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**Africa: A Continent Exiting and Entering a
Century in a 'Sick-Bay'**

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Editorial Note

The paper appears in three parts, which must be read as one. Part One situates the current development crisis in Africa in the relevant theoretical and historical context. It also highlights the global context of the crisis and the extent it has hindered genuine human-centred development in the continent to date. Part Two examines the ideological assumptions that underlie and sustain the development crisis. These are the myths and deceptions on and about Africa, its natural and human resources and the reproduction of these distorted images. The relationship between the ideologies and the anti-social and anti-environmental growth patterns is examined. Part Three examines current philosophies and practices that are increasingly pushing Africa into the fangs of global capitalism on the basis of an intensified 'sponsored-peripheral capitalism'. Finally, suggestions as to how the continent can enjoy the twenty-first century outside the 'sick-bay' of 'mal-development' are made. A select bibliography is included at the end of each part.

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Part One: Africa's Development Paralysis

The relentless and single-minded drive by the rich and powerful to globalise and liberalise; to privatise every public enterprise; to deify the Market; to weaken our governments and make it impossible for them to intervene decisively on behalf of the poor and powerless: all this will, no doubt succeed in creating immense wealth and power for a minority of countries and a minority of citizenry in every country. But it is also creating massive poverty and hopelessness for the majority of countries of the world [more so in Africa] and their citizens.^[1]

General Introduction

This discussion focuses on past and current capitalist-oriented and profit-driven development strategies and the intense crisis they have engineered. Particular attention is paid to the extent to which the crisis of development manifests itself as a paralysis in form of 'mal-development'. This is a kind of economic and social transformation that is growth-oriented, yet hardly benefits the majority of the African people. Although this form of development is disadvantageous and harmful to millions of Africans, it so serves a few local and largely foreign interests that it continues to expand without limits.

The paper focuses on the extent of distorted economic and social transformation that covers the time of imperialism, mainly in form of colonial capitalism. Today's multilateral finance capital, has been establishing its position in the continent. It is argued that current 'development' programmes, prescribed as they are by agencies of multilateral finance capital but implemented by African middle class regimes, are not productive. They marginalise millions of Africans by neglecting major human and environmental needs. Both human and environmental needs tend to be sacrificed at the altar of rapid capitalist accumulation and quick profit maximisation.

Current growth strategies that are generally inhuman and not environment friendly. Instead of uplifting the continent out of the development paralysis, they continuously relegate it to a status of being a permanent patient in the 'sick-bay' of 'mal-development'. As a result of Africa being a permanent patient, the continent constantly receives treatment that makes its disease more widespread that it was before. The laxatives of debt rescheduling and relief come with increased indebtedness. A few donations of food, blankets and medicine, are accompanied by different kinds of laxatives geared to make the continent structurally adjust to the requirements of imperialism. But as soon as the adjustment process gets under way, more cancer scars appear in form of widespread poverty, hunger, malnutrition, lack of clean accessible drinking water, un-affordable and socially irrelevant education and political and cultural collapse of whole systems.

Given the dialectical relationship which seems to prevail between increased growth and rapid deterioration in human and environmental conditions, the discussion will challenge the thesis that

globalisation is beneficial to Africa. I wish to argue that at the moment global finance capital increasingly pushes the continent into intensified forms of exploitation, subordination and dependence. Therefore, the dominance of global finance capital in Africa is both unproductive and very harmful to the African people and the environment.

To the extent that the African development impasse is in direct proportion to the enrichment of finance capital and its local allies any, exit from the 'sick-bay' of 'mal-development' will have to be based on a concerted struggle to replace the dominance of foreign and local capitalists with the dominance of the African producers and their allies. Planned, independent and self-managed development is the only viable alternative through which the continent will escape the 'sick-bay' of 'mal-development' in which it is currently imprisoned.

Unavoidably, the tone in the discussion is pessimistic. This is a result of the immense experiences, intensive, aggressive and offensive global capitalism and its few African allies have left on the ground and in the memories of the African masses. In the increasing misery of the majority of the African people and the current tendency by African leaders to embrace global capitalism in a grand fashion, there is very little to be optimistic about. Any slight of optimism tends to disappear as soon as one faces the gloom reality of the material poverty that surrounds the African people today and the bankruptcy of current neo-liberal development strategies and policies.

However, as the final part of the discussion indicates there is some hope at the end of the tunnel. The African people still possess the courage and determination to overcome and survive as they have managed to do in the last five hundred years of intense human and environmental exploitation. Their ability to overcome the pressures that imperialism has exerted over the centuries provides greater encouragement and a firm foundation for a revolutionary transformation and re-birth outside the framework of global capitalism.

Global Capitalism: Cause and Beneficiary of African Paralysis

In less than one and a half years, Africa will be exiting the twentieth century and entering a new millennium. The transition will be made not by a healthy continent but a seriously sick continent that has the greatest number of the poorest countries in the world. Its average relative national growth in the 1980s was a mere 1.7 percent compared with 1.8 percent for Latin America and 7.8 percent for East Asia. The sickness itself is largely due to global capitalism's constant desire to its market operations. The desire for cheap raw materials and markets for products of capitalist production has brought advanced monopoly capitalism to Africa but in a form that has left the continent bleeding and in crisis. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels long articulated how capitalism strives for constant growth - the relentless drive toward accumulation and expansion within and outside its own geographical area -wipes out remnants of the previous societies and spreads itself over the entire globe. They also highlighted its tendency to develop the productive forces unequally on the basis of plunder, force and brutality.^[2]

Under the ever-increasing desire to expand, global capitalism has left most of the producers in places like Africa *almost* completely stripped of ownership and control of the major means of production. I emphasise 'almost' in a sense that, nominally, African producers might have ownership rights. In reality, however, they are deprived of the decisions of when, what, how, and where to produce, the products of their labour are appropriated by another class and they are unable to co-operatively organise the affairs of their workplace and community. Even Africans who own some capital, make decisions and appropriate some surplus are not free to act as they please. They are so bound to the laws of capitalist growth and development that if they fail to grow and compete, they will

be swallowed up by others who do grow and their lives as capitalists will end. This is the context in which any understanding of the African crisis today has to be understood.

