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### GLOBALIZATION OF AFRICA AND AFRICAN GLOBALIZATION: A 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY PERSPECTIVE

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#### Abstract

Globalization has been defined by its increasing interconnectedness and advancement of values across the globe. The recipe for African development has been precipitated by Westernized and modernized designs and architecture. The study interrogates the independence of African states in all spheres of her life, whether it is political, social, or economic. The study also investigates the configuration of the international ideological linings of the capitalist and socialist movements in Africa. Africa is free but everywhere in chains with either her colonial tutelage aprons or playing a second feudal role by the international community. The study adopted secondary sources of data collection and qualitative methods for our data analysis. The study concluded that there are overwhelming negative impacts of African development by globalization which sterns from the international division of world ideologies. The study recommends the indigenization and utilization of African research and technologies by Africans for her development.

**Keywords:** African states, Capitalism, Development, Globalization, International organization

## Introduction

The world economic and social sphere has become greatly "interconnected" and" integrated" on the one hand, which has affected transportation and integration of Information and Communication technologies which have impacted mightily the downgrade of the concept of "far away". The effect of globalization, which has resulted in into-gross trade, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), capital flows, and technology transfers, have risen significantly in Africa. In Africa, the recent wave of "globalization" is occasioned by increasing concern about its impact on Africa's economic growth and performance since independence in the 1960s after colonial rule.

However, during the late 1970s, the continent set back which led to stagnation and recession through the 1980s and 1990s. Africa's role in the global economy is largely responsible for this, expressed most visibly in insufficient resource mobilization and capital formation and the continent's lopsided trade relations. In contrast, the pessimists show that globalization is quite uneven in its impact and gives rise to negative counter-effects on the previously protected sectors, the marginalization of entire regions of the world economy, and possibly increases the country's income inequality.

Globalization has affected employment, poverty alleviation, and income developing countries. redistribution within Africa's growth performance since gaining independence from colonial rule in the 1960s has been quite disappointing. So used are we to this assessment that we forget that Africa was, at least in the first decade of independence, growing faster than other developing regions in the world. However, the late 1970s set back the continent and led to stagnation and regression through the 1980s and 1990s. Africa's role in the global economy is largely responsible for this, expressed most visibly in insufficient resource mobilization and capital formation and the continent's lopsided trade relations.

Though, the two strong theorists (Liberals and Marxian) of globalization have argued dialectically the opposite of themselves. Among other arguments offered by the Marxist theorist of the effect of globalization on African soil, which includes; Capital and resource flow resistance and mobilization, as well as trade patterns, have crucially weakened African economies that undermine their growth prospects. Other impediments include; structural dependence on primary product exports, limited export variety and diversification of exports, underinvestment in domestic infrastructure, particularly for both agriculture and manufacturing and little domestic value added to extracted resources. The liberal enjoys the spread of the following benefits of globalization to Africa; access to new markets, knowledge of cultural diversities, knowledge of technology and innovation, etc. We concluded in this chapter that there are overwhelming negative impacts of African development and struggle in this present age which sterns from the international division of world ideologies as sponsored by globalization and Western capitalist societies.

### **Globalization Conceptualized**

The word globalization has a lot of detailed usages in contemporary discussions and analyses. It is sometimes referred to as an economic term to mean the increasing interconnections in the global economy in the last few years. The phenomenon is related to the increase of both relatively open international financial markets and global corporations (Barnett and Cavanagh, 1994). Khor (2002) argued that economic globalization is not a new process in the global discussion. He further stated that over the past five centuries, firms in economically advanced countries have increasingly expanded their outreach in trade and production activities (intensified in the colonial period in Africa) to territories all over the world. This was further analyzed by Friedman (1999). Thus he stated that the driving idea or opinion behind globalization is free-market capitalism. That is, the more emphasis is placed on market forces determinants, and the more you open one's economy tailoring towards free trade and competition, the more efficient and effective the economy will be.

