigeria	October 2, 2000	July 14, 2004	Yes
(Republic of) Rwanda	October 2, 2000	March 4, 2003	Yes
(Democratic Republic of) Sao Tome and Principe	October 2, 2000		
(Republic of) Senegal	October 2, 2000	April 23, 2002	Yes
(Republic of) Seychelles	October 2, 2000		No
(Republic of) Sierra	October 23, 2002	April 5, 2004	Yes

Leone			
(Republic of) South Africa	October 2, 2000	March 7, 2001	No
(Republic of) South Sudan	January 1, 2013		
(Kingdom of) Swaziland	Declared ineligible on June 26, 2014		
(United Republic of) Tanzania	October 2, 2000	February 4, 2002	Yes
(Republic of) Togo	April 17, 2008		
(Republic of) Uganda	October 2, 2000	October 23, 2001	Yes
(Republic of) Zambia	October 2, 2000	December 17, 2001	Yes

Note on Apparel Imports: AGOA provides duty-free and quota-free treatment for eligible apparel articles made in qualifying sub-Saharan African countries through 2015. Qualifying articles include: apparel made of U.S. yarns and fabrics; apparel made of sub-Saharan African (regional) yarns and fabrics until 2015, subject to a cap; apparel made in a designated lesser-developed country of third-country yarns and fabrics until 2012, subject to a cap; apparel made of yarns and fabrics not produced in commercial quantities in the United States; textile or textile articles originating entirely in one or more lesser-developed beneficiary sub-Saharan African countries; certain cashmere and merino wool sweaters; and eligible handloomed, handmade, or folklore articles, and ethnic printed fabrics. Under a Special Rule for lesser-developed beneficiary countries, those countries with a per capita GNP under $1,500 in 1998, will enjoy an additional preference in the form of duty-free/quota-free access for apparel made from fabric originating anywhere in the world. The Special Rule is in effect until September 30, 2012 and is subject to a cap. AGOA IV continues the designation of Botswana and Namibia as lesser-developed beneficiary countries

Source: www.trade.gov/agoa/eligibility

5.4 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

5.4.1 PRE-1991 GLOBAL AGENDA

Granted that this study is necessarily a focus on development in comparative perspective, that is, the period ante and post 9/11, 2001 attacks on the USA, it is commonsensical to go back some ten years before the 9/11 incident. That backtracking takes one to the year 1991 when the global agenda was no doubt being heavily influenced by the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, yet another seminal political event which Fukuyama (1992) aptly characterized as the 'end of history' as sub-title of his book.

5.4.2 UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT AS A POLITICAL ACTIVITY

That development is largely political by its nature is less contested. Thus, while the collapse of the Soviet Union might be looked at through a largely political prism, its implications especially for the African continent were more economic than political. That at least is the more holistic view to consider the legacy of the post-cold war era not only top Africa but to much of what Amin (1997) characterizes as the periphery in apparent reference to parts of South Asia, Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa and much of the independent Caribbean Island territories. What we see in Somalia in 1991 when President Mohammed Siad-Bare is ousted from power is one clear example of the political, social and economic implications of the end of the Cold War of what had once existed as a viable state. In the case of Somalia, Vambe (2007) asks whether what proved to have failed is the European model of the nation-state or the African one or both. A very significant question indeed given happened in the mid-1990s in what Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) analyse as the democratic transitions in Africa around the 1990s. Similarly regarding the failure of the emergence of what Mkandawire (2006) calls a developmental state in the aftermath of decolonization, one could ask whether what has failed is the European model of the developmental state, or the African one or both.

Use of the continent's worst cases such as Somalia has its own problems because there are many parts of the continent that have been more progressive in both their politics and

economics than even some countries outside Africa. According to Adesami (2004) cited in Vambe (2007), it has become the norm in various Africanist disciplines to homogenize the continent's post-colonial space as one uniform style of dysfunctionality.

5.4.3   THE POLITICAL CONTEXT PRIOR TO 9/11

For purposes of understanding the global agenda at any particular time and how Africa fits into that agenda, it is necessary to contextualize both Cold War and post-Cold War politics. According to Uvin (2005:49), the problems of the post-colonial (African) state are not well articulated until after the end of the Cold War and the emergence of a uni-polar world order. More importantly, Uvin (2005:49) argues that the end of the Cold War meant that many developing countries suddenly became 'a lot less important as the one remaining super-power cared much less for Third World Dictators' sympathy or their vote in the United Nations. Thus, if at all there had been a genuine development agenda during the Cold War era, the end of that war meant that it was suddenly abandoned.

