The Chimera, monster of Greek mythology, part lion, part goat, and part dragon, is a symbol for fantastic ideas and "the creation of imagination."

Inside this Issue

Editor's Note
Chimera "The Creation of Imagination"

Welcome to Chimera, the platform for individuals who seek to nurture and stimulate thought. Chimera, which simply means "the creation of imagination", is a catalyst for discussion by individuals and organizations. This journal is the product of the efforts by the USA/Africa Institute, a non-profit organization based in Tallahassee, Florida. The Institute is focused on increasing substantive and sustainable exchanges in the areas of education, technology, economic development, culture and health between the two regions.

In our premier issue, we have contributors from both regions. These highly regarded individuals provide thought provoking discussion on various issues dealing with United States and African initiatives. Recognizing that Africa has ample capacity for advancement, we at the Institute, have encouraged policy makers and scholars to converse and analyze the current and future possibilities for growth and development. This edition contains articles from professionals who have written extensively on the subject of Africa. We are delighted to have worked with entities such as the Corporate Council on Africa, the Constituency for Africa, the Smithsonian, Microsoft, and other impressive individuals to produce our inaugural issue. Many of the writers have lived and worked in Africa for over twenty years. Hopefully, the articles will reach your innermost thoughts; inspire you to share in the mission of the Institute and join with these partner organizations in working towards a better Africa.

In pursuing the contributors for this issue, we tapped organizations and individuals who have the responsibility for African development in the 21st century. Clearly in many African countries, the developed nation status is a critical component of the continent's overall growth strategy objectives. As such, the Institute is pleased with the culmination of a series of regional projects, which may be viewed on our website, that have moved several African nations closer to this goal. The synergy of ideas and commitment to progress shown through these projects is a testament that constructive changes are possible.

During the past year, the USA/Africa Institute has successfully forged numerous initiatives and partnerships. We have formed tangible relationships and evaluated opportunities for the mutual exchange of ideas, resulting in positive resolution to long-standing problems. In summary, we will continue our mission by centering full attention on improving the economic and social environment for intercontinental exchanges.

Our readers are paramount to the publication's success. Your comments and suggestions on how we may better serve you are urged. Once again, welcome to Chimera, the place for discussion and stimulation of thought.

HIV/AIDS, Africa and 2003: Urgent Strategic Issues

By Dr. Chinua Akukwe
Constituency for Africa

This year, 2003, will be an epoch year in the fight against the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in Africa for many reasons.

First, the international community has moved beyond whether to intervene to how to intervene in Africa. The Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis (TB) and Malaria is a concrete example of the global resolve to fight HIV/AIDS in every part of the world, especially in Africa. Second, the multifaceted

struggle to provide lifesaving medicines to nearly 30 million Africans living with HIV/AIDS has changed from theoretical discussions to the logistics of providing care. Third, African nations are increasingly demonstrating their readiness to fight this deadly epidemic. Fourth, the pendulum of the epidemic is gradually but steadily shifting to Asia and former Soviet states, with the real possibility that scarce resources will be shifted to checkmate a nascent epidemic in these areas.

African nations have a unique

opportunity to seize the momentum in 2003 in the fight against HIV/AIDS. To seize the momentum, Africa will have to deal with key strategic issues in the fight against HIV/AIDS in the continent. I briefly review the following strategic issues:

HIV/AIDS Commission for Africa

I have written repeatedly in the past that Africa will have to establish a strong, efficient and effective central body to manage the epidemic. This central body could be one of the organs of the African Union or a new, nimble-footed organization that will assist Africa develop, deploy and evaluate its priorities in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Africans must have a vehicle for making their own decisions regarding what is best for the continent in the fight against this epidemic.

Mainstreaming HIV/AIDS priorities in New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

HIV/AIDS is at the nexus of all development scenarios in Africa, and should be quickly streamlined into the NEPAD initiative. NEPAD may remain a mirage until HIV/AIDS

takes its rightful place in its scale of priorities. I hope that the streamlining is completed before the next meeting between NEPAD leaders and G-8 nations.

Take a firm stand and action on access to lifesaving medicines

The breakdown of post Doha, Qatar talks on access to cheap medicines for HIV/AIDS is discouraging. However, Africa, the continent at the receiving end of this epidemic, has maintained a deafening silence. This cannot suffice in 2003. The African Union meetings for this year should quickly take a stand and initiate action on access to lifesaving medicines for the nearly 30 million people living with HIV/AIDS in the continent.

Linking HIV/AIDS remedial efforts to debt relief and good governance

African nations need to aggressively push for accelerated debt relief linked with good governance. According to a United Nations HIV/AIDS relief project (UNAIDS), 16 African countries in 2001 spent more money servicing debts than on the health needs of their citizens. The President of Zambia, Levy Mwanawasa, recently declared his country's debt burden as intolerable. This is a country under the vice grip of HIV/AIDS and famine. Africa needs to make a strategic move on debt relief through accelerated or complete debt relief in return for verifiable accomplishments in good

governance. The peer review program of NEPAD could become a useful starting point.

The specter of uneducated homeless children roaming the streets of Africa during the next two decades may become the gravest threat of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Absolute commitment to free and fair elections

This is closely tied to the linkage of debt relief and good governance. The 2002 Kenya elections provided a road map on how African countries should organize free and fair elec-

tions. All eyes will now be on Nigeria, scheduled to hold its own elections in April 2003. Africa should end forever, the foreclosure of political choices for its citizens, since political leadership is one of the most important weapons in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

Begin to deal with AIDS orphans

Millions of African children are now AIDS orphans, and I am not aware of any credible continental plan to deal with this problem. The specter of uneducated homeless children roaming the streets of Africa during the next two decades may become the gravest threat of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Deal with the security implications of HIV/AIDS

According to the UNAIDS, a United Nations program, HIV/AIDS thrives in emergency situations and wars. AIDS among uniformed services in Africa range from 20-40% in some African countries, and as high as 50-60% in countries with more than a decade of high levels of infection, according to the UNAIDS. The situation is troubling since wars are still ongoing in many parts of Africa and the military is a stabilizing influence in many African countries.

Harmonize and increase the participation of major foundations

Africa needs to have a common strategy on how to engage major foundations that are interested in AIDS

remedial efforts in the continent. For example, a continental or even a regional plan on AIDS orphans could be the subject of a serious discussion/negotiation between NEPAD and major foundations such as the Gates and Wellcome Trust foundations. Foundations with deep pockets and talented program staff are likely to partner with proactive entities that promise economies of scale and multiplier effects of program activities.

Focus on the growing gender inequities of HIV/AIDS

As more African women become infected or affected by HIV/AIDS, it is critical that continental leaders should initiate a program of action that shields women from the economic, social and cultural mores that put them at risk. The AIDS orphan phenomenon and gender inequities are two major issues that have major repercussions for household and community coping mechanisms in the fight against the epidemic in Africa.

Stronger links with Africans in the West and Africans in the Diaspora

African immigrants in the West have to play a major role in the fight against HIV/AIDS. The key question is how to make this possible. The African Union is a major player on how to tap the resources for Africans in the Diaspora in the fight against the epidemic. This link is important if global attention moves toward Asia and the former Soviet Block states.

Focus on remedial efforts at grassroots level

For the past few years, a lot of HIV/AIDS activities in Africa focused on national plans, strategic plans, policy development and program analysis. Now is the time to move to the target communities and assist individuals and families struggling with the devastating effects of the epidemic. African leaders need to signal their collective desire to focus on potential, internationally funded but community-based HIV/AIDS remedial programs. Donors, bilateral agencies, multilateral agencies and civil society groups will take notice, and adjust accordingly.

Conclusion

Africa is currently the epicenter of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This may change soon, especially the perception of where the global community may need to put its resources. This year, 2003, could become a watershed in global efforts to stop HIV/AIDS in Africa. African leaders and institutions should seize the opportunity to present clear priorities to the outside world and to back these priorities with renewed resolve and action.

Grounding African Diaspora Studies for Community Transformation

By Dr. Carole Boyce Davies

Director and Professor, African-New World Studies
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The African Diaspora is an already pre-existing globalization, though with different intent than the globalization created for oppression. A range of European policies and some deliberate migrations have therefore produced African peoples who live all over the world. And it is this international context which we have to first recognize, build on, and create usable policies for transcendence of petty limitations of all sorts (geographies, nation-state boundaries, ethnic differences etc.) and for progressive social transformation.

This recent phase of African Diaspora scholarship (1990's to the turn of the century) has been marked by at least two tendencies: The first is an African Diaspora which is not necessarily grounded in any way in terms of identification with Africa and which instead deals with the various African-derived communities around the world, studies their culture, social formations, and the like within the "branches" context. This particular brand of African Diaspora scholarship is best represented by Gilroy, who in *The Black Atlantic* (1994) deals largely with the "criscrossing" back and forth between North America and Europe but in that process leaves out the Caribbean and Africa.

The second is one which sees the

African Diaspora in an integrated way which accounts for the relations between Africa and African communities existing in the rest of the world, identifies its various demographies; also accounts for migrations within the continent itself; the various political histories of a variety of social movements for liberation, as for example scholarship is the one with which I identify.