Throughout the paper, I contend that there is a direct relationship between Africa's deformed human development, abused and degraded environment, the rapid increase in the penetration and control of the production, exchange and distribution systems and constant expansion of forces of global capitalism in and outside the continent. Global capitalism in its advanced form is global finance capitalism. It operates as bilateral and multilateral imperialism and employs mainly economic means by which it forces African economies into a world-wide systems of production, distribution and exchange. Overall, however, African economies remain as permanent junior players who serve rather than being served by the global system of finance capital.^[3]

As Africa prepares to enter the next century, global capitalism is re-doubling its efforts aimed at promoting 'sponsored-peripheral capitalism'. This is a type of capitalism under which the continent plays the role of supplying other economies and continents with cheap raw materials and purchasing their manufactures. It is a role that Africa has virtually been pushed since the advent of mercantile capitalism some five hundred years ago. 'Sponsored-peripheral capitalism' is characterised by relations of unequal and uneven interaction between Africa and the global system and has left the former bleeding rather than positively transforming. Today, forces of imperialism in their most advanced form of finance capital search for super-profits on the basis of cheap raw materials, cheap labour and lucrative markets. As they do this, they leave the majority of the African people, economies and the environment they enmesh very sick and unable to stand on their own.

The impetus behind Africa's 'mal-development', therefore, is the growth-drive of the developed capitalist economies in their systematic pursuit of economic gain through control of Africa's raw materials, cheap labour, export markets, tax concessions, prices and a variety of financial gains. As I hinted above, this form of imperialism began over one hundred years ago, first as colonialism and later as neo-colonialism. It is driven by the desire to forcefully exploitation natural and human resources and expropriate existing wealth, contemporarily, through sophisticated economic investment structures. In its trail, imperialism leaves a trail of deprivation and destruction, a result that was long recognised by some of analysts of the imperialism students.

For one, in *Finance Capital: A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development*, Rudolf Hilferding profiled the tendency of advanced monopoly capitalism to revolutionarise, dehumanise and destroy everything in its way. He noted how finance capital, the highest stage of the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the capitalist oligarchy, made the dictatorship of the capitalist of one country increasingly irreconcilable with the interests of the mass of the people it exploits and how it summons them into battle against it.^[4] Vladimir I. Lenin, taking after Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels and Rudolf Hilferding also described finance capital as:

Capitalism in the stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed.^[5]

Lenin went a step further and characterised imperialism as violent between capitalist nations and coercion towards non-capitalist nations. It was, however, an inevitable result of equally necessary development of finance capital, rather than a policy option. He correctly insisted that just as exploitation was not a choice but an economic necessity, a relentless competitive penetration of the exploitable territories like Africa was a necessary condition which, inevitably, intensified exploitation of the annexed territories and peoples.^[6]

Lenin also pointed out the tendency of finance capital to be profitably utilized on the basis of its exports to such areas. The simple reason was that: "In these backward countries profits are usually high because capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low [if ever that land is paid for rather than violently expropriated as has been the case, ever since European imperialism descended on Africa in the last century], and cheap."^[7]

Decades before capitalism turned into the marauding finance capital identified by Hilferding and Lenin, Karl Marx noted the contradictory impact of the never-ending appetite for super-profits by the bourgeoisie. In the Communist Manifesto already referred to above, Marx wrote:

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarian's intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners, to capitulate. It compels all nations, on the pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e. to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.^[8]

Marx also described in great detail the very process through which bourgeois civilisation came about, noting:

The transformation of the individualised and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, of the pygmy property of the many into the huge property of the few, the expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence, and from the means of labour, this fearful expropriation of the masses of the people, forms the prelude to the history of capital. It comprises a series of forcible measures... The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless vandalism, and under the stimulus of the most infamous, sordid, petty and odious passions.^[9]

This is the sort of experience that Africa has been undergoing since the last quarter of the last century. The same process of global out reach by capitalism has been accompanied by extensive poverty, impoverishment and oppression in the colonial and neo-colonial territories and people. At the same time, it has introduced a few progressive and revolutionary changes within the African societies. The contradictory process of destruction and construction has become even more intense today and is very likely to grow in intensity in the twenty-first century. Most of Africa will increasingly be forced to serve the interests of global capitalism on the basis of being a reserve of cheap resources and a market for its manufactured products.

Currently, programmes of large-scale restructuring and reform that are defined and re-defined by multilateral agencies of finance capital like World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are at work. They continue to propel African countries into the known world of rapacious use of resources, exploitation of the masses of people, empty promises of popular participation in governance and subordination of people's cultural heritages. There is also the multinational corporation, which is the energising force of world capitalism. It is a huge enterprise that is safely headquartered in specific countries, mostly the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe, Japan and United States of America (USA). It has subsidiaries scattered around the globe and some of whose capital turnover is far larger than the gross national product (GNP) of many African countries combined. It is facilitated by the foreign policy of the home country and is an extension of a particular capitalist economy and interests.

In Africa today, multinational corporations act as extensions of the competition between advanced capitalist states for control of raw materials, labour, markets, prices and profits. In essence,

the crisis of African development is due to the fact that African economies are caught in a crunch between the growth drives of different advanced capitalist states and between those of different corporations from the same foreign powers. Many of the countries in Africa are so caught in the crunch that they are tempted by the promise of instant industry and financing offered by the capitalist states, multilateral agencies and the multinational companies. They, therefore, easily succumb to the demands of finance capital.

Profit-maximisation, the main guiding star of most capitalist programmes, policies and strategies of economic growth, forces both the advanced capitalist states and the multinational corporations to keep labour costs in Africa as low as possible. They also demand and be given tax holidays, concessions and preferential access to cheap raw materials so as to remain profitably. We shall later show how competitive pleasing of multilateral interests continues to undermine any prospect of regional co-operation and the growth of viable economies in Africa.

Multilateral finance capital finds Africa attractive in other ways. For example, much of the investment capital is reinvested profits and loans from local money markets. Further more, whereas in Africa profits may not hugely exceed investment, profits on average have consistently been more than the amount of funds exported into the continent. Thus, Africa serves mainly as a source of raw materials, tropical agricultural products, site for assembly operations of imported parts and, increasingly, as a market for consumer durables (the market being provided by the small but affluent African middle class).

The Culture of Dependence and ‘Apeing’

One other feature, which plays a major role in maintaining the development paralysis, is the erosion of African values and ideologies through technological, cultural and educational imports. Western technologies of communication, particularly religion ideologies and education, have produced many Africans who are neither productive to themselves nor useful to the continent. But they are of great value to imperialism of finance capital.