It is thus after this abandonment that Africa started to face the reality. It is particularly Southern Africa where some proxies were sustained by Cold War politics; the likes of Jonas Savimbi of Angola's UNITA, Alfonso Dhlakama of Mozambique's RENAMO and to an extent the persistence of colonial rule in Namibia until its independence in 1992. In the final analysis, one can only but agree with Uvin (2005:50) when he observes that:

> …The problems that African countries face in the post-colonialism period are partially a result of the Soviet factor.

With regards to Southern Africa, he observes that at the time of independence, direct Soviet political involvement in black Africa was still a relatively new venture. Soviet initiatives only coincided directly with the process of decolonization. Thus, when the Soviet factor is ended, do Africa's real problems which had been latent and unresolved since decolonization start to appear. One such real problem was that of development. In the Cold War era, the issue of developing Africa had been side-lined as Africa became the source of the resources that sustained the Cold War effort. Both the USA and the

USSR required critical African resources to maintain an edge over each other. As such, there was no way that development of Africa could have been possible if not for political expediency.

It is thus only in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War that deliberate efforts to pursue a development agenda started to be made. In order to do this however, it looks like the priorities were wrongly set. Those that intended to partner Africa in its development forced Africa to start by pursuing a democratization agenda as a pre-condition and necessary step towards development. This view neglected the experiences from South East Asia and even Europe itself where the development agenda had preceded the democratization agenda. As a result, the development agenda never took off as large parts of the continent remained mired in intra-state conflict essentially over resources; what became theorized as the 'resource-curse' owing to the fact that the abundance of rather than the shortage of resources tended to drive most of these conflicts.

Africa's case, as would be expected was not a crisis over a lack of resources but over their abundance when the institutions to facilitate the equitable, responsive and transparent distribution of the resources where not in place. Thus a scenario characterized by the persistence of conflict benefited both the USA and the USSR itself who found a ready market to dispose of their stocks of military hardware which they had built up against each other during the Cold War era.

As such, ending political conflict in Africa did not immediately benefit the former Cold War adversaries. Rather, the two tended to benefit from the persistence of conflict in Africa. Thus conflict provided an avenue to continue to access the continent's resources through arms sales. Hence it can be argued that for that reason, apartheid was permitted to persist in South Africa beyond the international political dynamics which required that it be ended.

It can be argued that the real agenda to develop Southern Africa is coterminous with the end of apartheid in South Africa and the independence of Namibia (South West Africa).

At that point, it can be argued that there was not much military hardware to dispose of, most of it having been sold off to South Africa (and by implication RENAMO which it supported) UNITA and the remainder to the BANYAMULENGE rebels which toppled one Cold War functionary, Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire.

5.4.4   THE WASHINGTON CONSENSUS AS THE AGENDA

At that point, we then start seeing what appeared as initiatives to develop Africa by way of the so-called Washington Consensus and the various austerity measures that were prescribed for the African countries starting with Kenneth Kaunda's Zambia. It can be argued that the logic of the Washington consensus was to deliberately create a social, political and economic crisis within the African state, which crisis itself would become the justification for intervention by the former colonizers and especially the USA. The US military expedition in Somalia in the early nineties following the crisis there is one clear example of how the USA could be said to have attempted to benefit from the crisis of an African state. The suspicion is that any such intervention, whilst appearing benevolent would in actual fact be a strategy of accessing resources on the continent.

Thus, true to the logic and objective of the Washington Consensus, Africa remained at war with herself through much of the period leading up to the 9/11 events; there were riots and pro-democracy demonstrations in several countries across the continent, while in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, there was open warfare as several armies from Central and East and Southern Africa fought against each other over what many argued as the Congo's natural resources. One of the countries, which had intervened at the request of the Congo government and which led a three-member country alliance, Zimbabwe would be slapped with unilateral sanctions by the US Congress for 'interfering with its interests' in the Great Lakes region.

The effects of these sanctions, packaged as the *Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act [2001]* had debilitating effects on the Zimbabwean economy. Though various pronouncements subsequent to the enactment of would show that the purpose of

these measures by the USA were meant at regime change in Zimbabwe, in many ways it can be argued that the net effect of the measures were to incapacitate Zimbabwe in efforts to attain each of the MDGs. These measures reversed many of the economic gains that the country had made since gaining political independence in 1980 and through the Cold War years when the country had benefited from several multilateral forms of aid by choosing to be 'non-aligned' in the Cold War.