African Diaspora Studies however has had a long and distinguished history and in many ways represents the earliest attempts by black people to give expression to their separations, account for their history and keep alive their cultures. The entire project of what began to be known as "Black Studies" was directed at challenging the Euro/U.S.-centric bases of education under which the contemporary academy rested. Indeed, while "Black Studies" as a field assumed a certain cohesion in the wake of entry into the institutions of black students (integration) prior generations of black scholars (including Latin American, Asian and Arabic and some serious Euro-American thinkers) had consistently whittled away at the assumptions of Eurocentricity. Scholars like W. E. B. DuBois engaged in an unrelenting attack on the Eurocentric bases of knowledge and consistently advanced African peoples as worthy subjects of study. Educators like Carter G. Woodson and a range of others subsequently pursued similar tasks at the level of recognizing this "mis-education." And, subsequently, Historians like John Hope Franklin, in The

Dilemma of the American Negro Scholar (1963) identified how racism and Eurocentrism interfered with the ability of black scholarship to flourish. Thus, the entire enterprise which has come to be known variously as African-American, African or Africana Studies can be defined as the interrogation of knowledge production in ways which challenged the epistemological violence (while it recognized the physical violence) that Eurocentrism visited on non-Western and Western peoples. The conclusion would be that the entire edifice of Western civilization operates on falsehood and perpetuates ignorance and misinformation as it assumed/continues to assume this Eurocentric error. While transformations have been central to African Diaspora culture, they have also always kept consistent their historical connections as well as the legitimacy of political struggle. But in this contemporary formation of African Diaspora scholarship, I think it would be important to avoid some of the mistakes of Afrocentricity, account more fully for issues of gender, and class, developing contemporary realities without relying on ancient formulations.

Further, while it is possible to export Afrocentricity like other U.S. products to other locations-Brazil, the Caribbean for example-rarely are concepts like "quilombismo" developed out of the Brazilian intellectual and activist tradition used to inform conceptually these Afro-U.S. paradigms. And approaches to understanding Afro-Latin culture, such as blanqueamiento or 'whitening' has as much relevance when applied to some United States context. And in this

connection it becomes important to avoid that any particular group of African descended peoples are most equipped or have all the answers to our social conditions internationally.

Still, in my view, a distinction has to be made between African-centered research, scholarship and practice. For example, John Henrik Clarke in *Who Betrayed the African World Revolution?* (1994) in which he defines "Africancentricity" as does Marimba Ani whose work Clarke identifies. He goes on to delineate various movements in African-American history, such as the Harlem Renaissance, as manifestations of "Africancentricity.' (117): "It's our way of looking at things different from other people. It is our point of view, our window on the world, our vantage point based on our view from that window" (117). Still he identifies it as "looking and feeling," verbal technique, a consciousness of the loss of Africa and the parallel reclamation of "what slavery and colonialism took away," (118) and above all a "five-hundred-year struggle." Henrik Clarke importantly critiques the attempts at narrowness in the approach but would want to see it as a "totality" of the experiences.

In the institutionalized tendencies to keep easy binaries, many other possibilities; (some of which have been in place for some time) remain unaddressed. Cross-Cultural Paradigms challenge the notion of easy binary opposition. For example a distinct Black left discourse continues to remain seriously unaccounted for in most academic contexts, including Black Studies contexts. This

may be the result of a certain 'conservative' tendency among the black intelligentsia and the U.S. history of consistent erasure of socialist alternatives. Scholars and activists such as Oliver Cox, C.L.R. James, Paul Robeson, Claudia Jones, Walter Rodney, Angela Davis, Amy Jacques Garvey remain unaccounted for conceptually in Africana discourses except in passing citations. The Black left, is often inherently trans-national because of its identification of class as that which cuts through a range of histories and geographies. Activists like Claudia Jones were able to build institutions which created alliances between Africans and Asians for example her founding of The West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian-Caribbean News in England (1958-1964) and a series of groupings which brought together a variety of peoples struggling against racism and for decolonization.

A true diaspora discourse beyond the limitations of "Black Atlantic" formulations has, as yet to account for the range of African peoples and their locations. Again, if the formulation remains an essentialized African one, then many of these people remain unrecognizable, unseen, unaccounted for. Diaspora discourses, then can also address the ways that a series of Diaspora relate, the places where Diaspora collaborate as in Afro-Indian tassa drumming in Trinidad, or the meaning of Gandhi in relation to an Afro-Brazilian political and carnival context or South African anti-apartheid and Indian decolonization struggles. Similarly, they need not operate as

competing Diaspora but as a series of relational spheres which can then identify how people are interrelated beyond the 'centricity' logic.

A fully trans-cultural paradigm, in my view, has to pursue and account for a range of relations of African peoples internationally as they interact with a variety of cultural spaces. In this con-

African Diaspora Studies ... in many ways represents the earliest attempts by black people to give expression to their seperations, account for their history and keep alive their cultures.

nection, the logic of diaspora guides as it identifies as many locations as are available where African peoples reside, and tries to understand and account for their existence in these locations. In Afro-U.S. history, a number of artists have deliberately sought inspiration and aesthetic sensibilities from a diaspora interaction. Dancers like

Katherine Dunham; artists like Louis Maillot Jones and Romare Bearden. And scholars like Mercer Cook, Alain Locke, W.E.B.Dubois, Zora Neale Hurston, consistently saw their lives as connected to communities outside of the U.S. Fernando Ortiz's assertion of "transculturation" (1996) is helpful in that it sought to address the "destructive and constructive moments in histories affected by colonialism and imperialism," (Coronil, xv) and to put on the table the idea of globally interconnected particularities instead of a Western particularity. Still Ortiz as an anthropologist was trying to account for the "process of transition from one culture to another and its manifold repercussions," (xxv).

Cross-cultural African diaspora discourses, as I define them, speak to the variety of movements ushered in by migrations and the consistent reproduction of different modes of being in the world. Rather than a giant, monolithic traditional African culture, then we can assert multiple, trans-cultural presences within and outside Africa. Thus cross-cultural, trans-national discourses are also transformational ("New World Discourses") central to diaspora. Examinations of the relationships between aspects of African cultures and histories and indigenous Native American, Asian, Islamic and Western cultures as imbricated with a "range of colliding and collaborating relationships" are similarly critical. In other words, by this means we actualize the idea of related spheres beyond unicentricity.

So what connects the African diaspora?

So far the scholarship has identified:

- African origins and history
- Middle Passage and trade - i.e. the human thread of slavery
- Related cultural formations
- Race memory
- Current related conditions
- Colonialism, racism, class location, various forms of exploitation
- Anti-colonial, labor movements
- Abolition, black liberation movements, revolutions
- Resistance, uprisings, escapes, maroon communities and philosophies.

Community Transformation

By "grounding African Diaspora Studies," we refer to developing ways of making knowledge developed in the academy serve communities deliberately. African-New World Studies at FIU, for example, proposes to develop models of Transforming African Diaspora Communities Projects which simultaneously develop our curricula as they work to transform the level of knowledge of the African Diaspora in the primary and secondary schools in South Florida and by extension in our communities. To do this, we propose to deliberately link culture, education and policy. This will in turn have a direct benefit on the social and cultural understandings of a community made up of a variety of groups (e.g. U.S. African-Americans, Afro-Cubans, Jamaican, Bahamians, Trinidadians, Afro-Brazilians, and Haitians), which

are significantly represented in the South Florida population.

We propose to administer, model and deliver curricula noted for their excellence in promoting transformative knowledge of the African Diaspora. The Transforming African Diaspora Communities Project refers to the developing of African world sense or knowledge in students and teachers and thereby of the larger national and international community. Our project will take advantage of the varieties of cultural knowledge existing naturally in the South Florida community as it provides an academic context for providing accurate educational materials on the same subjects. Above all, we see the need to keep education as a focus keeping in mind that all social transformation has to be rooted somewhere in developing knowledge of our communities, the world we live in and our global interconnectedness. African diaspora studies provides thereby the possibility of addressing global concerns as we deal directly with our communities' needs.

Our program is being organized to pursue the following:

1. Develop a working understanding of the historical, social, political and demographic reach of the African Diaspora.
2. Develop a working understanding of issues and ideas relevant to African Diaspora Studies particularly in educational contexts.
3. Develop expertise to meet the Florida State Legislation (233.061) 1994 mandate for the teaching of African American

experience at all levels of public schooling.

4. Contrast philosophies and systems of education for males and females throughout the African Diaspora.
5. Examine specific kinds of teaching and learning in the Diaspora, for example literature learning, literacy instruction, technical training and exceptional child education.
6. Create diaspora literacy environments and plans specifically attentive to the particular needs of students of the African Diaspora, which include orality, art, music, dance, rituals, history, and media/technology.
7. Establish connections with educators within the U.S. and internationally, in large urban areas which have significant African descent populations.
8. Develop expertise in selecting and purchasing reading materials relevant to children in the African Diaspora.
9. Develop facility in using web-based technologies as teaching tools for community—children and adults; schools—teachers and students.