Take the case of the ‘modern’ African farmer.^[10] Africa has many farmers who have been schooled in the art of producing coffee, copra, cotton, cocoa, pyrethrum, rubber, tea, tobacco, and sisal. But many of these farmers hardly know how to produce food alongside the cash crop. They also know a lot about exchanging the cash crops with imported match-boxes, safety pins, kerosene, clothing, agricultural implements, etc. But they are totally ignorant on how to use the returns from the cash crops to modernise existing African manufacturing process, which traditionally supplied many of the instruments of production. As a result of the one-way participation in the agricultural process-produce to export in order to buy imports of largely irrelevant simple technologies, goods and services.

This less innovative production and exchange system does not characterise only the agricultural sector. It embraces virtually the whole economic infrastructure, more so industry and services. I have only highlighted farmers of sponsored-peripheral capitalism’ because colonial, and neo-colonial historical processes targeted agriculture first and foremost. Today, some of the current African leaderships do put all their energies in promotion of export-import oriented infrastructure of roads and other communication systems at the expense of in-ward oriented transport and communication systems.^[11] The colonial legacy of ‘from the hinterland to the port and on-ward to the external market’ continues to be reproduced by the African ‘new’ leaderships as we shall see in Parts II and III, below.

The education system is another disastrous case of reactionary adaptation to the system of ‘sponsored-peripheral capitalism’.^[12] Education has always been recognised as a necessary superstructural element through which the existing knowledge, skills, ideas, values and attitudes of any

particular society are transmitted and new ones thought and developed. To change the economic base of a society, the system of knowledge production and transmission must be given high priority. In Africa, all colonial systems precisely gave attention to the type and mechanisms knowledge, skills and values that were produced and passed on to the colonised.

The education of the 'sick-bay' of 'mal-development' exemplifies the failure to progressively transform the school from its colonial context in order to make it relevant to the wishes, needs and aspirations of the majority of the African people. The school is still a domain for domination, subjugation and imitation. The written word and blackboard, desks and chairs, examinations, formally trained teachers and pupils dressed in winter-coats, skirts, stockings and ties, are still the definitions of the learning environment. In many cases, even the boarding school has now been extended to the four and five year old African children in pre-school grades.

Alongside the school-master and mistress, who must always be addressed as 'Sir' and 'Madam', the catechist still dresses in white collar and robes before undertaking to cleanse African soul that the pupil still has in her or him and replacing it with a 'modern' soul. The emphasis remains on the use of foreign language - English, French, and until a few years ago, Latin. Strict observance of European feudal and/bourgeois table manners in a society that takes pride in its communality, free sharing of food using a common plate, remains a rule.

Becoming educated in Africa that is soon entering the twenty-first century, still means that the school product becomes distinctively different from her/his community mates and distant from the African village life and cultural backgrounds. The 'new' half-African and half-European in everything but skin complexion, is still seen by other schooled Africans as the symbol of modernity. Education acts as a channel through which total 'cultural apeing' of values, ideas, attitudes and skills, still takes place. It remains the production centre for irrelevant technologies and ideas that do not relate to what goes on in a typical African environment. It will be argued latter that unless a more relevant education system is allowed to spring up, the school knowledge, skills, values and attitudes will remain hostile to African independent transformation.

In view of the experiences we will be surveying, the next century does not promise much joy. Nevertheless, with concerted effort in exposing the shortcomings and evils of the present system, there is hope. Deformed and negative development can be overcome provided Africa embarks on development programmes which are geared towards autonomous, inward-looking, self-reliant, self-sustaining and integrated development. Utilising the continent's human and natural resources in a planned and people-centred manner can truly change the condition of the patient.

Africa stands to remain permanently stuck in poverty, faced with environmental catastrophes, caught in the nightmares of civil conflicts, and witnessing further erosion of its cultural and ideological foundations come the twenty-first century. Given the externally-determined policies and strategies of development that currently dominate the continent, Africa has to wake up to the twenty-year old warning by Jean-Marie Domenach that:

Development is not a matter of dressing in other people's clothes and imitating their way of life but of using the instrument of technology to achieve an honourable style of existence. It is not a matter of escaping from one's society and one's history, but rather of creating a society capable of inventing a history. ^[13]

Unfortunately, as this discussion indicates, Africa will exit the twentieth-century and enter the new one still being not only led to dress in other peoples' clothes but, second-hand rags and disposable, using re-conditioned and, most times, rubbish-bin technologies, machinery, adopting outdated ideas and, being served menus that are un-safe for human consumption but, as 'food aid'.

At present, the continent is not only imitating other people's ways of life and made to display its total subservience, but its leaders are busy inviting polluting technologies and, sometimes receiving 'dirty' money (often times money from sell of drugs like cocaine and/or corruptly obtained) with open hands, as investments. Africa is not only escaping from its rich history and cultural heritage, but advertising them to the highest bidders, all under the guise of promoting industrialisation and tourism. Programmes that would have led the continent towards a degree of independent, self-reliant, self-sustaining and integrated development, are thrown over-board as the multilateral structural adjustment and restructuring strategies based on old-fashioned neo-liberal bourgeois thinking, force the continent to change with the waves of global capitalist integration.

Unfortunately, African petty-bourgeois comprador leaderships, to the lines dictated by institutions of global capitalism with great zeal. Most of the leaders see programmes that are geared to meeting the basic needs of the African people, as out-of-fashion and anti-modernity. They, instead, take on board profit-driven multilateral finance capital prescribed and sponsored programmes that, at best, enrich a few Africans, above all themselves, and global monopoly capitalists. Inevitably, the leaders push people-oriented programmes into dustbins, in exchange for those labelled 'approved by the World Bank and the IMF'. In the final analysis, development becomes nothing but, sponsored-peripheral and dependent capitalism that simply marginalises the continent, its people and environment.

The Nature and Conditions of African Development Paralysis

As Africa becomes increasingly forced into the fangs of international capitalism, neo-liberal conventional aggregate economic indicators continue to spell its gloomy growth. According to some of these indicators, the continent remains the most backward, underdeveloped and indebted continent. In terms of share of world trade in manufactures, another key indicator of bourgeois economic competitiveness, Africa's share declined from 0.4 percent in 1965 to 0.2 percent in 1986, compared to the East Asian share which increased from 1.5 percent in 1965 to 8.5 percent in 1986.^[14] Tribune, July 14, 1992, pp.1-6; W. Easterly and R. Levine, 'Africa's Growth Tragedy: A Retrospective 1960-89', Working Paper 1503, Washington, D.C.: World Bank Policy Research Department, 1995; The World Bank, African Development Indicators 1997, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1997 (a). Even by these bourgeois statistics, Africa was by 1986 being left behind. It was merely producing raw materials and busy seeking higher prices for them while industrialising Asia was seeking to keep commodity prices low because its industries depended on cheap raw material imports from Africa and the other non-industrialised countries.