Following from the above, it could be concluded that there was nothing as a genuine development blue-print for the Southern African region post the Cold War. As for Africa and other resource-rich regions of the world, according to Zamreka (2006), since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US-led empire's pre-occupation was to consolidate its control over the world, and particularly over its oil, gas, water and mineral resources. The Southern African region, to which Zimbabwe belongs has well-documented proof of some of the richest mineral deposits; chrome, gold, diamonds, and platinum which makes it the object of such predatory foreign policy moves.

5.4.5   POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

Regarding the agenda for Southern Africa pre-9/11, it is commonsensical to read it within the context of the USA's global agenda post the Cold War era. According to Zamreka (2006:265), in 1995, Zalmay Khalilzad, US foreign-policy think-tank prepared a '*grand strategy for the United States in the post-Cold War era'*. He argues that in a policy document entitled 'From Containment to Global Leadership', he called for the United States to launch pre-emptive wars to maintain its position of global leadership and preclude the rise of another global rival for the indefinite future. He explained the indefinite future to imply having the capability for fighting two major regional contingencies simultaneously, for example North Korea and the Gulf. True to this blue-print, the world of course saw Iraq and Afghanistan being attacked in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks despite the lack of any tangible evidence linking especially Iraq to the terror bombings.

5.4.6   CONTEXTUALISING US-AGGRESSION POST 9/11

Therefore, given the fact that post 9/11 the USA would indeed fight these two contingencies, Iraq and Afghanistan, one is strongly tempted to agree with Zamreka. Further grounds for one temptation to agree with Zamreka are the observation by Feefer (2003) that instead of proceeding to attack Saudi Arabia from which had come 15 of the 19 suspected terrorists, the coalition instead went for Iraq and Afghanistan. All this proves that these moves to attack these two countries were pre-meditated and done in the spirit of seeking containment. Indeed, Zamreka (2006) argues and believes that the 9/11 attacks was what he calls a 'made in the US- plot meant to legitimize the so-called war on terror which many view as a strategy by the US to access the Middle East's oil resources. There is thus clearly a link between what is suspected to be the US pre-9/11 agenda and what the world sees happening in the global political economy post the attacks.

According to Guyatt (2000), that there was serious consideration by the US administration to secure for itself yet another American century had become apparent through much of the US foreign policy moves in the period leading up to the turn of the century. Worth noting and related to views by Guyatt (2000) and which could be linked to the actions of the USA towards several select countries in the international arena is the view by Zamreka (2006:268) that the '*Project for the New American Century*' (PNAC) policy document set out four main policy directions, each of which he argues as featuring prominently in George. W. Bush's war on terror. These policy directions are spelt out as:

1. To increase defence spending significantly.
2. To strengthen our ties to democratic allies and to challenge regimes hostile to our interests and values.
3. To promote the cause of political and economic freedom.
4. To preserve and extend 'an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity and our principles.

To make the whole agenda more suspect, none of the policy papers cited above is accessible in the public domain. And there is clearly a direct and obvious link between these policy directions and the actions of the USA especially towards Zimbabwe post 9/11 which period is generally coterminous with the onset of the agrarian reforms in Zimbabwe.

5.5   AN EXAMINATION OF OTHER DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

An examination of other development initiatives that targeted the Africa region is important to establish the relationship between these and the MDGs. Such pro-Africa development initiatives that are worth examining are the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) as well as the related issue of the Africa Peer Review Mechanism. Even though the latter was not an essentially development agenda, it was an enabling mechanism arising out of the realization that development was less likely to be successful without democratization of the African countries.

5.5.1   NEPAD AND ITS ETYMOLOGY

According to information accessed at www.nepad.org/history, the New Partnership for Africa's development, (NEPAD) was at its inception dubbed another '*False Dawn for Africa*'. According to the same site, NEPAD's formulation resulted from and followed the failure of the following development blue-prints:

- The Lagos Plan of Action (1980).
- The Final Act of Lagos (1980).
- Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (1986-1990).
- The African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme (1989).
- The Abuja Treaty (1991).
- The Cairo Agenda (1994).

These cited are only but a few of the development blue-prints that were an attempt to deal with the developmental challenges facing the African continent in the post-colonial era. That NEPAD would be dubbed 'Another False Dawn' is clear testimony of the fact that no one had any real faith in its potential to change the circumstances of Africa, after the failure of earlier initiatives. As a result, this attitude can be attributed to the lack of commitment to NEPAD by most African countries. The same could be inferred regarding the lack of a commitment by most African leaders to the MDGs. Few of the leaders were convinced from the very start that these goals were achievable.