Technology in Africa

By Edward S. Marek
Your Dot Com for Africa

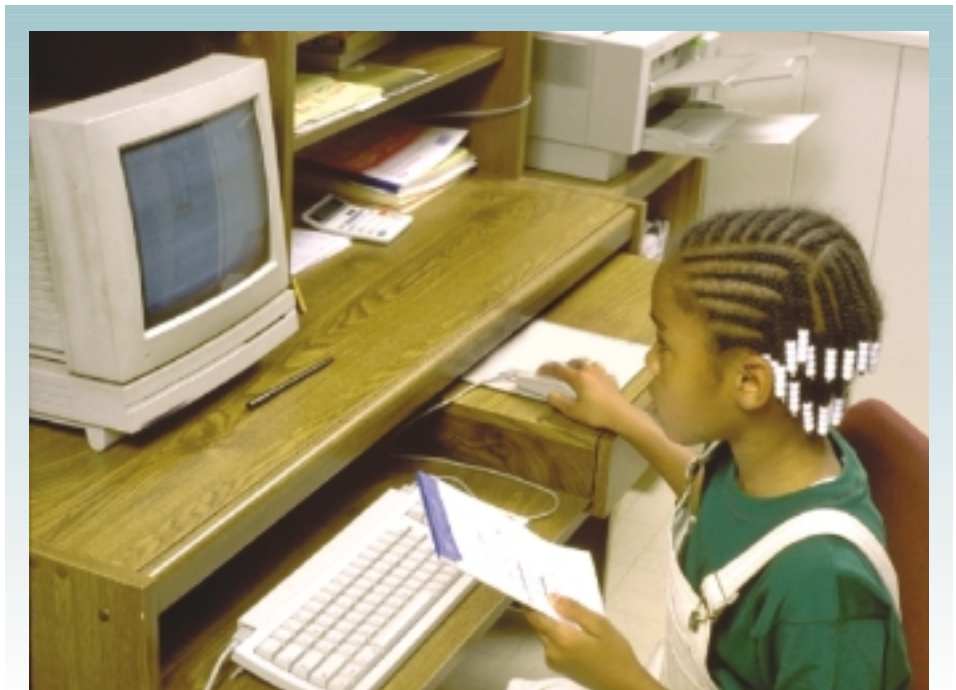First, an SOS Village, then a digital village, then creative kids growing into creative adults.

What happens when you combine community and private sector eagerness to get youngsters into the Information Age, with community and humanitarian interest in finding near-real world living conditions for children who have lost their families or whose families could not take care of them, with software piracy and a lot of hard-working, caring people? You get digital villages at SOS villages and kids who might now have a chance to run Microsoft someday! That's what's happening in South Africa, and elsewhere.

First, Microsoft, in collaboration with other companies and local communities in South Africa, is deploying what it calls "Digital Villages" to provide disadvantaged communities with access to modern-day information technology (IT). Second, we have a concept called SOS Villages where villages are built and parent models are provided for South African children. And finally, bringing both concepts together, Microsoft is deploying its Digital Villages to the SOS Villages. The one we will look at is at Umtata, in Southeast South Africa. Mingled in this is an effort by Microsoft to fight against software piracy, and that linkage is interesting.

A group of private sector compa-

nies, including Microsoft, has mapped out an ambitious program whereby previously disadvantaged communities in South Africa will gain access to the latest information technology. The objective is to streamline individual investments into communities and address IT needs as a single unified

body. The key project is the establishment of Digital Villages, which are community centers where the local community will have access to the latest computers and basic IT training courses.

Digital Villages

The first digital village in South

Africa was established in Chiawelo, Soweto by Bill Gates. Digital Villages are already operational there and in Orlando, Cape Town, and Kimberley. Microsoft is setting up two others in Cape Town and Gauteng, equipped with 10 PCs each acquired during the company's recent anti-piracy "Come Clean" campaign.

The Digital Village in Alexandra, Johannesburg, is a partnership between Microsoft, Hewlett Packard, and the Eastern Metropolitan Local Council (EMLC). Microsoft contributed the software and licenses, training fees, and subsidized part of the salary of the center manager.

Hewlett Packard contributed 20 computers, a printer, and paid for the installation fees. The EMLC renovated the Center, and installed security (burglar alarms, doors and windows) and is also subsidizing part of the salary of the Center Manager.

Microsoft South Africa's Rabie Ridge Digital Village, a community based center for teaching the unemployed and the previously disadvantaged IT and business schools, has taken the liberty of 10 PC's from Microsoft South Africa, as well as a laser color printer from Hewlett Packard.

Five other Digital Villages have been established, in partnership with several of Microsoft's partners:

- Soweto Digital Village in Chiawelo. Established in partnership with Africare, Intel, CompuComp, Pinnacle, Mustek, and Hitech. The center has 35 computers and more than 1000 registered members.
- Orlando Digital Village. Established in partnership with Africare and Intel.
- Kimberley Digital Village. Established in partnership with Africare, Intel, and De Beers Mines.
- Paarl in the Eastern Cape, established in partnership with Old Mutual and Datavia.
- Cape Flats. Established in partnership with Kodak and Africare.

Microsoft South Africa has announced that it intends to open another Digital Village in the Cape area in Khayelitsha. In addition,

Microsoft South Africa has now announced that it will assist in the

> # Software piracy is a major problem in this country and it makes an indelible impact on the economy. During the 1999 calendar year, for instance, a total of 14,770 jobs were lost as a result of this scourge.
>
> ## —Mark Hill
> ### Managing Director, Microsoft South Africa

opening of the Umtata SOS Digital Village at the Umtata SOS Children's Village.

The software piracy linkage

There is an interesting linkage here, between Microsoft's anti-piracy efforts and the Digital Villages. In April 2000, we noted a report by Justin Arenstein, reporting for African Eye News Service that an undercover probe revealed that South African dealers were selling up to R600 million (nearly $1 million) worth of pirated software, mostly made by Microsoft. The unnamed companies included five Cape Town dealers, two in Durban, one in Johannesburg and two in Pretoria.

While the problem in South Africa is not the greatest experienced in the world, it is significant. The problem, for example, is far worse in the United States. But Microsoft South Africa Managing Director Mark Hill describes it this way for his country:

> *Software piracy is a major problem in this country and it makes an indelible impact on the economy. During the 1999 calendar year, for instance, a total of 14,770 jobs were lost as a result of this scourge.*

Hill acknowledged that "Microsoft is sometimes seen to be clamping down hard on software piracy." That has certainly been true in the United States, where Microsoft has been running software integrity campaigns and filing lawsuits.

In the case of South Africa, a program was launched that is similar to one employed in the United States, which is to use funds recovered from clamping down on piracy to fund

computerization of schools. That is, the Digital Villages are financed by funds recovered from anti-piracy efforts.

A Case Study:
The SOS Village concept, and Umtata, an area in the Cape Town.

A place called the SOS Village at Umtata is one of the latest to benefit from the Microsoft program. We decided to take a closer look at what is happening there, and frankly we found it exciting.

We first have to introduce you to an organization called SOS Children's Villages, or "Kinderdorf" in German. Its mission is to provide a permanent family environment for children who have lost their parents or whose parents are unable to care for them, added Mark Hill.

Eight to ten boys and girls of various ages grow up as brothers and sisters in SOS families. Each SOS family lives in a house of its own. The head of the family is the SOS mother. She provides the children entrusted to her care the affection and sense of security they need to ensure their sound development.

Children of any race, nationality and creed are accepted by SOS Children's Villages. They are accepted from infancy to the age of eight years, solely according to their need for care and the ability of the Village to provide any needed specialized care. They stay until they are able to begin independent life. Older teenagers may be placed in youth homes, which

support them in taking their first steps to independence. Wherever appropriate, the SOS Children's Villages maintain contact with the child's biological family.

About 15 houses are grouped together as a SOS Children's Village, which forms a community and provides an extended family for the children.

The SOS Children's Village is supervised by a village director, who supports the mothers and represents a father figure to the children. The children grow up in conditions very similar to those in a normal family. They attend public schools and are encouraged to integrate with the surrounding community.

Since its start in 1949, over 35,000 children have grown up in SOS Villages. SOS has grown to more than 1350 projects in over 125 countries, becoming the largest private childcare organization in the world.

Umtata is one of these SOS villages, one of the newer ones. It turns out Umtata is located near where former President Nelson Mandela was born, and SOS Villages wanted to put up a new village on behalf of Mr. Mandela.

A group of organizations got together and formed a consultative committee. The committee went to Port Elizabeth and Pietermaritzburg to see actual SOS villages in operation, and then approached the government and obtained a grant of land. But that land was taken over by squatters, so a new parcel was obtained in a more stable area, where there was a teacher train-

ing school on one side, and the Umtata International School (K–12) on the other side. SOS arranged for fencing.

Now, buildings are going up, and the local community is happy to see development taking place in the area. The construction project has provided 90 jobs to the local community. After an immediate search of the five local districts, 90 children who could be helped were found, and expectations are to readily fill the full capacity of 150 children, with ten children in each of fifteen houses.

Besides the fifteen houses, plans include a kindergarten, library and primary school, in addition to a clinic at least partly staffed by volunteers and professionals from the community. SOS and the local community are also in discussion about the possibility of supporting a secondary school in the community.

Now, as part of this emerging new community, Microsoft will install a computer village to help these kids not only grow up in a community with houses and "foster parents," but they'll also grow up in a technology community.

A Word from the Corporate Council on Africa

Promoting Trade and Investment Between the United States and Africa

By Sonja Penn
Corporate Council on Africa

The Africa Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) has established a Professional Development Program (APD) which is made up of a series of six study tours in the United States and 16 work-shops in Africa. The participants of the work-shop will come out with an understanding of how to effectively use AGOA legislation for the United States (U.S.) and Africa relations.