Youngs (2007:4) focused on the notions of an indirect persistence of the United States of America's (USA) hegemony and power, which is closely linked to the development of the globalization era. It was Rappa (2004:176) who sustained this line of viewpoint by arguing that the political economy of the USA has a profound financial, social, cultural, and political influence and domination on the process of globalization throughout the world. This is substantiated by a dictum that "A strong claim is that the most powerful multilateral institutions, in terms of the resources at their command, are controlled by the donor countries (and most probably the USA)" (Morten & Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences Vol VII 2017 Desmond, 2014:2). Most old research conducted by social scientists and analysts in this area addressed the impact of trade liberalization on aggregate welfare in developing nations, especially in Africa, in line with the relationship between trade liberalization and poverty (McCorriston et al., 2013).

Rosenau (2003), however, defined globalization as the tensions between opposites that presently outline the course of events and the growth or decline of institutions and systems. Dalby (2007) mentioned that globalization is the means to large-scale changes in social-economic and political life. Hence, on the one hand, globalization means the development of changes in various aspects of society. Turner (2011) argued that the consequence and problem of globalization in modern societies are predominantly multicultural and traditional incline societies. There is a much-modernized role in the process of promoting globalization by multinational and transnational companies in global governing mechanisms. During the time of Clinton's presidency 1 in the USA, globalization increased and expanded so massively that voices of the concerned entities began to coalesce and organize throughout the world by articulating popular movements as in Seattle and elsewhere (Gill, 2000; Halliday, 2000; Kaldor, 2000; Scholte, 2000).

However, the impact of Ronald Regan's administration during his second term of presidency in the USA increased the cultural practices and more extensive economic aggression on financial expansion. This made many cultural affiliations and financial markets of nations to be integrated increasing. During Reagan's years of administration, there was robust nexus between politics, economics, the military, and the expansion of mass consumerism as amplified through the media industry (Barber, 2008; Moffitt, 1987). These variant definitions have detailed the close association of the term globalization with a multidimensional disciplinary approach and outlook.

It is obvious that from the aforementioned conceptualizations of the term globalization, the following can be deduced or summarized as the core elements of globalization;

• Integration and diffusion of ideas, technologies, and cultures amongst different people in the world.

• Globalization is a movement that will eventually make all human knowledge, experience, and customs the same because all cultures are increasingly integrated.

• It occurs in everyday life through wireless transportation and communication, electronic commerce, and international trade

 $\cdot$  It has been described as a deliberate focus to promote Westernization and Americanization of the world.

· It is a trend that supports the free movement of goods and services across borders.

### Historical Overview Of Globalization

Globalization is often referred to as a recent or modern phenomenon; however, globalization can be studied from a historical perspective by using the historical record spanning many centuries or millennia. In phase, we will discuss the historical analysis of globalization, its origins, growth, and implications and also provide a more comprehensive design and a better understanding of the phenomenon and discussion surrounding globalization, most especially in Africa.

However, given the increasing amount of literature on globalization and its numerous interpretations, many scholars and social scientist agree that recently it is even more important to understand the historical context of globalization. The literature provided here discusses how the global economy of the 21st century has been integrated into the foundation and expansion of African commerce and trade and the rest of the world many centuries ago. This section presents literature that examines the historical aspects of globalization by critically analyzing its origins, the history of international economics and trade, and the history of international finance, exchange, and global markets as in the integral process of globalization. This section intends to present a historical and comprehensive analysis of the discussion of globalization.

This aspect of Globalization Studies deals with the historical dimension of globalization. Its main goal is to analyze processes and scales of global integration from a historical perspective, starting with the Agrarian Revolution. Those integration processes (depending on the position of a particular researcher) may be regarded as preparatory stages of globalization or as its initial phases. There are already quite a few studies on this subject (see, e.g., Foreman-Peck 1998; Sharp 2008; Lewis and Moore 2009, etc.).

We contend that, in a certain sense, almost the whole of World History can be regarded as a history of movement toward the increasing size of social systems, their integration, and globalization in general. Hereby, in history and sociology, the investigation is broadening concerning the historical development of globalization processes. According to different authors, globalization has been going on since the first movement of people out of Africa into other parts of the world.