However, despite the general lack of trust in NEPAD, it is generally observed that a new breed of African leaders entered the 21st century with proclamations of a re-birth for Africa. This re-birth was inspired by the failures of previous plans, the ills of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) driven by the so-called Washington Consensus.

5.5.2   INITIATIVES THAT INFORMED NEPAD FORMATION

Although it remains a contested matter as to the origins and bona fide purpose of NEPAD, it is generally agreed that the initiative was a result of three parallel initiatives said to have been spearheaded by African leaders, to address critical challenges facing the continent of which development and the poverty that resulted from its failure were some of the challenges. The other challenge of course is said to have been Africa's continued marginalization internationally. It requires explanation, how a continent which is one of the major sources of raw materials for European and North American industries could be said to marginalized. This marginalization was therefore imaginary as even China, with one of the fastest growing economies was heavily relying on Africa's raw materials to sustain its growth.

The following three parallel initiatives are said to have given birth to NEPAD:

- The Millennium African Recovery Plan (MAP), led by the then South African President Thabo Mbeki and unveiled at Davos in January 2001, about 8 months before the events of 9/11.

- The *Omega Plan*, crafted by the then President of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade and presented to the Summit of Francophone Leaders at about the same time as MAP in January 2001 in Cameroon.

- MAP and Omega Plan were then combined to give birth to a third initiative (New African Initiative) that then led to NEPAD mid 2001.

The extent of the 'outside' world in all the three initiatives is questionable but it is widely suspected by many analysts that these initiatives were falsely presented as an African agenda when in fact there were other players calling the shots from behind the scenes. This view tends to be more widespread when it is considered in conjunction with the fact that in terms of timing, all three initiatives were generally coterminous with year of the events of September, 11.

5.5.3 NEPAD THEMATIC AREAS

At its inception, NEPAD outlined a number of programs and projects that it would manage which fell into five major theme areas which are:

- Agriculture and Food Security.
- Climate Change and Natural Resources Management.
- Regional Integration and Infrastructure.
- Human Development.
- Economic and Corporate Governance.

The sixth, consisted of cross-cutting issues of gender, capacity development and ICT. As can be observed, most of these thematic areas generally tended to overlap with the MDGs. It could therefore be argued that this overlap could have created problems of focus with countries in a quandary as to where to focus their energies and resources.

5.5.4   ASSESSMENT OF NEPAD

The success of NEPAD or what could have become of it is questionable. However, given the fact that there is nothing tangible which can be associated with the initiative, it can be concluded that the initiative, like its predecessor programmes was also a failure. Its greatest weakness when compared with the MDGs was that it had no clear time-frames as to when each of the objectives was supposed to be achieved.

Whilst it is commendable that the initiative was alleged to be homegrown, its greatest weakness is its reliance on external partners for operationalisation. Given the fact that most of these external partners would become embroiled in the war on terror and a security agenda subsequent to the events of September 11, 2001, the initiative suffered serious setbacks. This commitment would inevitably make the attainment of the NEPAD and MDG difficult to achieve. In the final analysis, and with respect to Sub-Saharan Africa, what we see is the persistence of poverty leading to an increase in the number of migrants from this region finding their way to Europe, nearly resulting in a crisis for the European countries themselves on how to best deal with these migrants.

Though NEPAD was introduced as the mechanism through which support to Africa's development efforts could best be delivered, it lacked credibility for two reasons. First was the fact that Africa itself seems to have admitted that it lacked the capacity to deliver on the programme. Secondly, there was always some suspicion from the very start on its ownership. As a result, it became problematic for the NEPAD process to be accepted not only by the African countries themselves and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), but also by Africa's development partners as the framework mechanism for their development efforts. It was affected right from its inception due to the suspicion that it was foisted on Africa especially by the USA, leading to what Liadi (2014) criticizes as the externalization of development policy.

Writing in 2014, a year away from the 2015 UN deadline for the achievement of the MDGs, and in a scathing critique of NEPAD, Liadi (2014:27) observes that the following remain the key defining features of Africa's political economy:

> … poverty and under-development, low human and materials capacity utilization, diseases of various shades, wars, decaying infrastructure, corruption and economic stagnation … are some of the most intractable problems of Africa.