The U.S. Department of State has selected 58 African business and public sector leaders from 35 of the AGOA beneficiary countries to participate. The program is designed to introduce these professionals to U.S. markets, business practices and trade associations. The participants are divided into six groups for U.S. based study tours focusing on apparel and agriculture. These study tours are followed by a series of AGOA focused workshops in 16 African nations, allowing the returned business leaders and U.S. technical experts to explain the benefits of AGOA to other African business and government leaders.

The goal of this program is to provide medium and small African business entrepreneurs and members of

business associations' exposure to AGOA and to the American market in order to increase capacity to develop new USA/Africa trade linkages.

Participation in the program is designed to provide the selected professionals with, amongst other things: an understanding of American busi-

ness norms and actual practices; knowledge of U.S. customs operations, product distribution, retailing, business linkages, and finally relationships with manufacturers in their respective sectors.

Since the program's inception on March 1, 2002, all of the 58 African professionals designated to take part in APD have completed the U.S. study tour component of the program. In all the cities visited during the two-week domestic study tour conducted thus far, the Corporate Council on Africa (CCA) has attempted to craft a program that offers a multi-faceted exposure to the vast array of issues that will affect exporting to U.S. market. Meetings in Washington, D.C. during these first four sessions have included substantive briefings with those public agencies involved in trade administration in the U.S., including the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, the Department of Commerce, the U.S. Customs Service, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, and the Department of Agriculture. International trade lawyer, Paul Ryberg, Jr., President of the African Coalition on Trade and Senior AGOA expert consultant for the APD program, joins each session for an introductory briefing prior to participants making potential business contacts and for a debriefing to answer technical questions that may have arisen during interaction with U.S. companies.

The APD program also seeks to introduce participants to the important factors affecting the creation and implementation of businesses transactions with U.S. companies. To that end, the CCA has included a business development component in each of the APD/U.S. study tours. This component includes a primer on how to do market analysis by expert consultants from Fintrac Consulting and the Bates Community College to a quality management and industry analysis from AGOA Training Center experts. Since the Washington, D.C. based business coalition that supports all AGOA related matters meets on a regular basis at the CCA offices, there have been a number of candid exchanges between participants and key individuals involved in the passage of the bill. Logistical meetings of important ports of entry are also included in each tour. While it is unrealistic to expect to gain a comprehensive understanding of the U.S. market after only a two-week visit, the CCA strives to provide each participant with an honest overview of the breadth and depth of the American business environment through their APD experience.

The APD program has completed all of its domestic study tours and ten of its sixteen Africa-based forums. Already, almost 900 African companies from ten different countries have benefited from the program through either the domestic study tours or the Africa-based business forums, proving that the multiplier effect of the program is beginning to take hold. The program already has produced tangible results over its short nine-month life.

- A participant who attended the first agriculture study tour last April signed a contract for the monthly export of 20,000 kilos of shea butter to a company in greater Chicago. In turn, the company will become the exclusive West African distributor of shampoos, hair relaxer, hair conditioning and cosmetic products for their American partner.

- A Nigerian textile factory owner met with a company outside of New York City during an APD study tour. They are currently working together to establish a new textile factory outside of Abuja, Nigeria. The factory will operate with the U.S. company as a 40% equity partner.

- A manufacturer in Botswana is working with a U.S. company, based in Pennsylvania, on a joint venture partnership for the production of t-shirts in the U.S. and Africa.

- A South African shoe company that visited Los Angeles with the program is now working with a U.S. orthopedic shoe manufacturer on a 30,000-unit order.

- A large U.S. retailer made a 100,000-unit order from an APD participant from Malawi after the participant visited the company during the June training program.

The AGOA Professional Development Program is heading for Mauritius, Madagascar, Mozambique, Namibia, Mali, and Cape Verde in 2003 for more on-continent workshops. The Corporate Council on Africa looks forward to future success with the program.

Role of Civil Society Organizations in the Implementation of African Growth and Opportunity Act

By Fred O. Oladeinde
Foundation for Democracy in Africa

The recent announcement by the United States (U.S.) of a comprehensive offer to eliminate tariffs and trade barriers in the negotiation for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), that is expected to take effect in 2005, is not a surprise to many. The FTAA has been a major priority for the Bush Administration, and an important tool in its efforts to maintain U.S. leadership in the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations.

This bold initiative once enacted will lead to the creation of the world's largest free market, and represent a major global trade liberalization accomplishment. The FTAA includes 34 countries with nearly 800 million people and an estimated $13 trillion market which covers the entire Western Hemisphere.

What the United States is offering its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere is the elimination of import duties on the majority of industrial and agricultural imports, and access to its service, investment and government procurement sectors. Within five years after the FTAA takes effect, the US is also offering duty free entry of textiles and apparel imports from the region into the

United States provided the other countries reciprocate. In return the U.S. wants to create benefits for American farmers, workers, consumers and businesses and maintain its position as the world's largest economy.

"The United States has created a detailed roadmap for free trade in the Western Hemisphere-we've put all our tariffs on the table because free trade benefits all and brings us closer together as neighbors," said U.S. Trade Representative, Robert B. Zoellick while announcing the U.S. offer. It is expected that other FTAA countries will respond to the U.S. offer by presenting their own offers, and negotiations will begin in preparation for the FTAA Ministerial meeting in Miami this November.

What are the opportunities and challenges that the FTAA presents to the nascent democracies and emerging free markets in Africa? Can Civil Society Organizations work with African government and the private sector to help maximize the opportunities while addressing the challenges?

The signing into law of the AGOA, a U.S. trade law two years ago, and the recent agreement to negotiate the

first free trade agreement (FTA) with five southern African nations (Botswana, Lesotho Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland) members of the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU) by the U.S, signals a new dawn in U.S.-Africa relations: one that must emphasize value added exports from Africa's new factories, manned by well paid African workers under fair labor conditions, in a free society, who are able to afford American products, vacations and other services.

Since the signing of AGOA into law in May 2000, U.S. imports from Sub-Saharan Africa have increased 61.5 percent. The United States imported $8.2 billion of duty-free goods in 2001 under AGOA, including the Act's GSP provisions, representing almost 40 percent of all U.S. imports from Sub-Saharan Africa. The United States is Sub-Saharan Africa's largest single market, purchasing 27 percent of the region's exports in 2000.

U.S. exports to Sub-Saharan Africa reached record levels in 2001, growing to nearly $7 billion, a 17.5 percent increase from 2000. This increase in exports from the U.S. to Africa contrasted with a decrease of 6.3 percent in U.S. exports worldwide. These

results show that the United States exported more to Sub-Saharan African countries in 2001 than to all of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries combined. The above results represent a small but substantial gain for supporters of improved economic ties between the U.S and the nations of Africa.

However, critics of AGOA complain, that the vast increase in the U.S. import from Africa are energy-related. While AGOA seeks to increase textile and apparel imports, little is being done to increase the import of African agricultural products or the export of U.S. technology and other agricultural implements to Africa. Of the total U.S. imports of energy supplies, about 87% are AGOA products. Approximately 88% of total U.S. imports of transportation equipment are under AGOA. Meanwhile, only 23% of U.S. imports of agricultural products are under AGOA. This means that less than a quarter of agricultural products coming into the United States from Africa receive AGOA or Generalized Systems of Preferences benefits, meaning such goods are not duty-free and having little or no impact on the un-employment and poverty problems in the rural areas of Africa.

Since the majority of the population in Africa lives in rural areas, with little or no prospect for jobs there are massive migrations to the urban areas, overwhelming the limited infrastructure, increasing crime rate and other social problems.

The solution to this problem some

argue is to work through the provisions of AGOA, and provide the necessary training and technical assistance to African public/private sector through civil society organizations. This they argue will increase the quality and volume of U.S imports, i.e.,

Since the signing of AGOA into law in May 2000, U.S. imports from sub-Saharan Africa have increased 61.5 percent.

value added agricultural products, textile and apparels, consumer products, light industrial products, information technology software and hardware from Africa under AGOA and the GSP provisions, while encouraging increased participation of small and medium size enterprises.

The Second U.S. Sub-Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Cooperation Forum recently hosted by the government of Mauritius,

January 13–17, 2003, for the first time included a session by non governmental organizations (NGO). The NGO Forum proposed 52 recommendations, on how civil society organizations can address some of the present shortcomings of AGOA, and make AGOA more effective and efficient, and more importantly how AGOA can better serve the interest of the African people.

During AGOA NGO Forum the delegates established an AGOA Civil Society Network. The Network currently comprises approximately 102 NGOs based in both the U.S. and in Africa. The Foundation for Democracy in Africa (FDA), a U.S. based NGO, and Mauritius Council of Social Services (MACOSS) an African based NGO were elected as co-chairs of the group and charged with establishing and managing an initial secretariat for the AGOA Civil Society Network.

The mission of the Network will be to empower African people through their civil society organizations to work with government and businesses in maximizing the benefits of AGOA.

One hopes that the AGOA Network will rise to the occasion and work with the public and privates sectors on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean in a cooperative rather than adversarial way, using constructive criticism and the law when necessary to preserve the interests of the African people.