More contradictory but understandable in a system that facilitates uneven and unequal growth and development, is the fact that at a time when East Asians were committed to competitive education, higher levels of national savings, interventionist state systems that are contrary to present-day calls for a minimalist state and bourgeois democracy, export-led growth and emulation of Japan, Africa was and continues to be pushed into the opposite direction. Since the 1970s, the continent has been pushed into concentrating on sub-standard education and embracing bourgeois cultures of multi-party democracy and language imitation. It has been oriented into slow-saving behaviours because the cost of living consumes the little savings ordinary people make out of an economy that is geared to serving external markets African producers have little control over. Its people have steadily been lured into selling of the sources of traditional wealth because of the pressures of poverty and as a result, cheated through the global market mechanisms.

The culture of imitation is promoted by the liberalised mass-media and, under the cover of the 'freedom of the press' and 'free flow of information and ideas', slowly leads people into adapting various values and attitudes towards material things. This is exemplified by the Wa-Benz/Pajero

culture - the Mercedes Benz/Pajero car possession and French-cut styles of houses/bungalows that are both signs of apeing petty-bourgeois culture of consumerism. This has taken root among many people, especially the African middle classes and is defended by the philosophy of 'freedom of market forces and freedom of choice' [15]

In more recent times, Africa has also been pushed into withdrawing state subsidies for industry and liberalising state politics and economies. Yet, unlike the East Asian cases, African systems have not been allowed the breathing space required even by primitive capitalism to exploit labour power and accumulate surplus value, in both absolute and relative terms. Africa's level of reliance on external exchanges, capital, technology and skills, has also been constantly increasing in the last forty years. [16]

The continent has a big population that would otherwise be an asset as markets for goods and services, if only it was matched by increased autonomy and increases in production for domestic needs. However, Africa is no longer self-sufficient in food and constantly requires food aid to survive. The continent's population growth rate has been consistently high (over 3%), increasing from 2.6 percent in the 1960s to over 3 percent today. The total population has also been doubling in size every twenty-two years and is the highest in the world, having increased from 281 million in 1960 to almost 650 million in 1990. Of this, 450 million belonged to Sub-Saharan Africa alone, excluding South Africa. [17] This is partly due to imported medical techniques, health conditions and increased poverty. In some cases such as Kenya's, the population increased from a mere 6.3 million in 1960, to a staggering 25.1 million in 1990. [18]

The rapid rate of population growth in Africa, defies the high infant and maternal death rates, low life expectancy (averaging 50 years) and the Aids pandemic. The proportion of helpless and marginalised Africans increases as the inability of the development process to deliver, increases. With widespread WB/IMF prescribed privatisation, worker retrenchment, restructuring, cost-sharing and general privatisation of the social services, the crisis of poverty combines with that of the environment, to present a picture of despair. [19]

Further more, in spite of its predominantly rural population; Africa also faces the dilemma of having some of most rapid rates of unplanned urban growth in the whole world. It is estimated that by 2025, over 55 percent of Africa's population will be urban, largely living in the slums. [20] However, I have to point out that the question of population growth and development remains controversial. This is because it involves the complex interaction between the role of imperialism in causing population pressures through changes in the use of resources and re-location of people and the dialectical link between population, wealth and poverty. [21]

Africa's poverty has at times become an engine of rapid population growth rather than a constraint. Along with increased marginalisation and within the context of the world capitalist economy, the more the population has increased the more poor Africans try to survive by increasing the labour force necessary in coping with the crisis. [22] One of the consequences is another cycle of bigger populations, more poverty, more scarcity of resources, more people, and hence more poverty. Above all, however, African governments have embraced structural adjustment programmes and policies whose eventual implications on the population question have not been thought through. Evidence from local studies indicates that structural adjustment programmes and reforms (henceforth SAPs and SRs, respectively) have tended to lead towards rapid population increases in some areas of the continent. [23]

The provision of public education and other services now curtailed by massive cost-cutting measures, has meant loss of relevant advice on family spacing for most Africans. One World Bank report on education in Sub-Saharan African that examined the state of education under structural

adjustment regimes at the beginning of the 1990s concluded that most African countries could hardly afford to expand cost-sharing in primary education without further constraining themselves by seeking outside financial support in form of loans.^[24] Yet, the World Bank report and many other prescriptions made by agencies of finance capital have since insisted that education, health and other essential services be cost-shared. This is one of the major contradictions that continues to be afflict African development in the 1990s.

External prescriptions tend to insist of strategies that are, in the long-term, beneficial to global capital but are, in both short and long-term harmful to the majority of the African people. The practice of launching programmes that are oriented towards adjusting existing structures and relations in favour of external interests but which are persistently detrimental to African systems and dynamics, dates to the colonial period. Since then the new interventions have been defended as good for undermining African 'primitive' ways and methods of management that not conducive to constant capital accumulation. Some of the externally-designed programmes like 'family planning', are partly responsible for creating false expectations among the people in regard to 'modern' methods of 'family planning'.

Besides the privatisation of most of the services without regard to who can afford and who can not, the failure of the state in Africa to provide essential services has increased the incidence of a 'poverty' of new ideas about population management at a time when African pre-colonial methods of population management have been subjected to intensive pressures from modernisers. Unfortunately, both global capitalism and African ruling classes tend to remember values of African management and control systems when the crisis of capitalism has already become too intense to bear and/or long after they have subjected African values to intense subversion. Therefore, outside their narrow frameworks of 'trickle-down effect' as a means of delivering 'second-hand' goods and services to the delivery system, no amount of intervention outside a fundamental change in the very system of ownership, production and distribution, is capable of reversing the negative trends in the development process.