Liadi (ibid) concludes his critique by noting that previously, the responsibilities for the low performance of African states have always been located in colonialism and externally driven development policies such as the Washington Consensus prescribed SAPs. Given the failure of what was touted as continentally generated development blue-print, how else can we account for the current trajectory of Africa's development? This is the challenge for any future research; to identify that which is in or outside Africa that makes development so impossible.

This study concurs with Liadi (2014:33) when he argues that the failure of NEPAD is linked to the neo-liberal agenda:

> …Which makes it unfavourable to the envisaging of an ideal future radically different from the currently existing situation which allows for one to question the suitability of such an orientation for a project aiming at Africa's development.

He also argues that neo-liberal strategies worsen poverty, increase unemployment, aggravate economic and gender inequalities, resulting in deprivation of basic needs and erosion of basic human rights. In his view, they also exacerbate debt and repeat the disastrous consequences of structural adjustment programmes. The link between the neo-liberal agenda and the persistence of poverty in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa is reflected by the lack of clear-cut criteria for deciding the beneficiary countries under the AGOA initiative. In any case, this study found a very close link between the objectives of the PNAC and the countries excluded from the AGOA benefits.

Structurally, NEPAD found itself operating within the globally dominant framework of the World Bank, IMF and the WTO which institutions have routinely failed the cause of the poor citizens of the globe (Korten, 1995).

5.5.5 THE AFRICA GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY ACT (AGOA)

The AGOA was signed into law on May 18, 2000 as Title 1 of the (USA) *Trade and Development Act* [2000]. The Act offered what are described in the Act as 'tangible' incentives for African countries to continue their efforts to open their economies and build free economies. To that extend, there is clear evidence of the articulation of AGOA to the neoliberal agenda. In other words, the idea of AGOA was to incentivize support for capitalism and neoliberal politics. It should also be noted that AGOA had a relationship with NEPAD and the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), which were largely informed by a security agenda. Unfortunately, the security environment post the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan became volatile.

5.5.5.1 HOW DOES AGOA BENEFIT AFRICAN COUNTRIES

AGOA was passed as part of the (USA) *Trade and Development Act* [2000] and was designed to provide beneficiary countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with the most liberal access to specifically the US market. The accruing benefits were also targeted at those countries or regions with which the USA did not have a Free Trade Agreement (FTA). It was meant to reinforce African reform efforts as well as to provide 'improved access to US credit and technical expertise and establish a high-level dialogue on trade and investment in the form of a US-Sub-Saharan African Trade and Economic Forum'. From these stated objectives, there is no doubt that the Sub-Saharan Africa region was the major focus of AGOA initiative. It is also stated that at www.trade/gov/agoa that AGOA sought to help integrate Africa into the global economy, thus as with NEPAD ending 'Africa's marginalization internationally'.

5.5.5.2 ELIGIBILITY OF COUNTRIES FOR AGOA

According to information available on the site above, it is the US government's intention that the largest possible number of Sub-Saharan African countries are able to take advantage of AGOA. Former US President Bill Clinton issued a proclamation on October 2, 2000 designating 34 countries in Sub-Sahara Africa as eligible for the trade benefits under AGOA. His proclamation excluded 9 countries.

Post-9/11, it can be observed that criteria for determining which country qualified for benefits under AGOA was related to the terrorist threat or the extent to which the country was perceived by the USA to be an obstacle to the achievement of the PNAC objectives. As an example, the Central African Republic (CAR) and Eritrea were removed from the list of eligible countries and their removal can be linked to the political developments in these countries around the period of their removal from the list.

The other link with neo-liberalism is found in the role of the US President in determining eligibility. The Act authorizes the US President to designate countries as eligible to receive the benefits associated with AGOA membership 'if they are determined to have established or are making continual progress towards establishing the following: market based economies, rule of law and political pluralism, elimination of barriers to US trade and investment, protection of intellectual property, efforts to combat corruption, policies to reduce poverty, increasing availability of health care and educational policies' etc. These ideals are the key defining features of neoliberalism and which help to sustain capitalism. In the circumstances under review, these ideals worked well to assure what Guyatt (1999) describes as 'Another American Century'.

5.5.5.3 ASSESSMENT OF AGOA

In the face of emerging competitors like China, India and Brazil, and given the fact that most of the countries failed to meet the MDGs deadline, there is no doubt that AGOA did not achieve as it was anticipated to achieve. In any event, the conclusion of this study is that the MDG were not meant to be achieved, at least not all of them. This is because

poverty sustains capitalism and as such, it cannot be assumed that the USA and its allies are now ready to abandon capitalism and in its stead support what Muhammad Yunus (2010) describes as 'social business'. According to Yunus (2010:24) this form of business is a viable new form of capitalism that 'serves humanity's most pressing needs', and one of those most pressing needs is the end of poverty.