For more information on the AGOA Civil Society Network and membership in the Network, please visit www.democracy-africa.org

Notes on The Contribution of the African Intellectual of the Diaspora toward the Development of Africa

By Dr. Samba Diop
Harvard University

This topic is obviously a vast one; I will thus put forth some pointers which will hopefully stimulate further debate. At the outset, it is important to stress the fact that at the beginning of the 1960's, a year that saw most African countries obtain their political Independence, it was taken for granted that African intellectuals and cadres residing abroad (primarily in Europe and North America) had to come back home and build the new nations. Some did come back; however, many others decided to stay in the West. More than forty years later, what is termed today as the brain drain, has taken gigantic proportions. What is the root cause of the massive departure to and stay in the West on the part of African intellectuals, cadres, and experts? The reasons are many but I will emphasize only a few: The first culprit is the political situation on the continent; then, the globalization of the world economy; and, finally, the incompetence of the African leadership and government leaders. I am going to elaborate on the three aforementioned points and then
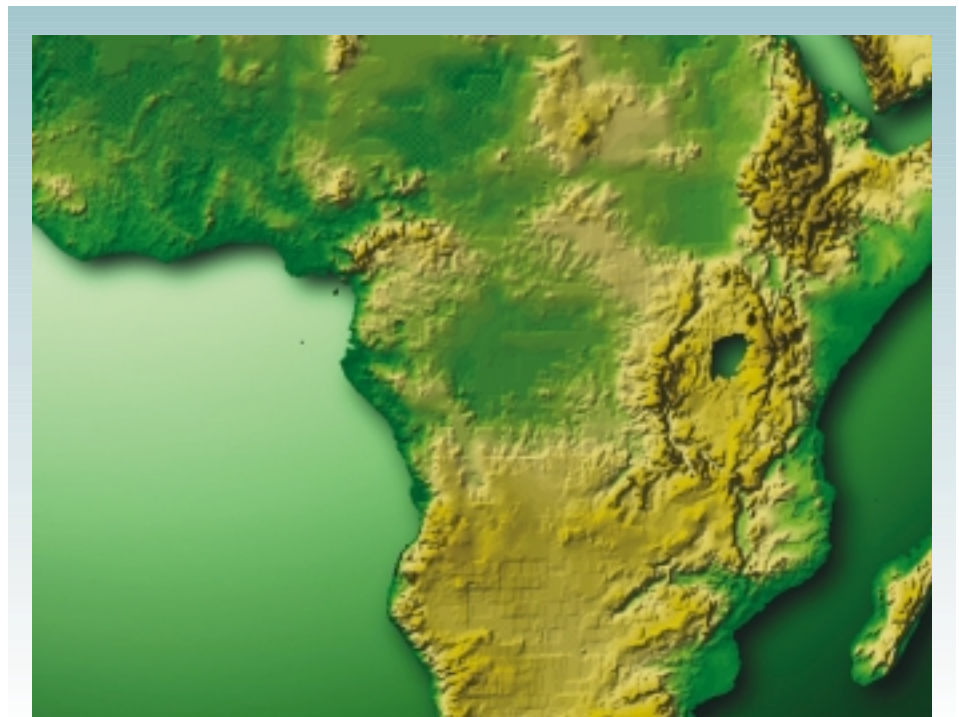
conclude with the contribution of the African intellectual Diaspora toward the development of Africa.

Concerning my first point, one need not look far, for the country of Ivory Coast provides an illustration as to the incompetence of the African leadership and to what is wrong with the African State. Here's a country where

regionalism, ethnicism, and exclusion are the order of the day; one must add to that list the creation of the concept of ivoirité (ivorianness) by some intellectuals; this concept of exclusion and narrowness has exacerbated the North (Muslim) and South (Christian/animist) divide. It is sad to see that in fact the Ivorian intellectu-

als who are so bent on dividing the country along the fault lines of ethnicity, religion, and regionalism do not know their history. The Ivory Coast as a country was created only in 1947 by the French; prior to that, it was just a territory left to the hands of French colonial adventurers, exotic hunters, and poachers (ivory), and later on, to French planters who created and developed coffee, rubber, pineapple, and cocoa plantations. Thus, all the present-day members of the Ivorian political leadership who were born before 1947 do not qualify as Ivorians; however, these are the very ones trying to exclude some of their fellow countrymen on the basis of not being a full-blooded Ivorian! What an irony. One must also acknowledge the hand of the former colonial master, France. The French have a hard time realizing that colonialism is dead and over; they still want to intervene in the affairs of the African Francophone countries and dictate to the leaders the way to run their countries. It is about time that the French left Africans alone.

The Ivory Coast case serves as a conduit for further inquiries, the chief one being the following: An engineer, or a lawyer, or a doctor, or a professor from the Ivory Coast, originally from the North, say Korhogo, and who resides abroad, if that person were to return now to the country, where would he go? To the South or to the North? Unfortunately, the Ivorian situation can happen in any African country. No one is immune

> **Thus, all the present-day members of the Ivorian political leadership who were born before 1947 do not qualify as Ivorians; however, these are the very ones trying to exclude some of their fellow countrymen on the basis of not being a full-blooded Ivorian!**

from this syndrome. All the questions asked above about the Ivory Coast can also be asked about countries such as Togo, Senegal, Mali, Gabon, Nigeria, and Ghana, just to name a few. Thus, it is an understatement to say that the African leadership as a whole must put its house in order; it will do so by creating durable conditions that are conducive to peace and development.

My next point relates to the global world situation. The end of the 20th century has witnessed a formidable development of information technologies, a rapid exchange of goods and services, a faster pace for transportation and the movements of peoples. Africa is part of the world economy system and is therefore affected by the global phenomenon. It is not only goods and services that are borderless: expertise, know-how, and competence have also become global transnational commodities. Thus, developed countries are competing for this expertise and the person being courted goes to whoever makes the best financial offer and provides good working conditions. Therefore, this means that African governments must create the conditions that will allow diasporic Africans with expertise to either return if and when they want to do so or to contribute from abroad. Africans are not the only people to have a Diaspora: Pakistanis, Indians, Chinese, Koreans (just to name a few) have an important number of their nationals residing and working abroad; however, these countries are putting in place structures which

enable them to capture the expertise and money of their expatriate nationals. Africans can learn a lesson from the Asian experience.

The next point pertains to the leadership. One component Africans who govern their countries do lack is a modern vision; modernity implies some flexibility and adaptation to the realities of the world today (not as to what it was 40 years ago). Thus, the members of the African intellectual Diaspora should not only be encouraged to return but, once they are back, they should not be considered as competitors (for political spoils and positions of power). This led many to pack up and leave again in spite of their original intention to stay. A friend of mine, with whom I was discussing this matter over the summer of 2002 surmised that why these "been to's" do not stay and fight since it is also their country, instead of letting themselves be frustrated and consequently leave? My friend had a good point; however, when talking to those who are chiefly concerned, you will be told that, instead of putting one's energy, talent, effort, and time in fighting a worthless battle, one is better off returning to Europe or North America where one's talent and expertise are more respected and appreciated than they are in Africa. Furthermore, in the West, one has the possibility to grow and improve instead of being caught in a daily grind of frustration, corruption, incompetence, nepotism, and all the many ills that afflict present-day

Africa. This may sound depressing but it is the reality.

My last point I would like to discuss is that of education. This area needs a major overhaul. Again, some lessons can be learned from the Japanese experience and to a lesser extent from countries like Korea and Singapore. Japan is an interesting case to the effect that this country had sent a generation to Europe and North America where they learned technology, science, and acquired a solid knowledge. Upon their return to Japan, this knowledge was translated into Japanese; better yet, schools, universities, technical schools were created (along with strong work values) so that the following generations did not have to leave the country: the conditions for economic development were created on the spot. This is the road Africans must trek, that is to create excellent learning, scientific, and technical conditions so that the youth do not have to leave the continent. As of now, we witness the contrary for after more than 40 years of independence, Africans still feel the need to go to other countries (not just Europe and North America but to places as far afield as Russia, India, and Australia). In order to study and acquire knowledge, we Africans must understand once and for all that the only fight worth fighting for is that of knowledge, of the mastery of science and technology. Everything else is secondary.

Another thing that African political decision-makers must do is to create

viable structures that strengthen the private sector. In that enterprise, the African members of the Diaspora have a great role to play in the sense that not only the private sector must be encouraged but, furthermore, many of these expatriates have the know-how, the rigor, the professionalism, and the expertise that they acquired in the developed world. The other advantage is that by encouraging the African expatriates to go into the private sector, this alleviates the public sector and, by the same token, stimulates innovation, risk, and a pioneering spirit. The latter is at the opposite end of waiting for the government to find a job for a cadre, in short a dependency mentality and a passive attitude.

I will conclude by stressing that the areas of education and the private sector in Africa are the ones in which the African intellectuals and cadres of the Diaspora can make the biggest impact; of course, they can also contribute to many other areas. But in order for this to happen, the decision makers and the elite in general must have a vision; in turn, this vision must be predicated on the worship and implementation of merit, of competence, of transparency, of democracy, of tolerance and of an open mind. It is only in this way that Africans will occupy their right place among the nations of the world and cease being marginalized.

Rethinking Globalization in Africa

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The aim of this paper is to explore the implications of globalization trends for the development of African countries. The causes of globalization are identified and the competing "convergent" and "divergent" integrations of the impact of globalization on Africa's social and economic progress are discussed. The paper explains how the processes of globalization combined with the "commodification" of education are bound to reduce the capacity of Sub-Saharan African countries to minimally use economic policies to foster human development. Finally, we conclude by summarizing both the advantages and disadvantages of being part of a global world and suggest some ideas of how to make partnership equitable in outcome.