This is according to Andre Gunder Frank, the World System emerged [Frank 1990, 1993; Frank and Gills 1993] or in the Axial Age (Jaspers

1953) in the 1st millennium BC. Each of these dates has its sense. But, notwithstanding this point of view, there is no doubt that the historical dimension of globalization is quite challenging (for more detail, see Grinin 2011). However, among some researchers, there is still a tendency to underestimate the scale of those links in the pre-Industrial era; thus, it appeared necessary to provide additional empirical support for our statement. It also turned necessary to apply a special methodology (which necessitated the use of the world-system approach). There are quite a few periodizations of the history of globalization. An example looks as follows (Hopkins 2003, e.g., pp. 3-7; see also Bayly 2004): (1) Archaic globalization; (2) Early modern globalization; (3) Modern globalization. In this chapter, we did not discuss the whole history of globalization in detail because of the possible transforming inter societal links into the global community in a full sense of this notion. However, between 1500 and the world was not fully globalized yet due to the following number of remarks.

Firstly, not all the territories of the world system had been discovered as of then. Secondly, many societies (in Australia, Oceania, and some parts of Inner Africa) had not been involved in global integration in any significant manner. Thirdly, some of the huge countries of East Asia quite enormously isolated themselves from the rest of the world. Fourthly, the volume of trade could hardly be amount global.

The contemporary integration of the globe in a new version of interconnectedness is what is termed 'globalization'. To distinguish this period from the previous, we have discussed that is the 'planetary' level which denotes the implications of space exploration (these are the space/satellite communication technologies that secure unprecedented opportunities for communication concerning its speed, density, and diversity). Secondly, we observe the involvement in the globalization process of those societies (in Asia, Africa, and other regions) that were weakly connected with the rest of the world, where the links were rather limited, and those links were often created in a coercive way.

## **Dimensions Of Globalization**

According to Manfred Steger, professor of global studies who believe that globalization has four main dimensions, which include: economic, political, cultural, and ecological, with ideological categorization. However, it was David Held's book termed 'Global Transformations' that is organized around the same dimensions, with ecological typology not listed in it. It was Steger who compares the current study of globalization to the old Buddhist sayings of blind scholars and their

first meeting with an elephant. Here we have the following dimensions of globalization as explained thus.

**Economic globalization**: This is one of the three main dimensions of globalization commonly found among nations of the world as well as in the academic community. Economic globalization refers to the widespread international movement of goods, capital, services, technology, and information. It is the rising of economic integration and interdependence of national, regional, and indigenous economies across the world through an intensification of the cross-border movement of goods, services, technologies, and capital. Economic globalization is solely made of globalization of production, markets, technology, organizational regimes, institutions, corporations, and labour.

Economic globalization has been growing since the emergence of interstate trade among nations. It has grown at an increased rate due to improvements in the efficiency and effectiveness of bettered transportation and advances in telecommunication. It has become an important part of the information in this era rather than physical capital movement in the modern economy and by developments in science and technology.

**Political globalization:** This is the development of integration in the international political sphere of states both in size and operation. One of the basic aspects of political globalization is seen during the time of the great waning of the statist framework and the growth of other actors in the political sphere. It was Gerald Delanty Rumford that defined political globalization as "a tension between three processes which interact to produce the complex field of global politics: global geopolitics, global moribund culture, and interlinkages." However, William Thompson analyzed it to be "the expansion of a global political system, and its institutions, in which inter-regional transactions (including, but certainly not limited to trade) are managed".

Valentine M. Moghadam conceptualizes it as "an increasing trend towards multilateralism (in which the United Nations plays a key role), to an emerging 'transnational state apparatus,' and towards the emergence of a national and non-profitable organization that act as watchdogs over governments and have increased their activities and influence". This is per what Manfred Steger wrote it "political globalization refers to the intensification and expansion of political interrelations across the globe". Colin Crouch detailed it to be the "growing power of institutions of global democracy such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO)". For the essence of our study here, political globalization refers to the growth and coercion of international governmental authorities and social, cultural, and operative advocacy links across borderlines.

**Military Globalization:** David Held described it as "the process which embodies the increasing rise and intensity of military relations among the political units of the international community". This analyzes the brooding links of military operations and relations. It also takes recognition of the impact of technological advancement and innovation in the military world. However, Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye see military globalization as "long-distance networks of interdependence in which force, and the threat or promise of force, are employed." It is of great essence for us to understand that military globalization is divided into three distinct phenomena:

• The globalization of the war system

• The global system of arms production and transfers

• The geo-governance of violence

**Cultural globalization:** This refers to the transmission of knowledge, traditions, and core value system around the world in an increasing dimension of social relations. This process is organized by the integration of different cultures as facilitated by the following source; social media, the internet, and the newspaper. The integration of cultures allows individuals and groups to have access to the line of social relations across state and regional borders.