5.5.6   AFRICA PEER REVIEW MECHANISM (APRM)

The APRM was conceived as a supporting initiative to encourage African countries to embark on a process of democratization. It was introduced as a voluntary process whereby African countries would subject themselves to peer review on their governance by fellow countries within the respective REC. With regards to this initiative's link with neoliberalism, it can be concluded that the aim was to minimize the threats to foreign investments made by the especially USA and its network of Multinational Corporations. One finds a close link between the language of the APRM concept with the PNAC objectives which are located at www.poac.wordpress.com/2006/11/10/the -project-for-the-new-american-century. It is also noted by Gueyranne (2006) that the PNAC advice and opinions have been remarkably similar to George.W. Bush's administration's international agenda.

According to Gueyranne (ibid), the PNAC's goal was to promote American global leadership and was dedicated among other things to the proposition that America's leadership is good both for America and the world, and that such leadership requires military strength, diplomatic energy and commitment to moral principle. The PNAC is argued by most analysts as having guided the Bush administration's foreign policy, especially the Department of Defence. It should be noted that the researcher did not access the PNAC document and that his analysis here is based on precepts said to have entered the public domain through leaks.

That APRM focused on Sub-Sahara Africa fits well into Essex's (2013:3) view that:

> … the demarcation and strategic positioning of territorial states within an international state system girded by capitalist economic relations has long formed the corpus of geo-politics.

Citing Slater (1993), he also observes that geo-political logic has served as the basis not only for statecraft, military strength and development intervention but also for popular geographical imaginations and views of world order. The geo-political logic which must have influenced the promulgation of the MDGs is concern about African poverty as a market for goods and less the need to develop the continent.

5.6   QUESTIONS ABOUT ALTERNATIVES

Noting that increased communication is a key feature of globalization, this study tends to agree with McQuail (2002:2) that alternative approaches to the development agenda lies in a yet another New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) which is more inclusive. In McQuail's (ibid) view, the Communication Order under globalization remains largely in favour of the capitalist class:

> …employed either to control and guide the masses by propaganda and divert them or narcotize them from effective opposition by escapist fantasies and consumerist dreams.

This is daily evident with the emergence of new social media applications such as *WhatsApp* and *Facebook*. The man-hours that are daily lost at the workplace, especially in Africa, as workers communicate on these social networks are worth quantifying, let alone the social costs.

5.6.1   THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF NEW COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES

Thus as the world focuses on the post-2015 development agenda, there is therefore a need to identify how the media technologies can ensure that across the globe, the achievement of sustainable development is mainstreamed; noting that the media have an almost global

and in most cases instantaneous reach to the global populations. As such, if appropriately organized, they can ensure citizen participation in pursuit of any future development agenda. In other words, the study is advocating for what Wasserman (2011:207) describes as:

> …the use of communication technologies for participatory communication in the public sphere … as an important pathway to the development of deliberate democracy in (both) developing and developed countries.

There is of course a positive relationship between democracy and development. New communication technologies are a major feature of globalization, leading Wasserman (ibid) to observe that research on the nexus between new communication technologies and development has underscored the relationship between new technologies and greater citizens' participation in the democratic process. In his view, the new technologies serve as an engine that galvanizes public interest and participation. To that end, it may not be off the mark to conclude that the new communication media have the potential of transforming democracy and socio-economic development in not Africa, but on a global scale.

According to Wasserman (ibid), the characteristics of new media technologies which make them suitable for this role are that they are interactive as well as allowing citizens the freedom to select the kind of information that appeals to them, and at the precise moment they want that information.

Still, with respect to Africa and alternatives that lie in the media, there is need to focus on the development of transnational media as well as transnational collective action and organization that leads to the creation of an integrated public sphere within Sub-Saharan countries. At least this could be possible because most of these countries are Anglophonic and therefore united by a common language. KiSwahili and Arabic are also commonly spoken by large populations. Therefore there could be the need for Sub-Saharan Africa to build a common communicative infrastructure.

According to Loos (2011) et al, new media technologies have an empowering and liberating effect. Thus Africa in general should see themselves as being liberated and empowered by the new social media. The Wikipedia provides a useful definition of empowerment by referring to it as:

> …the capacity of individuals, communities and/or groups to access and use their personal/collective power, authority and influence and employ that strength when engaging with other people. It encourages people to gain the skills and knowledge that will allow them to overcome obstacles in life or work and ultimately help them develop within themselves or in society.