Introduction

The most important word in today's economy is globalization. The potential effects of globalization are many and far reaching, due to this phenomenon's scale and nature. This paper situates the process of globalization in the wider context of economic progress, cultural identity, freedom, security, participation and the well-being of nations. Thus, the authors recognize globalization not just as a process that concerns itself with objects or simply about figuring out ways of distributing resources and products, but as a process aimed at enlarging all human choices, as well as at building and using human capabilities to live above deprivation. In the context of this paper, globalization must embrace issues of economic growth, social and capital investment, and political and cultural freedom of nations. Development therefore is defined as the process of unleashing people's creativity and building human capabilities while expanding their choice options for active popular participation in the process of economic growth.

Globalization and Development Alternatives: Historical Explanations

In order to better understand the significance of globalization in the African context, we must recognize that this is the fourth stage of economic integration with the North in the continent. The first instance of outside penetration of Africa was the period of slavery, when Western merchants bought from African slave traders

Africa's most valuable resources: men, women and children. The second stage was the era of colonialism, when the nations of Europe at the Berlin conference of 1884-85 divided up the continent with utmost disregard to ethnic or cultural boundaries. The third stage has been termed "neo-colonialism," what Pope Paul VI called "the form of political pressures and economic suzerainty aimed at maintaining or acquiring dominance." This stage was marked by conditionalities and factors outside the control of Africans that had set the political and economic agenda that set trade patterns, investment policies, political alliances, and debt arrangements. For instance, over the last three decades the World Bank, IMF, and World Trade Organization (WTO) have increasingly imposed certain economic conditionalities or trade requirements on borrowing countries as a condition of their access to foreign direct investment or trade markets. These include contractionary monetary policy, trade liberalization and a list of "micro-interventions." The asymmetries and imbalances in the global trading system and reform, including a number of WTO agreements and neo-liberal conditionalities, constitute serious impediments to economic growth and development in Africa, as demonstrated by UNCTAD's comprehensive assessment of the sustainability of these interventions (UNCTAD 2002:47).

Beginning in the last decade of the 20th century and into the 21st century, we have entered the fourth stage-probably the most repressive approach to development called globalization which is driven by neo-liberal ideology. This was fueled by free trade regimes or what has been called "Global Liberalization," which is

In order to better understand the significance of globalization in the African context, we must recognize that this is the fourth stage of economic integration with the North in the continent.

strengthened by the push toward international location of social and economic activities. This stage has the following distinctive features: shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders. But this era is different from past eras because of the emergence of new markets, new information and communication technologies, and new actors such as the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, and IMF-all of which have authority over governments and the power to impact equity in wealth distribution. In this particular stage, market mechanism is closely integrated with other aspects of social relations, while in the other stages of engagements social and political relations were separated by consideration of values other than price. Indeed, the multilateral trade disciplines introduced by the WTO prohibit the use of some key policy tools to promote exports and protect infant industries. This has made it extremely difficult for African countries to follow a vigorous policy of infant industry protection and export subsidization to shape their own development model and guide against decline in social indicators such as education and health. Again, indeed Africa has not benefited from opening up its markets but rather has faced loss of some of the very instruments that supposedly had fueled the East Asian development. In other words, by all standard measures of economic growth, education and literacy outcome, the era of globalization has

brought less progress to the continent. At the 1995 World Summit for Social Development, nations of the world took note of the dualism: that the rapid processes of change and adjustment have been accompanied by intensified poverty, unemployment and social disintegration. These are the forces polarizing the world into the connected and the isolated.

Uneven development is not without consequence for people, just as globalization is not without pushing toward a borderless world, and it also provides ample evidence for the reduced ability of nations to control their own economies or to define their own national economic aims (Reich 1999). It is therefore consistent to assert that while globalization has some positive and innovative aspects, it also has negative, disruptive, marginalizing and exclusive effects. The exclusion of countries and of people from free development has become the acceptable norm, and the proposition that economic growth, or economic efficiency will ultimately improve the lot of the people by "trickling down" has received a widespread acceptance.

The state of affairs that we now see in Sub-Saharan Africa provides enough grounds for us to negate the process of globalization, which has ruined one African economy after another. Some of the negative effects of the globalization process include expanded domestic markets for goods and services coming from the North, the hindering of human development, the undermining of investment in human capital and the eroding of

human rights in society. Globalization views Africa and Africans as components of a global free market, independent of consideration of livelihoods and integral human development. In sum, this process has rendered millions of African people redundant while condemning many others to street life.

What is Globalization of the Economy

What is the globalization of an economy? The term globalization refers to the process in which global markets are more and more closely and immediately linked, deregulated, and accessible to more and more people then, hitherto, with new "actors" and agents that transcend natural boundaries. Intuitively, globalization is a process fueled by, and resulting in, increasingly borderless flows of goods, services, money, skilled and qualified manpower, information and culture (Held et al 1999:16). There are debates as to the meaning and effects of globalization as well as about whether it is "new' and, if so, in what ways. No matter what is the definition, globalization is dynamic and real, causing numerous and often radical changes in all places. The process itself can be seen as a hugely positive or grossly negative depending on distribution of its wealth. Amartya Sen (2002) indicates that globalization is not a new phenomenon and that it contributes positively to economic growth. It is a process that has taken different dimensions that can be traced back to 1000 A.D., when the global reach of

science, technology, communication and transportation transformed the old ways of doing things and conducting business. He further reiterated that to see globalization as merely Western imperialism of ideas and beliefs would be a serious and costly error. "It is much bigger-much greater-than that," he added.

The distinctive feature of the present era is the linking of people's lives more deeply, more intensely, and more immediately than ever before with market forces (UNDP, Human Development Report 1997:83; 1999:1). As such, globalization is a reflection of the interconnectedness between individual life and global features, the process of increasing economic, political, and social interdependence and global integration that takes place as capital, traded goods, individuals, and values diffuse across national boundaries. In short, it is a process of extraction of values (note: not surplus value) from economic, political, and social goods. It disempowers the poor and undermines the ability of governments to develop the economics and social infrastructure on which a sustained reduction in human poverty depends. Thus, there are numerous definitions of globalization.

What Type of Marriage is Globalization

The term globalization has rapidly gained theoretical prominence and intellectual cachet in the last decade. It is also used to supplant the equally slippery and catchall term "postmodernism." It is characterized by the

emergence of a world system driven in large part by the need to develop a fourth world, while bringing nation-states into the orbit of the world capitalist economy in order to create an ever-expanding market and to gain a source of multi-skilled cheap labor and raw materials. This was also the goal of colonialism and neocolonialism. That is to say, globalization is isomorphic with a kind of multi-mediated economic and cultural imperialism that in an earlier age was termed imperialism. Thus, the process in general signifies a terrifying compression of the world-a brakeless train wrecking havoc on societies, breaking down national and cultural barriers, setting up new social orders that have led to the erosion of local capacity and capabilities for peace and nation-building.

Globalization also means different things to different people. Some scholars have used it in a "positive" sense to describe a process of increasing integration into the world economy. To them, globalization is the realization of increased human mobility, the organization and expansion of economic activities across national boundaries, and it opens new opportunities for sustained economic growth and development of the world economy. To Amartya Sen, it permits countries to share experiences and learn from one another's achievements and difficulties, and promotes a cross-fertilization of ideals. To others, it is a result of the market system (restrictive economic practices) unleashed on a worldwide scale that can lead to a marriage of equals or rape that can

either foster comparative economic advantage or intensive extraction of economic resources. We see it as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant locations in such a way that local consumption patterns and policies are shaped by economic and social interests of the rising tide of global technology and global culture. More precisely, globalization can be defined as a process of economic openness, growing economic interdependence and deepening economic integration into the world economy. In a nut shell, we propose to combine our perspective with that of other scholars and define globalization as a process of developing distinction" between space and time, and an increasing interdependence of national economies in trade, finance, and macroeconomic policy. Thus, it can be considered a feeble process that challenges the authority of nation-states by prescribing technological and market solutions to economic development and reforms.

To further understand the multiplicity of definition and the injustices of globalization, we need to see how partial economic integration stunt the ability of nations to gain access to the resources that will enable them to function as equal partners in this marriage. Bad rules, bad trade agreements and bad policies in this marriage have brought about changes that have led to a New Order. The New Order is what we refer to here as the "Fourth World," made up of multiple "black holes" of social exclusion, or pockets of slums, and disabled nation-states that have

increasingly suffered tremendous human cost amidst world trade expansion. This new geography of social exclusion is also present in literally every country, and every city.

Clearly, the new order shifts solidarities within and between nation-states, and deeply affects the constitution of interest group identities. Other positive consequences of globalization are increases in human mobility, increases in global wealth and trade, enhanced communication and transportation, and technological development. These are key measures for economic growth but not sufficient measures for human well-being. This is probably the reason why rapid processes of change and expansion and adjustment have been accompanied by intensified poverty and misery, unemployment and social disintegration. But there can be greater longer-term profit for all if the marriage is of equals so that everyone is developed to their full functional capacity.

