1-24-2011

Slow But Sure, Africa's Path To Democracy: [Bridged] Globalization, Education, and the Middle Class

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INTRODUCTION: AN OVERVIEW

Africa! The word has been associated with poverty, greed, brutality and gangsterism. Why is Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, still largely undemocratic? Is there any hope that African countries will in large part become democratic? Africa, by its very historical nature will take time to inculcate democracy into its being. How does that happen? How will African countries finally embrace democracy?

In this paper, I will give a short historical background of how Africa has evolved over the years into modern day Africa in order to enable one understand how Africa has come to be what, and where it is today.

I will embark on this project from the standpoint that the only way in which Africa can attain democracy is by first and foremost having in place Rule of Law, however imperfect it may be. I will argue that consequent upon that, the synergy of bridled globalization, an educated populace, and a strong middle class, will be the

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1 Sub-Saharan Africa is a term used to describe the area of the African continent which lies south of the Sahara, or those African countries which are fully or partially located south of the Sahara. It contrasts with North Africa, which is considered a part of the Arab world. The Sub-Saharan region is also known as Black Africa, in reference to its many black populations. Commentators in Arabic in the medieval period used a similar term, bilād as-ṣūdān, for the region south of the Sahara, which literally translates as "land of the blacks." – Culled from Wikipedia

2 Here, the adoption of Huber, Rueschemeyer and Stephens’ definition of formal democracy will be adopted here. They define it as, “a political system that combines four features: regular free and fair elections, universal suffrage, accountability of the state’s administrative organs to the elected representatives, and effective guarantees for freedom of expression and association as well as protection against arbitrary state action.”

3 Here, it is necessary to define what I mean by “middle class.” I will rely on Nimrod Mkele’s exposition where he writes, “Although the term ‘middle class’ originally meant persons of independent means such as shopkeepers, professionals and small landowners, modern usage has broadened the meaning of the term to include managerial and executive workers and the army of white collar workers. For the distinction between classes in no longer one based purely on one’s role in economic life, but on whether there is an accepted identity of interests in the members of a given class. This applies to the African class system.

Two groups make up the African middle class. The first group comprises individuals working on their own account such as businessmen, independent professionals – mainly doctors and lawyers, a few landowners and independent peasants and entertainers. The second group is what has been called a serving middle class. This consists of teachers, ministers of religion and nurses, administrative and clerical workers, salesmen, journalists and the very few who now hold senior administrative and executive positions. But, as elsewhere, these two groups accept themselves and are accepted by others as members of
catalyst, the fuel that will cause the essential ingredients of democracy to manifest itself in the society, and eventually democracy take root. Lastly, I will make recommendations as to how these can be achieved.

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

As Tocqueville notes, “We cannot talk about the present and the future without talking about the past.” To understand fully how democracy can be implanted in Africa, one must first understand the historical underpinnings, the history of Africa. In attempting to explain this, I will focus on sub-Saharan Africa, and will use the West African nation of Ghana as the reference point. Ghana is being used as the reference point because first and foremost, it was the first sub-Saharan African country to attain independence from the colonialists, and its trajectory from pre-colonial to post-colonial up to the late 1980’s has been similar to most sub-Saharan African countries.

Africa in pre-colonial times was comprised of several tribes with different languages and people. The Europeans colonized and ruled the people indirectly through the chiefs. African countries started attaining independence from 1957 with Ghana being the first country. This was inspired by the few educated elite in the Ghanaian society such as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. That came up with the concept of the ‘talented tenth’ where it

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4 Alexis de Tocqueville, 19th century French author.
5 The Talented Tenth was an influential essay written by W.E.B. Du Bois and published in September 1903. It appeared in The Negro Problem, a collection of essays written by leading African Americans. The phrase "talented tenth" originated in 1896 among Northern white liberals, specifically the American Baptist Missionary Home Society. They had the goal of establishing black colleges to train Negro teachers and elites. Du Bois used the term "the talented tenth" to describe the likelihood of one in ten black men becoming leaders of their race in the world, through methods such as continuing their education, writing books, or becoming directly involved in social change. He strongly believed that blacks needed a classical education to be able to reach their potential, rather than the industrial education promoted by such people as Booker T. Washington and some white philanthropists. In his later life, W.E.B. Du Bois recognized that
was believed that the liberation and advancement of Africa would come about through the educated few who would inspire, liberate, and advance the continent as a whole.

After independence, African leaders inherited largely good economies. Thus as *The Economist* notes, “In 1965 Ghanaians were less poor, believe it or not, than South Koreans or Thais; Nigerians were better off than Indonesians.” Africans without the training and expertise were unable to maintain and build on the economy, and manage state funds efficiently, and the increased poverty saw many agitating for change. Leaders became increasingly autocratic to retain themselves in power and coup d’états became the norm. As *The Economist* notes, “Africa's first experiments with democracy did not last long. Elected governments quickly turned authoritarian or were swept aside by the army. The new regimes proved dysfunctional and unstable. In 1960-79, a total of 59 African rulers were toppled or assassinated.” African leaders, unable to pool enough revenue from markets and being wooed by Cold War powers, aligned with either the U.S. or Soviet Union in return for aid. They also depended on their former colonial masters who anxious to still reap the benefits of cheap raw materials to sustain their economies, went to great lengths to support autocratic despots.