New social media and the associated technologies do exactly that. It has the potential to change in many ways the social, political and economic circumstances of populations. According to Loos (ibid:17), social media empower users and civil organizations to build, manage, access and distribute government and political information, thereby lowering the barriers for the citizen participation and engagement in policy and political decision-making. So far, during the period leading up to 2015, there is no indication that social media did any of this.

5.6.2   REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR NEW SOCIAL MEDIA

It has to be appreciated that not everything about social media is positive or will be positive for Africa. There is the need to agree at continental level on the regulatory framework for social media so as to minimize the negative intended and unintended effects of its use. Once this is in place, it will remove the requirement for unnecessary censorship as is the norm in a few of the African countries who have the technology to effect this control. It must be noted that an unregulated social media environment poses a significant threat to the state as noted by Charles (2009:46) that:

> Even within Europe, during the first decade of the 21st century, pretexts such as the 'war against terror' inclined governments incrementally to abandon the

generally liberal and market-oriented approach to information regulation that had marked the last decades of the 20th century.

Similarly, Africa is not new to circumstances where social media have been exposed as a threat to the survivability of the state. Libya, which in the post-9/11 era was a very viable state was ruined by bloggers on social-networking sites leading to its current state. As Charles (2009:47) argues, there should be nothing immoral or problematic about the regulation of new social media:

> As the mobility, not to say ubiquity, of information in both high and late capitalism demanded universal regulation from the start, and in theory, the instruments necessary for the regulation for the regulation of the internet are the same as those which enabled the formation of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) in 1865.

5.6.3   THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN PARLIAMENT

Then linked to this is the view by Morganti (2012:13) et al of the role of the African Parliament in removing Africa from conditions of poverty. They posit that:

> …there are endless possibilities that result from the creation of an (African) public sphere through social media and gathering of citizens from different regions, speaking different languages, but still participating in discussions around the same topics, set by the African Parliament profile administrators.

There is every reason to recommend for the adoption of this model as it is the model that has seen the success of the integration of the political economy of the European Union block. With respect to Africa, there are however structural issues that will need to be dealt with such as the economic decolonization of the former French colonies that are still bound by arrangements which make common African action impossible.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

6.0   RESOLUTION OF THE THESIS

The study noted that the post-9/11 agenda was largely influenced by security concerns and many nations in the Eurozone and North America focused their attention on security and surveillance programmes to ensure the security of their territories and interests. There was also a need by these countries to strengthen their economies so that they would be able to sustain the war on terror. Some of the necessary resources for this purposes had to be sourced from Africa, particularly SSA. The effect of this was that commitment and support to the MDGs was significantly compromised or scaled down. The same effect was also felt on those development initiatives such as NEPAD and AGOA which had been contrived to stem the issues that tendentiously sustained poverty especially in Africa.

Subsequent to the 9/11 attacks, the major powers launched a unilateral war on terror which tended to lead to reduced levels of investment and support to African development programmes. The collateral effects of this war on terror on the African countries further affected whatever gains had been made in the period leading up to 9/11. This led to the persistence of poverty in many parts of the continent which the study attributed to a notable increase in migration to Europe by Africans, which as this study is being concluded has reached crisis levels.

In the final analysis, the study noted that globalization is a complex and contradictory process. It together with neo-liberalism is largely to account for the increased insecurity that could be resulting from the large sections of the global population that feel disenfranchised by the process of globalization. The study noted that, under globalization, warfare and conflict are tools and ways of accessing resources by the industrialized powers, which conflict is further spurred by the emergence of new industrial powers such as those that constitute the BRICS countries, resulting in a new scramble for Africa, this

time not for territory, but essentially resources. As such, the study noted that the world has entered another phase of the Cold War which like the earlier phase makes development impossible or selective. There is under globalization, an increase in private power which Wilkins (2001:125) observes to be increasingly getting embedded in the global political economy which in his view:

> …has had disastrous consequences for human security and human autonomy, increasingly taking control, ownership and decision-making out of the hands of public and democratic institutions and into the hands of private tyrannies, pursuing their own ends of profit and expanding their commercial empires.