More Symptoms of Development Crisis

Throughout the 1970s-90s, Africa's role in the global capitalist economy was generally contradictory and precarious. As I indicated above, even neo-liberal standard measurements of economic growth and development that usually hide the reality of inequalities among people in concepts of 'gross domestic product (GDP) and income per capita', have consistently admitted the negative or very slow *growth* trends. For example, Africa's total GDP was much less than that of Belgium whose total population was only 11 million in 1990. The continent was generating less than 1.5 percent of the world GDP while more than 70 percent of its population remained predominantly engaged in production that was not purely market-oriented. Yet, external SAP prescriptions have since the late 1970s insisted on market mechanisms.^[25]

The predominance of subsistence economies means that a vast number of African people grow enough food to avoid hunger. But they are also stuck in conditions where there is little or no opportunity to earn and use money which an increasing number of others have been enmeshed for well over one hundred years because of incorporation into the global economy of finance capitalism. As a main preoccupation, subsistence agriculture staves off hunger. That said, it goes hand in hand with poor nourishment, causing half the children to die before they are five and adults being unable to do the back-breaking work of farming using unsophisticated implements in the African hot sun.

On the basis of the high incidence of famine and starvation as in Ethiopia in 1980s, civil conflicts as in Angola, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia, etc.,

not to mention desertification and deforestation), Africa has variously been labelled 'a human and environmental disaster area', a 'moribund continent' and the 'Third World of the Third World'.^[26] Unfortunately, those who enjoy giving Africa names, many of whom are directly or indirectly involved in its despoliation, do not care to explain the context in which the African human and environmental tragedies came about.

In a way, asking the plunderer and/or looter to explain the poverty of the plundered and/or looted, respectively, is not productive to any understanding of the dialectical relationship between global capitalism and the African development paralysis. As I argue in Part Three of the discussion, it is the duty of the Africans themselves to explain the real causes of their sickness and confront the perpetrators of life in the 'sick-bay' of 'mal-development'.

In 1996, Sub-Saharan Africa alone was indebted to the tune of US \$235 billion, compared with only US \$85 billion in 1980. Following the tokenism of debt cancellation that was applied in 1998, after a long and arduous period of structural adjustment and reform, Sub-Saharan Africa's debt still stands at an incredible US\$ 226 billion of which US\$ 197 is owed to the World Bank alone. Each person in Sub-Saharan Africa owes US\$ 391, an amount that none of the people will ever afford to pay. Worse more, Sub-Saharan Africa spends 3.5 times on debt service as it does on health care and education combined.^[27]

Uganda, which was the first of the most highly indebted poor countries to receive a debt cancellation of 25 % in April 1998, in appreciation of almost twenty years of systematic restructuring, reform, implantation of private capitalism and dismantling of state welfare programmes, still carries a heavy burden of US\$ 3.6 billion on its back. US\$ 2.7 billion is owed to the World Bank and the IMF, and it remains the poor of the poorest standing in the 159th place on the human development index (HDI) out of 175 countries. Each year the country pays well over US\$ 140 million in debt service and each Uganda still owes US 180 to the international creditors. This is an amount that is far in excess of the average annual income of the many Ugandans, in spite demonstrated willingness on the part of local ruling classes to full collaboration with agencies of finance capital in providing mechanisms for greater re-integration into the global capitalist economy and, as a consequence, increased marginalisation of its population.^[28]

The cost at which a country like Uganda receives the token of relief from the burden of debt must always be taken into account. While debt small amounts of relief and cancellation are big news in the world of finance capital that wants to squeeze every penny out of the debtor, the background and subsequent impact of the tokenism of finance capital should never be ignored. Uganda's case, in particular, tells us a lot about the woes of African subjugation and consequent subordination to imperialism of finance capital. Firstly, its debts had more than tripled in a period of around fifteen years, having risen from US \$ 700 million in 1980 to US \$ 3.4 billion in 1996.^[29] This meant that every Ugandan man, woman and child owed institutions of finance capital \$ 170 in 1996. This was an amount that was more than the per capita average annual income but in a country where more than 50 percent of the population were earning less than US \$ 100 a year.^[30]

Secondly, as figures above indicate, the amount of debt has continued to rise at a rate higher than the average income of the citizens and in the wake of increased withdraw of state welfare programmes. Worse more, the Movement government has consistently been so totally committed to debt repayment that was able to reduce the amount spent on debt servicing from US\$ 200 million annually in 1996 to the current US\$ 140 million. Again, this is not a mean achievement in the world of profit-maximisation, but the strain can only be recognised if the sacrifice in terms of goods and services for the ordinary Ugandan and the increase in the burden of bearing their costs, are taken into account.

The amount spent on debt servicing two years ago was equivalent to more than 50% of the export earning or US \$ 9, and slightly less (US\$ 7) in 1998 per Ugandan.^[31] Without translating the debt burden in terms of direct and indirect human cost, it is obvious that finance capital was causing distortions in Uganda.

Thirdly, most of the debts were accumulated by regimes that were nurtured by different types of 'national' imperialism and which did not spend the money on people-centred programmes. Instead, the debts were used to sustain the tyranny and brutality that Ugandans experienced in the 1960s- 1980s. Apart from paying for instruments of torture and repression that were secured from both advanced capitalist and advanced 'bureaucratic/ socialist' economies, the loans provided the comfort for the brutal local ruling classes by providing for their indulgence in corruption and mismanagement. As long as its profit margins continued to swell, global finance capital did not care whether, or not, the loan funds benefitted the majority of the Ugandans.

Fourthly, the country has been undergoing massive and extremely harsh 'adjustment' experiences since 1980. The re-structuring has left many unemployed and a number too poor to afford essential services. It is against a background of impoverishment and marginalisation of millions of Ugandans on one hand, and the impressive growth figures of certain sectors and social classes on the other hand, that the tokenism of 25 % 'debt relief' becomes more intelligible. The dialectical relationship between 'growth' economics and increased poverty and commiseration under the age of imperialism, is no longer strange. Today, Uganda is very much open to manipulation by external financiers and investors who virtually control its destiny, despite the claims of independence by the ruling elements. The debt bondage and open neo-liberalism, have placed the country in the limelight of imperialism to such an extent that the ordinary people do not appear at all, except as categories to be pushed into market relations.^[32]

Among others, compliance with the conditionalities of the IMF is a condition for any slight debt relief. Overall, the conditionalities reflect narrowly defined and typically highly deflationary monetary objectives. They are usually pursued without regard to the social costs. In the long run, they even damage the potential for the growth of the very capitalism they are meant to promote in Africa. 000^[33] But that is monopoly capitalism. Its philosophy is: 'Dominate and create conditions for permanent domination'.

Unfortunately, many African leaders like it that way. It facilitates their personal economic and political interests and further consolidates their compradorial role in the system that reproduces itself on the basis of increased exploitation and oppression of their own African people. This coincidence of local and foreign capitalist interests that translates into the continued hospitalisation of the African people and African environment in the 'sick-bay' of 'mal-development', is examined in the final section of the discussion, below.