Some African leaders, in trying to please the masses and the hyped-up expectations of the people, drove out or caused to be driven out, these former colonialists
who had the know-how and the expertise to really make markets work,\textsuperscript{10} and redistributed their properties to cronies. What happened in all these countries was the virtual collapse of the economies because Africans were simply not equipped at that point in time to take over the economy. In Africa today, those economies that have been relatively stable and vibrant enough, did not expel the Europeans at the dawn of independence or thereafter but worked with them to build the markets, get the know-how, and build a well educated populace and a strong middle class.\textsuperscript{11}

By the 1980’s, African markets had been largely dependent on aid and had leaders who had no idea how to run a market economy. As the 1980’s swung around and the Cold War’s intensity waned, patronage also went down significantly. The reserves left by the colonial powers had been long exhausted. Revenue from raw materials was simply inadequate. There was little to tax as very few in the society were in the formal sector and virtually all imports were made by the government. As a Staff Study Mission to Ghana in a report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of The U.S. House of Representatives noted, “At least two thirds of rural Ghanaians are thought to have lived in absolute poverty during the late 1970’s and early 1980’s.”\textsuperscript{12} Governments simply could not churn revenue and those few big businesses in the private sector - that had connections to the highest echelons of power – also naturally did everything possible to evade or pay little

\textsuperscript{10}“General Amin [Uganda] put an end to the ‘Asian problem’ by ordering the mass expulsion of the entire Asian community. This simplistic ‘solution’ its callousness notwithstanding, cogently reflected the pent-up grievances, and prejudices of the average Ugandan against Asian influence and economic power, and it was as widely popular internally as it was categorically deplored outside the country.” –Samuel Decalo. \textit{Coup and Army Rule in Africa: Motivations and Constraints}. Second Edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, Pages 149-150

\textsuperscript{11}Botswana and in some respects, South Africa after apartheid, would be examples.

tax. As Arce Moisés notes, “When costs are narrowly concentrated and benefits are widely distributed, a government agency is likely to encounter a dominant group hostile to its goals.”¹³ There was really no functioning market to sustain the people and the many state industries had failed/collapsed or were close to being run to the ground. As Nyang’oro notes, “By 1980, it was clear that Africa was experiencing serious economic problems.”¹⁴ Economies were simply not functioning and money was not available.

Faced with these stark realities, by the mid 1980’s, virtually all sub-Saharan African leaders had jumped onto the bandwagon of the World Bank, IMF and such other bodies. Mentan notes that, “In the face of dwindling resources, African politicians still seek to borrow abroad in order to maintain the patrimonial structure on which their political legitimacy depends.”¹⁵ The World Bank introduced African governments to what was known as ‘Structural Adjustment Programmes.’¹⁶ The professed aim of these programs was to put in place functioning markets and economies within these countries. African autocrats borrowed relentlessly and to be eligible for further borrowing, quickly adopted in totality these Structural Adjustment Programs.

¹³ Arce Moisés. The Societal Consequences of Market Reform in Peru. Latin American Politics and Society, Volume 48 Number 1, Spring 2006, Page 32
¹⁶ “The conditions under which African governments have had to respond to the global crisis of the early 1980’s have had the effect of locking them into new forms of dependent relationships with Western governments and international financial organizations...Structural adjustment as advocated by the international institutions, seeks to restore growth and stability by recasting relative prices, domestic expenditures and the type and degree of state intervention in the economy. Adjustment programs are couched in narrow terms, as a series of changes in a number of key policy parameters, such as the exchange rate, the supply of credit, the tax regime, the rice to producers of export commodities or the retail price of food. The policy variables are broadly the same regardless of the country or government seeking assistance, only the details of adjustment vary. Yet behind this ‘technical’ façade which justifies policy changes by reference to ‘efficiency’...lie a number of unstated, but contestable ideological presumptions; and what are represented as policy changes designed simply to improve ‘economic’ rationality often have far-reaching and highly controversial political and social consequences. - Bonnie K. Campbell, John Loxley. Structural Adjustment in Africa. New York: St. Martin’s Press, Pages 1, 2.
African despots were all too eager to adhere to these programs so long as money kept flowing in to entrench themselves in power, racking up colossal debts in the name of the people they claimed to represent, and binding future generations with very questionable borrowing. Those that had the short end of the stick were naturally the people. When the people complained and agitated, their governments encouraged them to adopt austerity measures while they tried to right an economy that was badly adrift. That would not have been so unreasonable had it not been the profligate lifestyle that the masses saw the elite living while encouraging them to adopt ‘austerity measures.’