The study concludes that many of the countries of Sub-Sahara Africa failed to attain the MDGs because the USA, which was the object of the 9/11 events was now forced to focus on its own security and strengthening its own economy for a possible long war against the threat of terrorism. Given the continued threat to the USA from terrorist groups, going forward, Moller and Ostrom (2009) see clear signals of temptations for the US to steer away from its hitherto strong and unequivocal commitment to world affairs and put America first. The consequences of this shift in commitment have negative implications to the prospects of ending poverty especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. This requires that the AU finds mechanisms to encourage and strengthen intra-African trade in order to set the continent on a developmental trajectory, riding on the current relative peace on the continent. Luckily, many amongst Africa's current leadership tend to see this necessity.

6.1   RECOMMENDATIONS

The (Zimbabwe) *2012 MDGs Progress Report* offers what this study considers as sound suggestions for any post-2015 development agenda. The Report suggests that:

- o Goals and targets post-2015 should be kept to a minimum.
- o To the extent possible, overlaps in terms of goals as well as attainment time-frames should be minimized.

- o MDG areas that are likely to have the greatest multiplier effect in advancing developing countries socio-economically should receive priority consideration.

- o It is important to maintain a balance between development outcomes and enablers.

- o Common and binding constraints to achieving the MDGs should be highlighted, thereby creating a global platform for advocacy and support for addressing such constraints.

- o Poverty eradication should be the guiding and overarching framework or the post-2015 MDGs.

- o National governments need to have primary ownership and accountability of the MDGs.

- o International institutions must pay due respect to national development frameworks.

- o The process of formulating the post-2015 development agenda should be participatory, inclusive and responsive to those affected by poverty and injustice.

- o Investments in data collection, analysis and dissemination will need to be scaled-up post-2015, given that the lack of timely and reliable quality data is an important obstacle to monitoring MDG performance in Africa.

This research finds these suggestions very empirically sound in every respect and as such strongly recommends for their adoption by the UN in developing a post-2015 development framework. To this list of recommendations however needs to be consideration of outlawing unilateral sanctions on any member of the UN, given the fact that under globalization, all economies tend to be articulated, directly or indirectly. Over and above these recommendations, structural reforms of an economic, political, and security nature will have to be carried out as key enablers.

6.1.1   ECONOMIC REFORMS

This study concurs with Moller and Ostrom (2009), that the objectives of the financial institutions built in the immediate post WWII period and their decision-making apparatus do not reflect modern realities and thus cannot deliver. To ensure their agency towards development initiatives, there is a need for a structural transformation of these institutions.

There is need to democratize the architecture of the International Financial Institutions to ensure that countries from the poorer regions of the world have equal access to the resources held by these institutions. In addition to the Bretton Woods Institutions, RECs need to be capacitated to run their own financial institutions.

6.1.2   POLITICAL REFORMS

In order to avoid a situation where the global agenda is set unilaterally by the powerful countries that wield veto at the UNSC, there is also a need to democratise the UN Security Council. To that end, this study recommends the adoption of the resolutions of the *Ezulwini Consensus* which advocate for democratization of the UNSC to allow Africa region to have at least 2 permanent seats at the UNSC.

6.1.3   SECURITY REFORMS

The relationship between security and development in the face of emerging challenges can no longer be questioned. Development will simply not be feasible in an insecure political environment. According to Oli (2007) *et al*, peace and security are essential pre-conditions for sustainable development. The authors observe that it is no coincidence that those countries that had challenges achieving the MDGs are those that had episodes of political and economic instability. This explanation is also very true for the sub-Saharan region.

However, it is only commonsensical to infer that the security and political challenges that the sub-Saharan region is facing is a reflection of a global peace and security architecture

that is oblivious of the special structural conditions of sub-Saharan Africa which help to sustain insecurity and political rancor among the inhabitants of this part of the world.

Reform of the United Nations especially of the Security Council is hereby recommended as a necessary step towards creating a stable sub-Saharan political economy. According to Korten (1995), the General Assembly, to which all the countries of Africa belong, has little real power. Thus in a nutshell, it is proposed that either the veto system be done away with or that Africa's ascension to the UNSC be seriously considered as measures to create a more inclusive Global Peace and Security Architecture (GPSA). This issue of the democratization and reform of the Global Peace and Security Architecture is well captured in the *Ezulwini Consensus* document. This study recommends the adoption of the resolutions of this conference.

International multilateral institutions such as the United Nations have an important role to play in the creation and sustainment of this proposed framework. The role of the UN in facilitating the creation of such a Global Peace and Security Architecture would be to ensure that its agencies such as the Bretton Woods Institutions are reformed so that they create sustainable African economies which are able to operationalize their own continental security programmes. This is in view of the fact that since its promulgation, the Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) has not been effective at all owing to funding challenges.

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