Ecological Globalization: Issues find within this typology of globalization include; population growth, access to food, worldwide reduction in biodiversity, the gap between the South and North global division, climatic change, and global environmental degradation.

# Theories Of Globalization

All theories of globalization have been categorized into eight typologies, which include; liberalism, political realism, Marxism, constructivism, postmodernism, feminism, and eclecticism. Each one of them carries several differentiations. However, two theories of globalization are of interest here; the theory of liberalism and Marxism. The global liberal theorist believes that the integration of nations by the free movement of capital, goods, and services has assisted the democratization and development of African states.

They accrued the progress of globalization with a lot of benefits, especially towards the African continent. The Marxian paradigm has strongly opposed the liberal theorists on the ground that globalization has brought nothing except the division of the world into two unequal halves; the rich Western capitalist states and the poor underdeveloped countries (African states). They further argued that globalization produces inequality among nations of the world. The following are the theories of globalization;

1. **Theory of Liberalism:** Liberalism refers to globalization as a marketled phenomenon of modernization and Western development. At the primary stage of it, it unveils economic welfare and political liberty. It deals with connectivity as derived from humans to maximize their material well-being and exercise basic freedoms in all spheres of life. This movement and its internal and external coercion definitely will interlink humanity across the planet.

Liberal globalization is in the form of the following:

(a) Technological advancement of goods, services, transportation, communications, and information generation.

(b) Alignment of legal, social, and institutional arrangements of nations to enable markets and liberal democracy frameworks on a global world scale.

2. Theory of Political Realism: Advocates of this theory are interested in questions of state power, the pursuit of national interest, and conflict between states. According to the theory, states are inherently acquisitive and self-serving and heading for an inevitable competition for power. Some advocates of the balance of power have stated that to achieve world dominance in the international arena; one must pull collective resistance from other states.

3. **Theory of Marxism:** Marxism is typically attributed to modes of production, socio-economic exploitation, and dominance through unjust distribution, exchange, and social disability as an off-shot of capitalism. This originated from Karl Marx, who detailed the development of global capital across barriers to consist of the world as an arena of market and market relations. However, other Marxist scholars believe that globalization occurs when there is an increase in the world's connectivity and integration of social relations which promotes a framework of profit-making and surplus accumulation. Marxists reject both liberalist and political realist explanations of

globalization. It is the outcome of historically specific impulses of capitalist development.

4. Theory of Constructivism: Globalization here arises out of the way people have emotionally constructed the social world with definite symbols, ascent, and images. It is referred to as the character and dynamics of consciousness. Its designs production and governance as second-order structures that derive from deeper cultural and socio-psychological forces. Globalization, according to constructivists, is the outcome of disciplines such as Anthropology, Humanities, Media and Information Studies, and Sociology.

5. **Theory of Postmodernism:** This perspective of globalization highlights the characteristics of structural power in the construction of identities, norms, and knowledge.

This base structure of knowledge in modern society is 'rationalism'. It denotes, in the empirical world, the subordination of nature to human control, objectivist science, and instrumentalist efficiency.

This mode of knowledge has authoritarian and expansionary logic that leads to a kind of cultural imperialism subordinating all other epistemologies. It does not focus on the problem of globalization per se. In this way, western rationalism overawes indigenous cultures and other non-modem life worlds. Postmodernism analyzes beyond the relatively superficial records of liberalist and political realist theories and exposes social conditions that have favoured globalization.

**6**. **Theory of Feminism**: It refers to the social construction and operation of masculinity and femininity. Here biological sex is upheld overall social order and forms significant change in the course of history and, presently, globalism. The major concern here lies in the status of women's equality, particularly their structural relation to men. To them, women have a high tendency to be marginalized, silenced, and violated by the global community in general.

7. **Theory of Transformationalism**: This theory was expounded by David Held and his mates. They stated that the term globalization reflects the increased interconnectedness of political, economic, and cultural matters across the world. Given this integration of globalization, this is defined as a process of transforming or changing the spatial organization of social relations and links with flows and networks of activity, interaction, and power.

**8. Theory of Eclecticism:** This theory of globalization details some forces that emphasize the technological and institutional building of capital accumulation; this reflects identity and knowledge construction, rationalism and cultural imperialism, and masculinity and subordination of women.