In the 1990’s, after the end of the Cold War, more and more African leaders began to be pressured as a condition for getting aid and receiving international recognition, the adoption of free and fair elections. Many African despots began to hold sham elections in which they won by fantastic margins to transform themselves into ‘democratic leaders,’ while putting in place constitutions that were often tinkered with. So as Ndulo notes, “Many African leaders accepted and participated in the democratic

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17 “Even when applied in good faith, the structural adjustment policies can have profound negative impacts, especially on the poor...The specific and concrete ways in which structural adjustment policies can and have impaired people’s well-being can be enumerated as follows: removal of subsidies on foodstuff, education health care, and other basic needs...” – Samuel Kobia. The Quest For Democracy in Africa. Kenya: Manster Agencies, 1993 Page 22
18 This is known in local parlance as ‘tightening your belt.’ “…Where people see their governments doing everything they can to ensure the amelioration of their living conditions in an equitable and fair manner with proper economic reforms in place, there will be understanding of their governments’ position. Consequently, they will see the challenge as a task for all of them and therefore may not appreciate any violent response to their woes. On the other hand, if despite their poverty and want, they see government officials and other public figures driving luxurious cars, living in extravagant mansions and sending their children to expensive schools and universities abroad while local schools and universities are not cared for, they will very likely develop deep sentiments of frustration.” – Issaka K. Souare. Civil Wars and Coup d’Etat in West Africa: An Attempt To Understand The Roots And Prescribe Possible Solutions. Maryland: University Press of America, 2006 Page 57
19 As Charles Tilly notes, “Whenever we see presidential candidates winning election – and especially re-election – by majorities greater than 75 percent, we should entertain the hypothesis that the regime is conducting sham elections.” –Charles Tilly. Democracy. UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007, Page 3
process after the collapse of the one party system of government as a means to an end: a vehicle or conduit for personal power. In other words, the commitment to liberal democracy was a transitory one and was not founded on a serious appreciation of democracy.”

So in the 1990’s, there was a shift to what Levitsky and Way term as “competitive authoritarianism.” As The Economist noted, “Gone are the days when Mobutu Sese Seko could bluntly declare that ‘Democracy is not for Africa.’ Now that the cold war no longer impels America and Russia to prop up unrepentant despots, Africa's rulers like to be seen to be legitimate. Almost every sub-Saharan country has held elections of some kind in the past ten years.”

Coming into the new century, we see many African countries poor and without democracy as we know it because of these historical underpinnings. Thus Frederick Ozor notes, “Undemocratic culture appears to be at root of the problem with all that has gone wrong with African democracy. Africa appears to be ‘sick’, suffering from sickening undemocratic culture and of producing undemocratic leaders and needs a surgical operation to cure it. Africa needs a fundamental overhaul of its basic social and political values and orientations.”

Where do we go from here? How does democracy fester in Africa?

21 “Although incumbents in competitive authoritarian regimes may routinely manipulate formal democratic rules, they are unable to eliminate them or reduce them to a mere façade. Rather than openly violating democratic rules (for example, by banning or repressing the opposition and the media), incumbents are more likely to use bribery, co-optation, and more subtle forms of persecution, such as the use of tax authorities, compliant judiciaries and other state agencies to ‘legally’ harass, persecute, or extort co-operative behavior from critics.” Steven Levitsky, Lucan Way. Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. Journal of Democracy, Volume 13, Number 2 April 2002 Page 53.
HOW DO WE CREATE DEMOCRATIC AFRICAN STATES?

The Rule of Law in its most basic form exists in many African countries with stark exceptions such as the failed state of Somalia for instance. Where the rule of law exists even in its most imperfect form, there is the possibility for democracy to flourish.

One must realize that in Africa, having rule of law, viz a vis, in its barest form, is in and of itself laudable. That may not be democracy but it is a starting point to an eventual goal. The alternative to not having that at all is most unpleasant. One does not have to look far. The failed state of Somalia for instance is a lesson in itself. The starting point, the bedrock upon which everything rests, should be the existence of the rule of law no matter how imperfect that system may be. Rule of Law has been defined in several respects by different writers. Friedrich Hayek states,

Nothing distinguishes more clearly conditions in a free country from those in a country under arbitrary government than the observance in the former of the great principles known as the Rule of Law. Stripped of all technicalities, this means that government in all its actions is bound by rules fixed and announced beforehand – rules which makes it possible to foresee with fair certainty how the authority will use its coercive powers in given circumstances and to plan one’s individual affairs on the basis of this knowledge.”

24 Thomas Carothers states;

The Rule of law can be defined as a system in which the laws are public knowledge, are clear in meaning, and apply equally to everyone. They enshrine and uphold the political and civil liberties that have gained status as universal human rights over the last half-century. In particular, anyone accused of a crime has the right to a fair, prompt hearing and is presumed innocent until proved guilty. The central institutions of the legal system, including courts, prosecutors, and police are reasonably fair, competent and efficient. Judges are impartial and independent, not subject to political influence or manipulation. Perhaps most

24 Friedrich Hayek. The Road To Serfdom. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, Page 72
important, the government is embedded in a comprehensive legal framework, its officials accept that the law will be applied to their own conduct, and the government seeks to be law abiding.²⁵

In the specific context in which I present this paper, Hayek’s is the most applicable as to the starting point with the definition of Carothers’ being the end goal. In a sense, it goes hand in hand with the philosophy of Max Weber.²⁶ Weber found the distinctive system as legal rationality, that is, things are done on the basis of procedures or rational thinking. Legal Rationality is of the view that the more organized society is, the more legally rational, the better, society becomes. It is what one might call descriptive sociology. When there is some semblance of rule of law, where do we go from there?