Dangers in 'Sponsored-peripheral Capitalism'

More than a century ago Africa began to undergo the slow, lengthy and uneven process of incorporation into the world capitalist system. However, Africa has been incorporated as a highly dependent, dominated and underdeveloped rather than an independent, self-sustaining and integrated entity. In this paper being dependent, dominated and underdeveloped goes beyond the static 'value-free' usage of conventional bourgeois economic and sociological theories. By long processes of dependence, domination and underdevelopment of the continent, I mean that Africa has been subjected to a many-faceted process inherent in the operations of the modern world capitalist system. Its development has fundamentally been determined by factors external to it. The state of commodity

markets and the availability of capital in the centres of capitalism outside the continent have been some of the determining factors in perpetuating the forces of negative transformation in Africa.^[34]

The distinguishing features of the current dependence, domination and underdevelopment are many. In the economic sphere, they include progressive dislocation of Africa's economies and existence of 'domestic', largely non-capitalist economies. The latter exist alongside advanced capitalist export enclaves, which expropriate resources from the former, almost on a permanent basis. Thus far, the 'domestic' economy no longer retains its independent existence.

Pre-capitalist modes of production are not allowed to disappear completely. This is because they play an important role in subsidising the advanced capitalist economy in terms of provision of cheap human and physical resources. However, in the process of articulation they become almost permanently disfigured and submerged by the former. The concept of 'articulation' of different modes of production and formations is used here in the traditional sense inherited from P. P. Rey and other Marxists, particularly G. Arrighi and J. S. Saul's *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*.^[35] The unequal 'interaction' between the 'domestic' and the advanced capitalist economies leads to the emergence of stunted manufacturing sectors. The latter produce commodities, which are beyond the reach of the ordinary African. There is also intensified divergence between domestic resources and domestic demands and, the predominance of export-oriented production patterns and structures. Furthermore, there is a permanent state of dependence on foreign goods, skills, technology, ideas and personnel.^[36]

In the social arena, Africa is characterised by perverse social (particularly class) structures and relations whose very shape is more externally determined than internally conditioned. The African society is also caught in a web of extreme inequalities and distinctive differentiation in which unemployment and underemployment rates are constantly sky-rocketing. There is constant marginalisation of youth and females and high rates of illiteracy, even among those who once acquired reading and writing skills. De-learning and loss of literary and numerical skills that had been acquired are true signs of un-sustainable, unproductive and irrelevant education systems.

Thus, even the little education that there is cannot relate to the needs of the African people and the African environment. It is a typical case of mis-education in which ill-equipped and unemployable graduates and a mass of rural communities that cannot apply any scientific approach to their daily problems, is the predominant product of the school system. Yet, both the un-schooled and particularly the schooled Africans are already too systematically up-rooted from their socio-economic and cultural environments to be of any use to those socio-economic organisations.

Africans have been so enmeshed in dependency relations at basic economic (infrastructural) and superstructural levels that once they are thrown off the train of 'modern' capitalist growth', they tend to lose direction for quite some time. The contradiction appears when one realises that as advanced capitalism strives for super- profits, it increasingly becomes more aggressive in terms of favouring inhuman market operations and increased use of technology. Therefore, the African worker and crop producer is becoming increasingly unsure of his/her place in the overall system of global accumulation.

Like the African producer who is often forced into production of non-edibles and dependency on donated 'animal feed' in times of famine, the environment has also come under intense pressure. Largely a result of the rush to commercialise production and meet targets for raw materials as demanded by the capitalist sectors of the global economy, depleted rural environments increasingly push marginal groups of Africans into sprawling and unplanned urban environments where prostitution, violence and crime are the dominant life style.^[37]

Politically, the continent has been turned into a theatre of instability and civil conflicts, which

turn millions of its people into streams of refugees (for those who are lucky to survive) and carcasses for vultures. Behind the so-called 'African addiction to political violence', is the global armaments' industry that is interested in supplying bullets to Africa, rather than ballots. Neither has the African situation been made any better by the predominance of state-bureaucratic inertia, the cancer of corruption, clientism, cronyism, nepotism, sectarianism and tyranny which, in one form or another, have become symbols of 'sponsored-peripheral capitalism'.

The simple truth is that multilateral agencies of global finance are busy pushing capitalist implants onto the African ruling classes, including those who very well know the limits of experimental capitalism. Indeed, evidence so far points to an intensified undermining and erosion of the few remaining foundations of independent, self-sustaining and integrated African economic and social systems. Yet, the latter are the only hope for the continent's renewal in the new millennium.

The evidence for the overall impact of forced marriages with advanced monopoly capitalism abound. Wars are regular, most Africans vote without electing leaders, and millions who ruled and taxed without having any serious say in the way they are governed. This is in spite of the illusions of multiparty democracy. They is widespread abuse of the fundamental human right, including scarcities of food, shelter, health, clean water, clean air, security of person and property, education, etc.

Child and female abuse multiplies in proportion to structural adjustment and as African societies feel the pressure of lost independent cultural foundations. The non-viability and unproductiveness of the 'new' value system also becomes obvious when its economic base comes under increased market pressures and the distortions arising from the crisis of capital accumulation in 'sponsored-peripheral capitalism'. As a consequence, many Africans are becoming socially alienated people who move about without independent ideological souls. Many have become individuals without any cultural focus and citizens lack any slight idea on how to represent themselves in a strange bourgeois society.

De-humanisation, marginalisation and chaos that have resulted from structural adjustment experiments is becoming the major sign-posts of Africa's grand entry into the global society of the next century. At present, there are some African 'nation states' which appear as names on the map. In reality, countries like Burundi, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan are dis-membered amalgams of different ethnic groups that are constantly at each other's throats.

Some of the countries above are better known in international circles as markets for western armaments and training and playing fields for external powers and individual mercenaries, rather than independent sovereign states having responsible governments. The paradox lies in the fact that the same merchants of death and marketeers of armaments that sustain political tyranny are the very ones who turn around and prescribe post-civil conflict structural adjustment programmes that erode the little sovereignty that is still left in post-conflict African societies.^[38]

On top of the burdens of economic malaise and political chaos, Africa is culturally and ideologically subjected to a systematic onslaught by the of 'Coca-cola' and 'Rambo' cultures. Imitating and copying of western cultural values accompany the flow of uncontrolled waves of foreign investments. The phenomenon that Frantz Fanon over thirty years ago proximated to 'culture of apeing', is fully under way.^[39] The few nationalistic and pan-Africanist cultural achievements of the 1950s- 1970s are now being reversed by the wave of globalisation without Africanisation. Genuinely productive and relevant African cultural values are being discarded by classes that should, ideally, spearhead continental liberation. The independence euphoria of the late 1950s to the 1970s is giving way to a new wave of the false hopes and starts. Finally, as the economic grip of global capitalism upon the continent is rekindled by African elitist illusions of 'modernisation' and nation-building, the

cultural foundations that have sustained African societies against other forms of enslavement come under intense pressure.