## African Global Hegemony And Hindrances

Africa has sorted the very ability to identify the key technological improvement of her region in the global community and utilize them in such a way that other developed nations and continents of the world like the USA, Germany, and Britain did. Recently, there has been a clarion call by African leaders through the African Union (AU) to develop indigenous skills and labour in other to counteract her development deficiencies. However, there are different challenges to Africa as a continent in global hegemony; they include; cultural diversification; technological know-how; environmental time zone differences; lack of integrity; and language barrier. These are all further explained below:

**Cultural Diversification** - There are differences among nations in value systems, religious affinity, environment, and cultures. There are cultural differences in individual versus collective aspirations that come into play. These differences are witnessed in the cultural build-up, cultural consciousness, cultural awareness, and cultural acceptability in the team.

**Technological Knowhow** – The differences in expertise among nations in the global community are very large. This has become a challenge for most third-world nations, like Africa in particular. It is the leadership of the nation and its technocrats that performs the role of gathering knowledge and building up expertise in the labour force.

**Environmental Time Zones Differences** – Time and timing are common everywhere, but there exist differences in geographical zone locations of continents. Most of the African states are situated at the end zone of the world equator as against other developed nations of the world. This is challenging in trade and other relations among them.

**Lack of Integrity** – Leaders of most African states lack trust, especially in financial management and accountability. Political leaders award projects and contracts without due accountability. Incessant military coups and counter-coup have destroyed trust in governance. **Language Barrier** – African states have strong links with colonial heritage and cultural affinities. Language is one of the strong build-ups of this colonial transfer by Western nations to African states. Most of the West African state's lingual language is English and French. This makes it very difficult for African hegemony to be respected outside its sho. This is because language has become a huge barrier in Africa to communicating with the rest of the world.

## **Dynamic Forces Of Change In African Global Economies**

There are forces of change that drive the development and growth of African and world economics; these forces sometimes co-habit with institutional building and policies in and outside Africa. Here we are going to concentrate on the following institutions and programs as a propagator or agents of globalization in African economies;

**Multi-national and Transnational Corporations-** The operation of the multilateral corporation on African soil has a monopolistic drive in competing with local firms. Sometimes these multilateral corporations paralyze local businesses in Africa. These corporations sometimes penetrate beyond the economic sphere to other parts of society like; mass communication and mass media, and mining industry, etc. It is obvious to say that multilateral corporation indeed penetrates every economy and political sphere, but the only difference is the impact it has on both the rich and poor countries.

Policies of liberalization and free trade operations have become a trademark of globalization. Transnational Corporation takes the world as one component of business entities where domestic boundaries are irrelevant. Globalization itself in Africa is all about the transnational movement of capital and the rise of conglomerates which are referred to as multilateral or transnational corporations depending on the level of capital transaction entered into by their effectors economy.

**World Bank and International Monetary Fund (I.M.F):** This is a branch of the U.N.O which is created to assist developing countries like Africa in obtaining long-term loans to improve their national development. The conditionalities attached to the World Bank loan, especially servicing of the loan, have kept Africa in perpetual underdevelopment. Most of the funds issued by I.M.F to African states to tackle her problems all in the name of globalizing Africa, worsen her political cum economic instability.

**World Trade Organization (W.T.O):** This is a body that is charged with the responsibility of regulating international business and trade

transactions across the globe. African trade and investment no longer make independent economic or policy decisions but merely a follow-up of directives of this trade organization. The World Trade Organization's general decision threatens our general well-being, political stability, job security, and the general development of African states.

**United Nations (Security Council):** This arm of the United nation works towards actualizing peace throughout the globe. It has both permanent and non-permanent memberships. They question any nation or group that goes against their agenda. The Security Council is highly dominated by the U.S.A and the rest of Western countries. None of the African states have been included in the circle of this arm. The non-inclusiveness of African states in the Security Council is an act of global phenomena to continue directing the life and development of Africa.

## **Benefits Of Globalization To African Development**

It is a central argument by liberal scholars and social scientists that globalization positively affects businesses and well-being in Africa. The following are several benefits of globalization in Africa;

1. Access to New Markets- Globalization has created new markets, businesses, and entrepreneurs on African soil. Businesses and markets gain a great deal from globalization. Many new customer bases, clients, and diverse economic streams have been created through the impact of globalization. There is no need for businesses in Africa to establish a foreign entity in an overseas nation, especially in the Internet age.