African nations must embrace the positive effects of globalization²⁷ while shunning the negative.²⁸ As Ajayi notes, “Globalization has brought many welcome benefits to many countries. Increased international trade and capital flows have been a major source of unprecedented growth and rising standards of living around the globe.”²⁹ Globalization has brought a lot of good to the world at large including African countries but has also created problems, some with catastrophic effects. As Ghosh and Guven note, “To see globalization as a purely positive experience for all may be utopian rather than

²⁵ Thomas Carothers. The Rule of Law Revival. Foreign Affairs, Volume 77, No. 2 (March – April 1998), Pages 96
²⁶ He was a German lawyer and sociologist focused on law and economy.
²⁷ Here, Michael Mussa’s definition of globalization is most apt. He defines it as “the increasing interaction among, and integration of, the activities, especially economic activities, of human societies around the world.” – Michael Mussa. Factors Driving Global Economic Integration. Paper available at www.capwip.org/resources/womparlconf2000/downloads/Monsod1.pdf.
²⁸ My attitude towards globalization is not a wholesale embrace but a recognition of the reality on the ground which is perhaps best depicted in Rapley’s statement that, “Once globalization’s ball got rolling it would prove very difficult to resist. Countries get into spirals whereby incremental integration into the global economy necessitates a subsequent further integration.” John Rapley: Globalization and Inequality: Neo-Liberalism’s Downward Spiral. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004. Pages 80-81
realistic.”\textsuperscript{30} Despite this, globalization remains a potent force for fostering democracy in sub-Saharan African countries.

Globalization has had a permeating influence around the globe. Thus Bisley notes, “There appears to be hardly a sphere of social life which globalization has left untouched…globalization has left its mark across the spectrum of cultural, economic and political life.”\textsuperscript{31} Globalization has made it possible for news to travel instantly. Information is more readily accessible and available. It is more difficult for African governments to organize their affairs under the cover of darkness. Governments have been forced to be more transparent. Information has afforded people the opportunity to be more attuned to their surroundings, and the internet and global media have made it possible to know what is going on in other parts of the world, and to have a basis for comparison. As Zakaria notes, “Their people [regimes that resist the democratic trend] sense the deprivation of liberty more strongly than ever before because they know the alternatives; they can see them on CNN, BBC and Al-Jazeera.”\textsuperscript{32} One can see the living standards of other people in other parts of the world and even more powerful imagery, can see the destruction, horror and strife stemming from civil wars in a most vivid manner that wasn’t possible before. This is powerfully depicted in the rescue of miners in Chile on the 13\textsuperscript{th} of October 2010 that was carried live on television. In Moni Basu’s report\textsuperscript{33} for CNN at 5:05 pm EDT titled \textit{Camera Makes World a Bit Smaller}, it states,

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{33} The report was contributed to by Thair Shaikh and Mia Aquino.
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The rescue of the 33 miners trapped in a northern Chile mine had all the ingredients for a riveting story and then some: a camera placed half a mile under the Earth’s surface that would bring the world live images of a dramatic ending. A live broadcast of the men being hoisted up enthralled the entire world. People who had no connection to the miners cried. And they celebrated as though their own child had just been saved…

Chilean authorities proved they were as savvy in media as they were in engineering, said Tompkins. They installed video cameras that allowed everyone to see what was happening underground. Chilean President Sebastian Pinera; "There was no reason not to let all the eyes of the world see it," he said…

Planning and orchestrating this rescue effort has addressed the implications of the 24-hour news cycle and the media's role in bringing the world together as a community of compassionate watchers…” said Graves, director of the Dart Society, a nonprofit organization of journalists…

As the miners continued their ascensions to freedom Wednesday, a riveted world watched and celebrated with the miners and their loved ones. Ultimately, a camera from the bowels of the Earth in Chile had somehow managed to make the world a little bit smaller.

The world has become an increasingly globalized village.³⁴ People now have access to news and newspapers online that are current as the very day in which they were published, and people are generally abreast with what is going on around them. People can study global markets while being in remote parts of the world at the click of a button.

It is easier to get information in, and get information out. As Thomas Lasner asks,

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³⁴ As Cohen notes, “Nothing is more favorable to the diffusion of knowledge and technology than a world where distances are obliterated, or where everyone could communicate with whomever they want without difficulty.” – Michael Cohen. Globalization and Its Enemies. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2006. Page 23
recently as crucial to human development by Amartya Sen, and broadly by democracy advocates around the world.\textsuperscript{35}

It is easier to disseminate information and it is much harder for governments to control the flow of information as of old. The internet, mobile phones, television, with its plethora of television stations including foreign ones, private radio stations and the like, have made information much more diffuse and much more difficult to control. Government is no longer the ‘master controller’ of what the people get to know and what gets said. Government is more accountable to the people and it has radically eroded the powers that state actors such as the army wielded in African countries.