Globalization and Africa: Some Critical Issues

In the context of Africa, the main actors in the game of globalization are: (1) multinational corporations, (2) multilateral agencies, and (3) counterpart African elite agents. These actors have good intentions but their economic and strategic interests are most often in conflict with nation-states' sovereignty and development (See Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2000). An examination of the nature, scope, and effects of globalization on the African economy indicates that globalization violates

the principles of free and equitable engagements in global trade and just distribution of world income. This old phenomenon, cloaked as a new strategy, has failed to reconcile the interests of the economically rich and strong and the economically poor and weak peoples and nations of the world. In fact, globalization is diminishing the economic competitiveness of an increasing number of countries outside the Triad (the European Union, North America, and the Pacific Rim countries, notably Japan). Not only has it failed to "decommodify" development, it has also protected the interest of the triad that dominate world markets and finance. This action that has far reaching implications in the distribution of the benefits of globalization is directly correlated with social tensions and conflicts, poverty and underdevelopment in Africa today. This is how globalization creates unparalleled opportunities for some but shrinks those opportunities for others and erodes human security.

The reality that has unfolded so far belies the expectations of this marriage that were to lift all nations out of poverty, but rather it has turned into the rape of Africa. Furthermore, its side effects are equally horrific, ranging from the spread of conflicts to the creation of a world monoculture that destroys local traditions and squelches cultural diversity. In this marriage or partnership traditions have to explain themselves and become open to interrogation or discourse. This is what African traditional social order had to encounter as a result of globalization

> **The term globalization refers to the process in which global markets are more and more closely and immediately linked, deregulated, and accessible to more and more people then, hitherto, with new "actors" and agents that transcend natural boundaries.**

(Giddens 1990). In so many ways socioeconomic order or institutions have become hybridized and superimposed by global culture of consumerisms and neo-liberal ideology.

The next section demonstrates through the use of data that expansion in trade and economic growth during the period of globalization has been for Africa an experience of unequal marriage-and even rape-in that Africa has been bypassed by the phenomenal increases in global trade (UNDP, 1997:82; UNCTAD 2002).

The Exclusion of Africa from the Gains of Globalization

It is important to point out that the significant gains in trade and foreign direct investment and wealth produced by globalization are concentrated in the Triad countries. In loser countries, differences in standard of living and income inequality have increased and reached levels not recorded in the previous stages. In spite of data limitations, available statistics and numerous studies including that of the World Bank, UNCTAD, and the UNDP, all suggest that globalization brought about "divergence" rather than "convergence." A perfect case in point is the polarization in income and economic gap and the human development indicator gaps across regions and countries and also within countries. In terms of trade, Africa's terms of trade which averaged 1.1 percent annual growth from 1975 to 1984, drastically fell to –6.8 percent during the period 1985 to 1989, and then slightly recovered to an annual aver-

age growth of 0.4 in 1990s. A similar situation was found with exports. For instance, manufactured goods exports which stood at 32.5 percent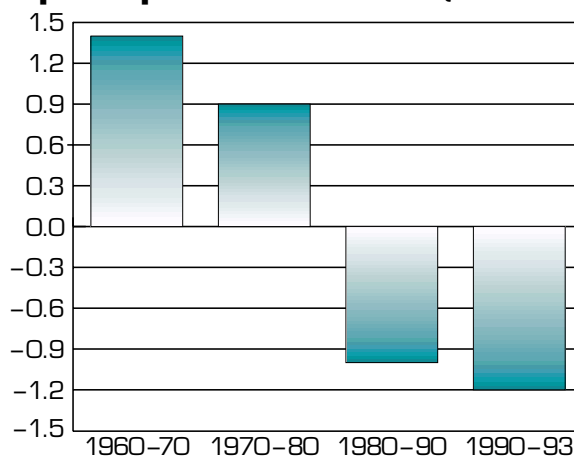 in 1980, drastically fell to –2.7 in 1997. Therefore, it is important to note that although trade flows in general rose in nominal terms, export coefficients in Africa followed a pattern similar to that just seen in terms of trade.

Giddens (1990:65) adds an interesting perspective to this discourse by asserting that globalization is a process of uneven development that fragments as it coordinates. It is a product of economic and cultural fragmentation, and "enduring cross-national differences" (Giddens, 2000). In a similar vein, Gilpin (2000:294) and Held et al. (1999:243) argue that globalization is a fragmented, incomplete, discontinuous, contingent, and in many ways contradictory process.

Globalization undermines the authority of the nation-state, erodes the position of labor, and empowers multinational corporations that create destructive political tensions, and imbalances between economic and political institutions. The challenge to the authority of the nation-sate is associated with neo-liberal ideology that led to the rise of global agencies (e.g., WTO, IMF, and World Bank) and cities (e.g., Washington DC, New York, London and Paris), who's role and stature transcend the nation-state in which they are located. This process of denationalizing of national authority and the international location of economic activities, writes Paul Kennedy, "confronts the task of reconciling technological change and economic integration with traditional political structures, national consciousness, international agreements and habitual ways

of doing things" (Kennedy 1993:330). Indeed, the invocation of such policies has different outcomes on nations-states in terms of social justice, patterns of access, poverty, dependency, and human development depending on their power relations in this new order. In other words, the process of globalization has been such that it has increased the economic distance between the strong North and the weak South while also excluding a significant proportion of the masses from the benefits of globalization. This process, according to Rubens Ricupero, secretary general of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), has "contributed to increasing vulnerability and instability of large parts of the world economy." The gap between the rich and poor countries has widened considerably. The forgoing analysis, as well as data to be provided in the next section, clearly indicates that without a major reorientation of international and domestic policies it will be almost impossible to change the fortunes of weak nation-states, particular Africa's.

Africa: The Exploited and Marginalized Continent

Table 1 shows the average annual growth in per capita income in Sub-Saharan Africa, from 1960 to 1993. A negative growth rate of –1.0 is found during the 1980-89 period, and this rate went further down to –1.2 during the 1990–93 period.

Statistics on trade and income also point to the negative effects of globalization on Africa. The African conti-

Table 1: Average Annual Growth in Real per Capita Income in SSA *(1960–1993)*

Source: UNDP Human Development Report 1996

nent, with a population of about 745 million in 1999 or about 12.5 % of the world population, carried only 1.5% of world trade and controlled only 1.3% of world income. The terms of trade at the end of the 1990s were 21 percent below that which was attained in the early 1970s.

According to the World Development Report 2000/2001, of the 64 countries ranked as "low income countries," 38 are in Africa (World Bank, 2001). Another ranking by UNDP is similarly dismal: Of the 36 countries grouped as "low human development" countries, 29 are in Africa (UNDP HDR 2002). This ranking is based on a wide range of social indicators such as life expectancy, literacy rate, infant mortality rate, and public expenditure on education. Notably, the Human Development Report of 2002 reported that among 50 African countries, at least 29 still spent more on debt service to foreign creditors than on health, and at least 13 spent more on the military than on health. For most African countries, economic growth fell from 4.0 percent yearly from 19966-1973, to –0.7 percent yearly from 1985 to 1990, and to –0.9 from 1991 to 1994 (World Bank 1996:18). Average income per head is lower in 2000 than it was in 1980. Unemployment increased from 7.7 percent in 1978 to 22.8 percent in 1990, and subsequently reached 30 percent in 2000. By 1990 public sector wages had declined by not less than 90 percent of what they were in 1974 depending on which country is in question.

Many are familiar with the term

> **Giddens (1990:65) adds an interesting perspective to this discourse by asserting that globalization is a process of uneven development that fragments as it coordinates. It is a product of economic and cultural fragmentation, and "enduring cross-national differences" (Giddens, 2000).**

"champagne glass economy," which refer to a picture of the global economy in which the minority (20 percent) of the world's richest population receives 86% of global income, while the poorest 20 percent receives just 1 percent of world income (UNDP HDR 1992). Remarkably, most multinationals command more wealth and economic power than most nation-states do. Indeed, of the 350 largest multinationals, their combined total revenue in 1998 accounted for 40 percent of global trade, and their turnover exceeds the GDP of many countries (UNDP HDR 1997, Table 4.1:92). In Sub-Saharan Africa, more than 40 percent of its 630 million people live below the internationally recognized poverty line of $1 a day. As for foreign direct investment, 68 percent goes to the richest 20 percent, while only 1 percent to the poorest 20 percent.

Another good measure of the imbalances that characterize the globalization era is information flow via Internet. The North controls 96.5 percent of all Internet services while African countries control just 0.2 percent (UNDP HDR 1999). Has Africa ever been treated by the main actors of the game as an equal partner in the global economy and trade? The answer is: Never! Consider this simple fact: Africa's share of 3 percent in world trade in the 1950's shrank even further to less than 2 percent during the 1990's. Was all this a deliberate design of globalization policy? The answer to this simple question can be in the affirmative or its alternative! Again this depends on how the global

marriage is contracted.

This process of marginalization has speeded up in recent years, as the UNDP Human Development Report 1999 pointed out:

> *Some have predicted convergence. Yet the past decade has shown increasing concentration of income, resources and wealth among people, corporations and countries. ... All these trends are not the inevitable consequences of global economic integration- but they have run ahead of global governance to share the benefits. (UNDP HDR 1999: 3)*

Globalization's misdirected strategies have introduced a new dimension- the exclusion of people from the benefits of development by accentuating social tension, and social fragmentation among countries and within countries. Clearly, these outcomes of globalization as exemplified in widening income inequality and terms of trade, mounting debts, and poverty threaten the very existence of the continent.