2. **Knowledge of Cultural Diversities-** Globalization makes it simple for Africans to access foreign culture and good tradition, which includes; food, movies, music, art, and scientific knowledge. This is because globalization permits the free movement of people, goods and services, art, and information.

3. **Knowledge of Technology and Innovation-** The globe itself remains constantly connected and integrated. Much technological advancement in African soil today is a result of this integration. In other words, access so knowledge in innovation advances very fast because most of the African experts in different areas of life are trained and equipped by other nations of the world. This has simultaneously led to knowledge also transfers. This means that scientific advancement gotten in Europe can best work in the African States on some days.

4. Access to New Talent- Special gift and talents have been discovered and harnessed in Africa to suit the current capitalist lead market globally. For example, globalization offers firms and businesses the chance to harness and train talents in the formation of a capitalist market.

5. **Higher Standard of Living Across the Globe**-Developing nations like Africa has witnessed an improved standard of living because of the flow of the rule of law and democracy across the border. Furthermore, the improvement in of poverty line has been achieved through the circularization of lifestyle.

## **Globalization And African Development Challenges**

Marxian theorists and scholars of globalization are in strong disagreement with liberal theorists that globalization offers African states any benefits. Furthermore, the Marxist state summarizes some of these challenges as follows;

1. **Arms Proliferation-** The spread of arms in Africa has contributed to major security challenges in the continent. The firearm and other dangerous tools of Boko Haram in Nigeria and other parts of Africa are a result of foreign values spread all over Africa. The supply of small and heavy weapons by Western nations and the U.S. has fuelled crises in Libya, Sudan, Tunisia, and presently the terrorist operation in northern Nigeria.

2. Unemployment and Immigration Problems-Immigration problems have caused a lot of internal and external image damage to African states globally. Immigration laws often affect African immigrants negatively who seek white-collar jobs and other opportunities outside the shores of Africa. Sometimes it becomes difficult to secure visas for employees that are foreign nationals. The U.S.A and other Western nations, for example, are getting stricter in issuing visas to some African states.

3. **Increased Tariffs and Export Duties**-High import and export fees have stifled African trade and investment globally. Businesses and firms domiciled in Africa are constant look to market their goods and services abroad but often face expensive tariff duties which discourage them. Many firms and businesses have been liquidated on this account.

4. **Culture Superiority Clash-**Globalization promotes the superiority of one culture over another. Global ethnocentrism has placed the cultural

hegemony of Western values over the African value system. They perceive that African values and civilization are traditional and moribund as such, cannot overhaul her development. They believe that the success of European circularization and assimilation of their culture among African states will lead to her development.

5. Exploitation by Foreign Nations – globalization creates a world of unequal size and sphere. Africa is seen as playing a second-fiddle role to other Western nations of the globe. This is occasioned by the emergency of global capitalist development that divides nations according to market lines. Since her colonial period, Africa has played the role of raw material generation. While the well-advanced capitalist societies produce the finished goods from African raw materials. The economic dominance here comes as a result of the high cost of these products being sold back to African nations by the same West.

## **Conclusion**/Recommendation

We concluded that globalization is as old as the human race itself. This is because the interconnection of various communities and tribes in trades and social relations has been there before the organization of life in the international sphere. We itemize various dimensions of globalization and the theories thereof. The theories of liberals and Marxian scholarship were upheld in this chapter because of the numerous impacts they have made towards African economic hegemony and development.

The following global hindrances of African economics were clearly stated as follows; multi-national and transnational corporations, the world bank and international monetary fund, the world trade organization, and the United Nation (security council)

We recommend the following as a panacea towards revamping of negative impacts of globalization in Africa;

•**The Indigenization and Utilization of African Research and Technologies:** African states should, as a matter of urgency, place value on their research and local technologies. The superiority placed over Western technologies should be resolved by African leaders.

• **Reorganization of International organizations such as the UN and its Agencies:** The reorganization of the international organization is eminent for greater participation by other continents, including Africa. The dominance, hegemony, and embargo placed on the Security

Council membership by the Western capitalist and socialist nations should be lifted. Most of the agencies of the United Nations were created before the independence of African states.

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