In African countries of old, the main means of disseminating information was through the local broadcasting station. When a coup d’etat was in the offing, it usually consisted of a band of army officers seizing the broadcasting station and announcing on national television and/or radio that the president/military leader had been toppled and that a new regime was in place. Now, with the advent of globalization has come several radio and television broadcasting stations in all parts of the country. Orchestrating a coup is now no longer as simple as seizing the national broadcasting station. There is no longer one main conduit of communication. Zakaria aptly sums this all up when he writes,

In the past, technology helped reinforce centralization and hierarchy. For example, the last great information revolution – in the 1920’s involving radio, television, movies, megaphones had a centralizing effect. It gave the person or groups with access to that technology the power to reach the rest of that society. That’s why the first step in a twentieth century coup or revolution was always to take control of the country’s television or radio station. But today’s information revolution has produced thousands of outlets for news that makes central control impossible and dissent easy. The Internet has taken this process another

huge step forward, being a system where, in the columnist Thomas Friedman’s words, “everyone is connected but no one is in control.”

Globalization has made people more informed, more educated, and forced many actors such as despots and autocrats to at least taper their excesses.

Most importantly, globalization has made it possible for there to be multiple institutions and services within a country thus diluting the power of the elite to be the privileged few to tap into the benefits stemming thereof. In Ghana for instance, there were historically only two universities, the University of Ghana and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology where only the privileged few got the chance to be educated. Graduating from these usually led to a job in the public service or a traditional job of prestige such as a doctor. Increasingly, globalization has caused the concept of private universities to catch on in African societies where previously the concept of running a university as a profit making venture was virtually alien.

Entrepreneurs and many individuals who were educated in the Western world such as Patrick Awuah of Ghana for instance, thus hopped onto the bandwagon and founded Ashesi University. Now, there are several private universities in Ghana founded by local entrepreneurs thus heavily reducing the burden on the two historical

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37 The University of Ghana is the oldest and largest of the seven Ghanaian public universities. It is by far the most prestigious university in West Africa. It was founded in 1948 as the University College of the Gold Coast, and was originally an affiliate college of the University of London, which supervised its academic programs and awarded degrees. It gained full university status in 1961, and now has nearly 42,000 students. –Culled from Wikipedia.
38 Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) is a university located in Kumasi, Ghana. It is the second public university to be established in the country. It was founded as the Kumasi College of Technology in 1952. The college was affiliated to the University of London. In 1961, the college was granted full university status. - Culled from Wikipedia
39 Ashesi University was founded by Patrick Awuah, a Ghanaian who has spent over 15 years living and working in the United States. Awuah left Ghana in 1985 to attend Swarthmore College on a full scholarship, after which he worked for Microsoft Corporation as an engineer and a program manager for eight years – www.ashesi.edu.gh
institutions. Now getting a first degree or a college education is no longer the preserve of the privileged few or limited to employment in the traditional professions and jobs in the civil service, causing a seismic and positive shift in how things are done in Ghana.

As with all things, globalization has also had its negative consequences such as the introduction of certain vices hitherto largely unknown in developing societies but in the scope of this topic, the focus being on the destabilizing effect it has had in African societies. This has prompted writers such as Mengisteab to note that, “At a time when democracy has made notable strides in being accepted as a universal value (Sen, 1997), it seems to be encountering a growing threat from globalization.”

The nature of globalization has been such that - among many other serious adverse effects - it has made very pronounced the poverty of the masses by making certain segments of the population very wealthy. As Chua notes, “free markets have led to the rapid accumulation of massive, often shocking wealth by members of an ‘outsider’ or ‘non-indigenous’ ethnic minority.”

This if unchecked, the mounting resentment could lead to a breakdown of law and order in many societies.

Globalization has opened markets and niches for many people in African countries. Unfortunately, years of misrule and mismanagement of the economy has produced a populace of African people that are largely uneducated and business non-

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42 Several influential economists and public intellectuals – example Soros (2000) Chomsky (2002), Stiglitz (2003), Bond (2006), Harvey (2007), have also expressed grave misgivings about the impact globalization has had on developing countries.
savvy. African countries have for a long time been resource dependent, that is, depending on the sale of their natural resources for revenue. Business as we know it today has largely not been a focal point and many Africans are only relatively recently, imbibing it. Thus, this has resulted in a situation where for a long time, those with the propensity towards business such as the Lebanese and the Indians had an almost unrestrained hand in business activities, thus accumulating massive amounts of money. The close-boy network and the like made things conducive for business for them.

To entrench their wealth and protect themselves, these rich ethnic minorities, need the backing and co-operation of those in power because they are generally perceived by the society at large as benefiting at the expense of the masses. As Chua notes, “The distinctive overlapping of class and ethnicity characteristic of many developing countries – in which the ‘very rich’ are (or are perceived as) ethnically distinct – tends to catalyze the paradox of free market democracy pitting an ‘indigenous’ majority against an economically dominant “outsider majority.” So it quickly becomes a situation of reciprocity - “You scratch my back, I scratch your back” - where these ethnic minorities bribe and bankroll government officials in exchange for favours and protections. As Chua notes, “The success of Indian and Lebanese merchants in many African countries is often