Neither are the 'new' practices of representative democracy that the multilateral agencies urge on African ruling classes any different from those of the first neo-colonial period in the 1960s. The gates of politics of popular participation in Africa are still firmly closed by the alliances of finance capital and the local elites. The exceptional beneficiaries remain the small strata of the Africans in the state bureaucracy, commerce (import-export trade) and a few rural rich who control the production of cash crops and animals for export (in form of raw materials, meat, hides and skins). At the same time, the African dominant classes are not free to be innovative in line with the 'Protestant Ethic' of capitalism. In stead, they are constantly threatened by the big capital that controls the global economy and under whose wings these classes have to perpetually operate in a dependent position.

As a result of the very structures of 'sponsored-peripheral capitalism', the commanding heights of Africa's economies have remained firmly under the domination of foreign finance capital. Even the occasional appearance of the Idi Amin whose limited knowledge of the political economy of imperialism convinced them that expelling a few agents of finance capital ends the rule of finance capital, has not helped. After all, those Idi Amin were products of the same relations of global capitalism that created and nurtured them for purposes of its own continued exploitation of African resources, at the cheap.

For many African countries, dependency on foreign aid, charity organisations and foreign investment has been the only means of financial survival. Production of a few agricultural and mineral exports for the world market, even at the expense of food production, is lauded as 'modernising agriculture'. Worse still, 'sponsored-peripheral capitalism' is able to reproduce its own superstructural forms of social organisation which, in general, guarantee its reproduction. This is especially evident in the current neglect of African popular culture beyond the dancing troupes for visiting heads of states, and in exchange of the tourist-dollar. After the disruption and commercialisation of genuine African cultural practices, no holistic alternatives have been put in place.

Worst of all, inequalities and divisions between and among people have intensified beyond the pre-colonial ethnic and colonial linguistic differences. Thus, less than two years into the twenty-first century, Africa still faces the spectre of ethnic cleansing in places like Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Sudan. I wish to emphasise my earlier position that the inhuman ideology can only be fully understood against the promotion of weapons of destruction, as products seeking a market.^[40]

In short, Africa is still experiencing a long period of lost autonomy, vitality and ability to use its own resources (land, minerals and, manpower) to feed and clothe itself. This is a result of the dominance of imperialism, which ensures that the continent does not management the production and exchange processes. Africa is also make to abandon the shared vision of prosperity for most of its people by external agents that prefer to deal with divide people, if they cannot create a unitary Africa that they control. The contractions inherent in monopoly capitalism itself cannot allow that capitalist dream to be realised. As a consequence of all the external determinants that define the development process in the continent, the continent will exit this century and enter the twenty-first still wasting away in the 'sick-bay' of 'mal-development' and environmental distress.^[41]

Structural Adjustment Not A Solution

The continent is presently busy implementing various SAPs as a condition for more loans, 'aid' and foreign investments. These are on top of daily begging for 'debt relief and cancellation.' So far,

there is little to celebrate as SAPs are turning millions more Africans towards the sick-bay, rather than from it.^[42] Most African leaders are today caught in the euphoria of current 'modernisation' strategies that are themselves re-visitations of earlier neo-liberal paradigms of modernisation. However, like the 1960s-1980s bankrupt state regimes which turned state property into personal wealth for the few who controlled state institutions, private capitalism of the World Bank/IMF/donors era has not fared any better.

African leaders are becoming increasingly blind to the fact that the crisis of accumulation, which is exemplified in massive debts, is directly connected with the very logic of more capitalist accumulation. Through profit-maximization, the very nature of neo-colonial transformation becomes limiting to the process of progressive transformation. Many African leaders even pretend not to know that financial institutions of global capitalism simply take advantage of the ever-rising interest rates to make Africa pay heavily. Thus, they have volunteered to pay back debts at the expense of their peoples' welfare. Millions of their people starve and thousands of children die as social services dwindle, while states re-pay the debt.

The African ruling classes do this so as to meet their obligations in the alliance they have with big capital. On the other hand, multilateral agencies like the World Bank and the IMF constantly ensure rapid entry and re-entry into the global system of capitalism by African economies and total compliance of the local agents. They do this having their personnel (and communication technology) placed in the headquarters of central banks and various ministries that are supposedly in charge of the affairs of the 'independent African nation-states'. From these vantage points the agents of global finance define, adjust and restructure African societies and economies, according to the overall interests of global finance capital.

At the same time, just as it was the case during the colonial period, a few Africans are specially recruited to act as smoke-screens and conveyor belts of the dominant thoughts, to the general populace. Indeed, today, Africa is in a situation where it is like a patient who is being nursed by the very perpetrators of the sickness. The very instruments of the global capitalist system that is largely responsible for Africa's deformation are undertaking the surgical operations that intensify, rather than cure, the ailment.

Africa's autonomy is being eroded through monetarist strategies and policies. In Part Two and Three, the consequences of the monetarist onslaught that is always disguised in the language of fighting unbalanced budgets, mismanagement, over-ripe state bureaucracies, unbalanced trade regimes, inflation, etc., will be discussed at some length. Here, it is important that the immediate effects of this massive capitalist re-charge on the African economies and societies, just be briefly mentioned.

This will provide the finale to Part One and a starting point for Part Two.

Advocating for massive and mostly uncontrolled use of available natural resources has become fashionable. Various local dominant and ruling classes compete in attracting diverse elements of international fortune-seekers to invest in their countries. They do so by offering the most attractive terms, in such a style that today, the advertising of Africa's resources by African leaders makes the colonial explorers' announcements and the colonial states' appetite for the resources look extremely petty.

Balancing budgets, giving incentives to investors, building the infrastructure for private (largely foreign) capital, including total liberalisation of environmental protection laws (an open invitations to investors to engage in environmental abuse), have all become the preoccupation of most African regimes. At the level creative thinking and finding solutions using the African experiences, the local

ruling classes in Africa have, in thoughts and deed become conveyor belts for global capitalism. As they re-discover age-old teachings of classical bourgeois economists and contemporary modernisation theorists, they call for more domination, subjugation and exploitation of African people and natural resources.