Without adequate checks and balances of the activities of multilateral agents and a new order of international cooperation filtered through a new system of globalization approach that puts human welfare and social justice over internal efficiency of inputs, globalization will severely mitigate human development, undermine investment in human capital, and erode human rights and "true" economic growth. In fact, these activities and services are actually squeezed out by globalization

Table 2: Gross Enrollment Ratios:
Sub-Saharan Africa

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1999
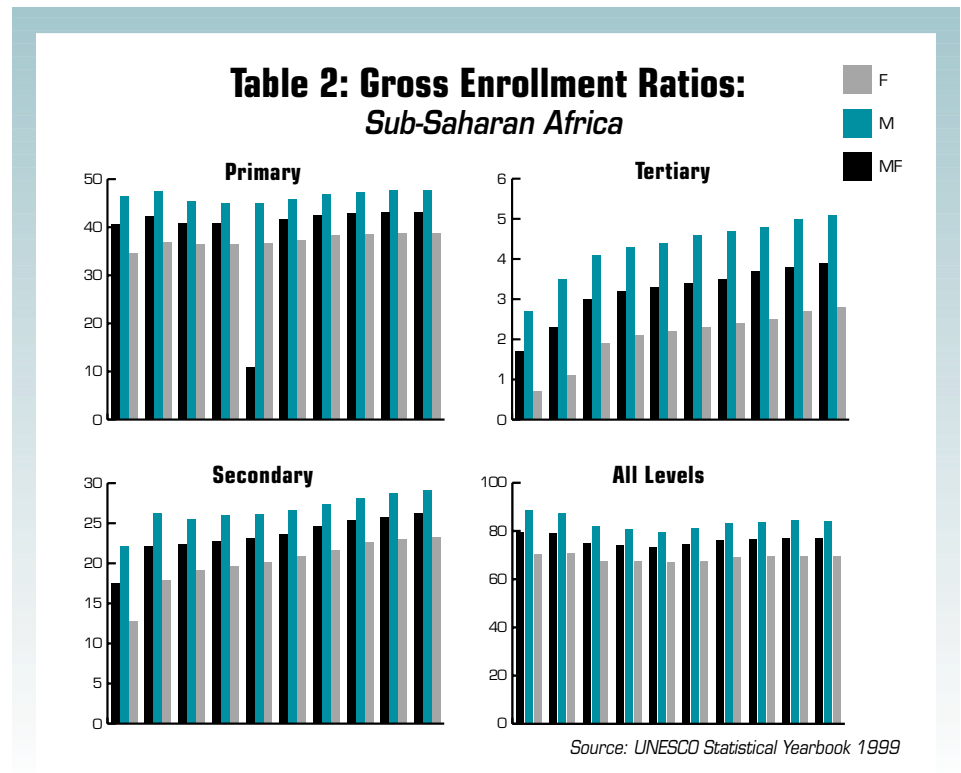
in the name of efficiency. For example, in Sub-Sahara Africa education and health reforms have been counter productive and have given rise to imbalances in access and quality. Because of these reforms some 250 million people lack access to water, and another 200 million are without health services.

To a large degree the record of other social sectors is more dismal than that of education. The picture on the education sector is not as uniformly bleak as the case of health indicators. With spending cuts on education, coupled with decline in economic growth, it should not be surprising that Africa showed less improvement in almost all education indicators (Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2002). A sharp drop occurred in the quality of pri-

mary schools that gives the highest social rates of return to all investments (Woolman 2001). It is worth mentioning that the rate of increase in the percentage of the overall population enrolled in secondary education slightly increased. This might be a result of the elongation of employment degree requirements. People feel that more education gives them a better chance of employability. Evidences on education indicators demonstrate that Africa did worse due to globalization except at the tertiary levels that realized 0.85 percentage points increase annually (see Table 2).

The Washington Consensus Prediction for Africa

Globalization's adverse effect on the African continent is also recognized

by some of its main actors. A very interesting document, which was formulated under the title "Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue about the Future with Non-Government Experts," by the National Foreign Intelligence Board under the authority of the Director of Central Intelligence of the United States government shows how brutal the policy discussions are in Washington about the future of Africa. The following quotes from the document, which is public, and which can be retrieved from the CIA web site, make this clear. Under the subtitle "Sub-Saharan Africa, Regional Trends," the CIA projects this future of Africa:

> *Most African states will miss out on the economic growth engendered elsewhere by globalization and by scientific and technological advances. Only a few countries will do better, while a handful of nation-states will have hardly any relevance to the lives of their citizens. As Sub-Saharan Africa's multiple and interconnected problems are compounded, ethnic and communal tensions will intensify, periodically escalating into open conflicts, and sometimes spawning secessionist states. (National Intelligence Board 2000)*

This is an attestation of the concern of this piece that the current international arrangements or the goals of international cooperation will not permit Africa to share in the positives of globalization.

Conclusion

As the African Director of the International Labor Organization rightly points out; globalization is responsible for Africa's decline in an expansionary world economy. The result of globalization is that Africans, in almost all cases, continue to undergo a disintegration of their traditional lifestyles and suffer social, political, and economic regression and instability. Nation-states and their citizens are becoming mere appendages and outposts of the more developed economies of the world, as multilateral agents have refused to protect their constituents against the onslaught of globalization. Available evidence shows that there has been a divergence, rather than convergence, in levels of economic growth and trade relations between regions, countries, and within countries. For some countries, particularly those in Africa, it has been associated with deepening of poverty and the accentuation of inequalities in gains in trade expansion. The distribution of the gains and costs of globalization as indicated by Amartya Sen remains its major critic. Indeed, globalization has created an opportunity for some people and some countries that were not even dreamed of years ago. Others have warned that the dynamics of fusing the peoples of the world into one race would be cataclysmic. Africans and their governments should not only take reasonable measures to protect their respective economies, but they should also ensure the integrity of their respective countries as sovereign

and viable members of the international community.

The philosophy of minimal government suggested by the predominantly materialistic ideology currently in vogue should give way to the philosophy of effective and dominant national governments in Africa. In this vein, the concern for efficiency must be balanced with the concern for equity, just as the concern for economic growth must be balanced with a concern for social progress. Clearly, time has come to evolve a new consensus on development through new and higher levels of cooperation and consultation, filtered through a new system of moral values that puts human development and social justice ahead of the predominant commodification of globalization paradigm. Finally, the risk of globalization and that of market reforms in Africa that supposedly would reflect and reinforce their integration into the global economy will only lead to the disintegration of its economies, and raise political instability and social tensions associated with globalization.

New Policy Directions for Stakeholders

It is true that globalization and markets have a logic of their own, which leads to inclusion for some and exclusion for others, or affluence for some and poverty for others. It is equally true, however, that the globalization process can be-and should be-reformed so as to ensure that weak nation-states get a fair share and a fair opportunity in the game. Thus, weak

nations who have been bypassed by the benefits of globalization need to play a more active role in the globalization process. With these realities of globalization outcomes, we hereby proffer some correctives and interventions that would make for more equitable distribution of the fruits of globalization and for a broader based social development approach. The cooperation of the international community and the role of government is crucial, particularly in the reforms of "institutional arrangements" (Sen 2002), and the provisioning of social services such as education that foster inclusion. Whether globalization could have "a human face" will depend largely on the willingness and sincerity of these key players to "place human development and the public good above the pursuit of corporate self-interest and national advantage" (Oxfam 2000). For discussion, we now submit the following concrete correctives and interventions. The objective of these measures is only to foster inclusion where markets exist and to create markets where they do not exist. The inclusion of people in the process of globalization requires the following:

1. A basic change in mind-sets is vital for massive investment in human development, for there is not much gain in finding excuses for Africa's problems.

2. Increased access to education, massive investment in basic social services and an increase in social consumption. This means building

capabilities, which must be matched to the needs of the market. This will make the unemployed and underemployed employable through education and economic reforms that are conducive to employment creation. In an analysis of development strategies that are likely to produce social justice and equitable outcomes, Geo-JaJa and Mangum (2000; 2001) emphasize similar factors: education and training, employment creation, government intervention and the reprioritization of stakeholder's allocation to education, particularly basic education.

3. The creation of efficient and effective institutions to mediate between economic and social development will ensure a steady increase in social consumption.

4. The development of economic and social infrastructures, which will facilitate capacity-building and economic and political empowerment to the masses. This requires reinventing national authority with human development and equity at the core.

5. The strengthening of nation-states and by way of stronger government. Contrary to suggestions by the predominant paradigm, the role of governments is extremely vital, particularly in creating efficient

markets and subsidizing of social activities. The central role of government is to ensure a steady increase in social consumption, choice expansion, and assures equity in the distribution of the benefits of globalization. The objective of this intervention is to limit the adverse effect of social exclusion, and to provide some mutual checks and balances in the sharing of the benefits of globalization. Without these correctives and interventions, globalization would continue to be less relevant for growth with development, especially in weak nation-states.

We conclude with a call for international solidarity and the invisible heart of human development, not hand of the market forces. In the face of the misdirected approach of globalization, the challenge is not to stop the expansion of global markets, but to find the rules and the institutions for stronger governance to preserve the advantages of global markets and competition, and also to provide enough space for locals, communities, and nation-states, and to ensure that globalization works for people, not just for profits (UNDP HDR 1999:21). All stakeholders of globalization, particularly multilateral agents, have a major role to play in the decommodification of globalization so as to make great strides in both economic growth and human development in the world.