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45 As Amy Chua notes, “When a poor democratic majority collides with a market dominant minority, the majority does not always prevail. Instead of a backlash against the market, there is a backlash against democracy. Often this anti democracy backlash takes the form of “crony capitalism: corrupt symbiotic alliances between indigenous leaders and a market-dominant minority. For the global marketplace, this is a cozy solution. The indigenous regime protects the market dominant minority’s wealth and businesses. In turn, the World Bank and IMF supply loans. In the short run the result is a boom in foreign investment, economic growth, and riches for the rulers and their cronies. At the same time, however, the country’s inner furies begin to boil. Sooner or later – and it is usually sooner – the situation explodes.” Amy Chua. World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability. New York: Doubleday, 2003. Page 147
attributed to their allegedly corrupt and illicit government connections."⁴⁶ There leads to a situation where there becomes a super-rich comprised of these ethnic minorities, and another relatively well-off group consisting of bureaucrats and government officials who have benefited from the dipping of their hands into state coffers and from the largesse of these ethnic groups. Thus as Richard Sklar aptly notes, “A small minority of the [Nigerian] population is conspicuously wealthy and privileged while the vast majority seethes with discontent. Keepers of the national conscience frequently deplore the plunder and waste of Nigeria’s wealth by corrupt officials in collusion with unscrupulous businessmen."⁴⁷ So in many African countries with even rule of law, that poses a huge threat to social stability in that country and the eventual attainment of democracy as resentment boils like a cauldron which sometimes explodes into conflict, as the masses watch the government officials and these minorities flaunt their wealth. As Nicephore Soglo writes, “Democracy is only consistent with strong economy and a more just society. There cannot be a democracy for the poor and a democracy for the rich."⁴⁸ This effect of globalization in its unbridled form can cause massive social dislocation.

That would sound bizarre to an individual unaccustomed to the ways of the developing world but in societies with ethnic groupings, this threat is very real. Should a charismatic individual vying for political power stoke the tensions, such an individual could sweep into power and cause a break-down of the rule of law or further still, leaders clinging to power could stoke these tensions to preserve their precarious positions. As

⁴⁸Nicephore Soglo, Democracy in Africa: Challenges and Solutions, Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1992 Page 6
Zakaria notes, “In societies without strong traditions of multiethnic groups or assimilation, it is easier to organize support along racial, ethnic, or religious lines.” In Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe stoked racial tensions and used this to literally drive out the white farmers in his country, leading to a breakdown in the rule of law and also, the market economy. President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya was also known to dabble in this nefarious and pernicious kind of politics and The Economist states, “Though far from the worst of Africa's ‘big men’, he presided over a regime that was corrupt, incompetent, and prepared, when the occasion demanded, to stir up ethnic antagonism in the full knowledge that this might lead to bloodshed, which it often did.”

One could also envisage a situation where a minority ethnic group could be more pre-disposed to business as opposed to a majority ethnic group, and thus be prosperous, leading to the majority ethnic group being resentful and causing full scale ethnic conflict such as occurred between the Tutsis and Hutus in Rwanda. Amy Chua gives several examples when she states that, “In Africa, non-indigenous minorities are not the only targets of resentment. There have also been ethno-economic reactions against economically dominant African minorities at both the national and regional levels. In Kenya, post-independence urban growth (and ethnically biased state policies) reinforced the economic prominence of the ‘capitalistic’ Kikuyu, who in turn were terrorized and victimized by the Kalenjin, the ‘rightful owners of the country…”

51 As Amy Chua rightly notes on Page 291 of Markets, Democracy and Ethnicity: New Paradigm for Law and Development, Yale Law Journal, Volume 108, No. 1 (October 1998) Page 40. She goes on to give other examples when she states, “In Nigeria, in 1966, tens of thousands of Ibos were slaughtered indiscriminately by resentful mobs. In both Rwanda and Burundi, the ethnical conflict between the Hutu
One must always be mindful of the historical underpinnings of the African continent and the fact that many groups have been clobbered together as a people not by choice but through the system of indirect rule and the re-demarcation of boundaries by the colonial masters.\textsuperscript{52} As aptly explained in \textit{The Economist}, “Before European colonists arrived, Africa was divided into several thousand kingdoms and chieftaincies whose systems of government had evolved over hundreds of years. By the time the Europeans left, they had squeezed the whole lot into a few dozen nation-states, whose borders cut some tribes in half and lumped others together with neighbors they did not much like.”\textsuperscript{53} The re-demarcation of boundaries which in certain instances were indiscriminate to say the least, clobbered together people that would otherwise not be together.

So what is the way out? Do we conclude that because of the potential for this destabilising effect, globalization cannot be a tool to foster democracy in Africa? Certainly not. If globalization is properly harnessed yet aggressively bridled and regulated by what Friedman terms as “the iron fist of government bureaucrats,”\textsuperscript{54} it can be a most powerful tool for the fostering and cementation of democracy in Africa. Globalization is only potentially harmful when uncontrolled and unregulated.\textsuperscript{55} As Mandle notes, “Advancing the interests of disadvantaged populations does not require majority and the Tutsi minority is inextricably connected with the historical socio-economic dominance of the latter.”