In short, apart from the external determination Africa now has a very powerful internal enemy that consciously, or unconsciously, stands for its permanent stay in the 'sick-bay' of mal-development. That enemy has to be properly identified, isolated and fought, if she/he cannot be persuaded to join the rest of the marginalised African people to liberate the continent from the dominance of global finance capital. 'Modernisation', 'economic growth' and diffusionism, seen as the means by which the transformation of 'primitive' African societies can be integrated into the global capitalist economy and society, are in vogue. They are now the main ideological weapons in the hands of both the external and internal enemies.

In regard to the above, it can rightly be said that African leaderships of the 1990s, are making a full circle to where their colleagues of the late 1950s and most of the 1960s, left. Except that they are doing it in a more refined neo-colonial fashion. Africa is becoming a world of ideas in which, as Andre Gunder Frank termed the modernisation school of thought more than thirty years ago, it must accept Sigmund Freud via diffusion by Santa Claus in capitalist North, knowing that: "These theories are the emperor's clothes which have served to hide his naked imperialism. Rather than fashioning the emperor a new suit, [the people of Africa] will have to dethrone him". [\[43\]](#)

The limitations and dangers that the neo-classical and/or Weberian views led Africa in the 1960s cannot provide the crisis in the continent with any permanent solution. Current prescriptions of 'modernising state institutions' and 'rapid economic growth' on the basis of imported capital, technology, skills and ideas need to be exposed as methods that propel Africa further into the dim tunnels of capitalism. The latter has been the main cause source of the paralysis of African development. Neo-liberal emphasis on attraction 'huge' amounts of foreign capital investments and increasing the volume of exportable products, takes the continent backwards, rather than forwards. They also open up the prospect of turning the very basis of survival for the majority of the African people into cheap raw materials in form of 'non-traditional exports of traditional foods like simsim, soybeans, potatoes, ghee and milk.

Worse still, opening up 'national' markets to all sorts of imports through the creation of 'conducive atmospheres' for both foreign and local investors and increased privatisation of essential social services are the 'new' philosophies for state bureaucrats. In addition, African neo-liberalism insists that education and training must pass on skills, technical knowledge and ideas that are relevant to the multinationals and the global economy, rather than African needs. This form of education will facilitate intensified integration of the continent into the global economy of capitalism, instead of spearheading autonomous, self-sustained and integrated development of the continent.

One other area that will increasingly fall a victim to the policies of the so-called rapid transformation of African societies and the rush for capital accumulation, is the environment. Already, the continent faces mounting environmental problems, including extensive pollution caused by industries that are being transferred from the centres of capitalist production. There, partly as a result of more organised pressure groups such as Green Peace, environmental monitoring is a bit more strict. Encouraged by liberalising African regimes, multinational corporations find it convenient to transfer polluting industries to the peripheries of capitalism like Africa.

The subsidiaries of multinational corporations, take advantage of the absence and/or laxity of

environmental policing laws and the poverty of African economies that desperately want to attract as many capitalist investments as possible. They, therefore, dump their outmoded industrial capital and technologies by responding to the calls of local ruling classes desiring 'industrialisation' at any cost. In so doing, they make a profit on the basis of dumping the deadly investments. The same goes for foreign investments in agriculture, fisheries, livestock, services, etc. [44]

The overall result is extensive large-scale land general environmental degradation. Closely associated with increased commercialization of agricultural production and the elevation of market relations to the level of sacred development strategies are all forms of environmental disasters. The World Bank/IMF and other donor prescribed programmes of adjustment, restructuring and privatising state enterprises and other forms of public services, in the name of increased efficiency and cost-sharing, play a big role in overwhelming the continent.

As it turns out, being innovative no longer means the ability of the African people to feed themselves. Instead, it has come to mean the ability to beg and manipulate numerous agencies of finance capital, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other donor agencies, into helping a few people become 'commercial' (rather than entrepreneurial) and viable customers for western goods, including food and drink.

To this end, becoming comprador has become very fashionable as African neo-liberals and ruling classes share the same message with their financial masters: Africa must integrate into the global capitalist economy or perish. Yet, the evidence shows that the trend is towards more perishing. In Part Two we shall see how the thinking of current neo-liberal development strategies are based on alleged African wealth of resources, or 'the grand myth of Africa being the 'Garden of Eden'. Africa is undeniably rich. But, the historical context of its colonisation and subsequent incorporation into the global capitalist network has rendered its riches inaccessible to the continent's people and their needs. The same is the case with allegations that the African people are naturally non-productive and non-entrepreneurial. The allegations merely serve the purpose of perpetuating the culture of plundering the continent. They also serve to demobilise African masses away from working towards their independent development and meeting their basic needs. Instead, the African people and resources are oriented towards integrating into the global economy as exporters of cheap raw materials and markets for other economies' products. They are dangerous because they do not prepare the African people for the long struggle against both local and external enemies of human-centred development.

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[39] F. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974. See also W. Soyinka, in I. Okpewho, Myth in Africa, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. p. 237.

[40] See examples of the extent of the bankruptcy of neo-colonialism in Africa and the threats to the African bourgeoisie in D. W. Nabudere, Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda, London: Onyx Press and Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1980, especially pp. 292-317 under 'Aminomics'; and J. J. Jorgensen, Uganda: A Modern History, London: Croom Helm, 1981, pp. 267-330.

[41] For evidence on further bankruptcy of African neo-colonial development strategies, see B. Onimode, A Political Economy of the African Crisis, London: Institute for African Alternatives(IFAA)/Zed Press, 1988.

[42] For example, see Society for International Development(SID), Development, 2/3, 1987, whole issue; R. van der Hoeven and van der Kraaij, eds., Structural Adjustment and Beyond in Sub-Saharan Africa, The Hague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, London: James Currey, 1994; and, Oxfam International, op. cit.

[43] A. G. Frank, "Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology", Catalyst, 3, 1967, p. 7. Also see also J. Toye, The Dilemmas of Development. Reflections on the Counter-revolution in Development Theory and Policy, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988; and, U. Himmelstrand, 'Perspectives, Controversies & Dilemmas in the Study of African Development', in U. Himmelstrand et al., op.cit., pp. 16-36.

[44] See van der Hoeven and van der Kraal, op. cit.

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