\textsuperscript{52} As Frederick Ozor notes, “Africa consists of many countries, many races blended together.” - Frederick Ugwu Ozor. \textit{Electoral Process, Democracy and Governance in Africa: Search For An Alternative Democratic Model}, Politikon (August 2009), 36(2) Page 317
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{The Economist}. January 17, 2004 U.S. Edition. The Rule of Big Men or The Rule of Law? Page 3
\textsuperscript{55} When globalization is uncontrolled and unregulated, Jeter’s words are very apt: “Globalization has widened inequality, corrupted politicians, estranged neighbors from one another, unraveled families, rerouted rivers, emptied ports of ships, and flooded streets with protesters. It has created poverty where it did not exist and deepened poverty for women, people of color and indigenous people.” – Jon Jeter. \textit{Flat Broke In The Free Market: How Globalization Fleeced Working People}. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009. Page xii
that globalization be abandoned or that the process be shaped unilaterally by the United States. Accomplishing that goal requires, instead, interventionist policies implemented at the national level to ensure that the benefits associated with globalization are shared equitably.”\textsuperscript{56} Karl Polanyi,\textsuperscript{57} the Hungarian intellectual known for his opposition to traditional economic thought, argues that free markets in its unbridled form results in massive social dislocation and destroys man and nature, and that protectionist measures are spontaneous responses to protect society from the market. For Polanyi,\textsuperscript{58} the free market system is planned and social protectionism is a social reaction to the social dislocation that evolves out of the unrestrained free market.

Friedrich Hayek, the Austrian born-economist known for his defence of classical liberalism and free-market capitalism, would debunk that argument and rather argue that only a free market - a market with no fetters at all - will provide efficiency. In a developing economy, I would argue that Polanyi’s argument makes sense. A free market in its unbridled form can, and will cause massive social dislocation on the scale envisioned by Chua, and a spontaneous reaction on the part of government to taper its effects will be imperative. Hayek’s argument for an unbridled market will perhaps find much more resonance in a developed country.\textsuperscript{59}


Thus in Ghana for instance, the \textit{Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act 1994} (Act 478) has Sections, such as Section 18 (Enterprises Reserved for Ghanaians), Section 19 (Enterprises Eligible for Foreign Participation) which are intended to ensure that local businessmen have a footing within the economy.


\textsuperscript{58} “Polanyi argued that market capitalism experiences a contradictory ‘dual movement’…Human society is thus likely to see historical waves of free markets followed by social protection as the market tendency is periodically countered by embedded institutions. Such institutions vary according to the situation, but typically include organizational arrangements to create barriers to free markets destroying networks, relationships and associations.” - Phillip Anthony O’Hara. \textit{The Contradictory Dynamics of Globalization.} Ed. B.N. Ghosh and Halil M. Guven. \textit{Globalization And The Third World: A Study of Negative Consequences}. UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006. Page 23

\textsuperscript{59} Even in developed countries, would one not say that polaski’s arguments even has resonance there? Polanyi’s argument could be said to have some resonance as the financial crisis two years ago led to serious
Secondly and even more importantly, African market economies - and in the long run, democracy itself - can be built only through an educated populace. Africa, should it maintain its current illiteracy rates, will be an unfertile ground for democracy to take root. Mengisteab notes that,  

Over three-fourths of sub-Saharan countries have illiteracy rates of over 50 percent of their populations. National poverty head counts as a percentage of the total population ranges from 30 percent to 70 percent in most sub-Saharan African countries. Stability and genuine democracy under such circumstances are difficult to envision. Democratic institutions are unlikely to survive, and even if they do, they are likely to remain empty shells, representational bodies existing in form only and devoid of real significance.  

Africa’s high illiteracy rates makes it a fertile ground for all forms of radicalism and ill-suited to democracy. As Lipset notes, “Many have suggested that the better educated the population of a country, the better the chances for democracy, and the comparative data available support this proposition.” An educated populace is bedrock to attaining democracy. It is only when there is an educated populace that desirable elements that foster democracy such as cross-cutting affiliations begin to emerge. As Lipset notes, “The available evidence suggests that the chances for stable democracy are enhanced to the extent that social strata, groups and individuals have a number of cross-cutting politically relevant affiliations.” An educated populace, that is, a mass of people that know their rights, obligations, and truly understand their relationship with other actors in the society, 

dislocation on Wall Street (the symbolism of American free market) and in economies worldwide and necessitated spontaneous reactionary measures to control its effects.  
62 Ibid 97
will help nurture and foster democracy. As Lipset quoting Bryce notes, “Education, if it
does not make men good citizens, makes it at least easier for them to become so.”63 In
countries where there are high literacy rates, there has been a high prevalence of
democracy or at worst, rule of law. Lipset notes that, “The higher one’s education, the
more likely one is to believe in democratic practices. All the relevant studies indicate that
education is far more significant than income or occupation.”64 Where the people are
largely uneducated, that is where one sees the highest levels of undemocratization.

Where there are high levels of education in a society, proper values are inculcated
such that everyone understands the impact his or her behaviour has on the society at
large. Wolf notes that, “The values of a society can support honesty: if cheating and
stealing are regarded as normal, a society will posses no more than a shallow and
undeveloped market economy. If high levels of personal probity and honest dealing are
encouraged, the market economy will work well.”65 Thus further, when there is an
educated populace, the basic tenets of democracy, that is Rule of Law, respect for the
constitution and human rights, good governance, strong opposition parties, independent
and impartial judiciary, formalization66- as well as strong markets - can manifest.67 As
Gordon notes, “Democratization involves creating institutions, values and patterns of

63 Seymour Martin Lipset. Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political
64 Ibid Page 79
66 Formalization here will rely on David Kennedy’s definition where he defines it as “a scheme of clear and
registered title, of contractual simplicity and reliable enforcement, a legal system of clear rules rather than
67 In this paper, I use the term ‘markets’ in the broad general sense to refer to the economy as a whole and
all the transactions that take place within it. My definition will thus be wider than Neil Fligstein’s definition
where he defines it as, “Markets refers to situations in which some good or service is sold to customers for
a price that is paid in money (a generalized medium of exchange).” – Neil Fligstein, Markets as Politics: A
(August) Page 658
behaviour conducive to respect for human rights, acknowledgement of the rule of law, enhanced transparency and accountability to government, and a vibrant civil society. The increasingly acknowledged hard fact is that consolidating democracy in Africa will take a long time to achieve.”

Educating a population is a long, arduous process but excruciatingly crucial if democracy is to be attained in its finest form.

An educated populace must go hand in hand with a strong middle class. Historically, in sub-Saharan Africa, the only other class that existed apart from the poor masses was largely the educated elites - the intelligentsia, the privileged few. The educated elites were perceived to be the ones that would advance the society. Today, there is an increasing shift in focus from a ‘talented tenth’ to an ‘educated majority.’ Increasingly, elites are being made, with great reluctance on their part, to cede more and more power to the growing middle class. As Martin Luther King notes, “Lamentably, it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily.” It is becoming more difficult for the elites to act with impunity and they are being forced to become more concessionary as opposed to more idiosyncratic. The growing middle class, sensitized to the happening of the outside world and emboldened by the progresses made, are more conscious of the injustices of the society. They are not simply allowing themselves to be dictated to and placated with handouts but are increasingly demanding that they have an equitable say in how things are done. As Huber notes, “Democracy,

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69 In its finest form - As in the definition by Thomas Carothers.
70 As Ake notes, “That is the prevailing practice in much of post-colonial Africa. Those in power are inclined to share it only with a very small coterie of collaborators.” Claude Ake. The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa. Great Britain: Anthony Rowe Ltd. Page 39
71 Martin Luther King. Letter from Birmingham Jail. 16th April 1963 Page 2
even formal democracy, is a matter of power and power sharing.”72 The middle class are growing not only vocal but intelligently vocal.

The increasing middle class are demanding a more equitable manner in the way things are done. The elites are still clinging on to their vestiges of power in more subtle tones but privileges that were exclusively theirs are increasingly being ‘infringed’ upon by the middle class. The perks and privileges that the elites enjoy are manifested daily in the social sphere. O’Donnell gives a snapshot of this when she states,

Perhaps nothing underlines better the deprivation of rights of the poor and vulnerable than when they interact with the bureaucracies from which they must obtain work, or a work permit, or retirement benefits, or simply (but sometimes tragically) when they have to go to a hospital or a police station. For the privileged, this is the far side of the moon, a place they deploy elaborate strategies to avoid. For those who cannot escape this ugly face of the state, there is not only the immense difficulty of obtaining what nominally is their right. There is also the indifferent, if not disdainful manner in which they are treated, as well as the obvious injustice entailed when the privileged escape these hardships. The distance between this kind of world and a truly democratic ethos of respect for equal human dignity may be gauged by observing the grievous difficulties that usually ensue for anyone who, lacking the ‘right’ social status or connections, nonetheless dares to approach these bureaucracies not as a supplicant begging for favours, but as the bearer of a right.73

Thus perhaps Amartya Sen hits the nail on the head when he states, “economic unfreedom, in the form of extreme poverty, can make a person a helpless prey in the violation of other kinds of freedom.”74 A growing middle class is generally being able to experience some of these privileges previously enjoyed by only the elites such as

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relatively speedy access to a doctor for instance because of acquaintances made at school. The middle class person though, as things stand now, would probably be seeing a junior doctor while the elite will have the privilege of seeing a much more senior doctor.

An [educated] middle class also causes a gradual working of the market economy as its members occupy places in the economy such as constituting the staff in the corporate sector, in banks, micro-credit companies, and branch into professions that had largely been the preserve of the elites such as accounting, medicine, and the legal profession. It is perhaps in the legal profession that their impact is the most felt as they tend to be very vocal in public affairs. Thus as Toqueville notes reflectively, “I should like to get this matter clear, for it may be that lawyers are called on to play the leading part in the political society which is striving to be born.” Indeed as Hadfield notes, “The vitality of the role of legal profession may be more important for the long-term achievement of the rule of law than it is for the static implementation of a given set of rules for a particular set of clients…Lawyers play a critical part in the generation and maintenance of the rule of law.” The incorporation of the middle class in the corporate and business sectors in the formal economy does not only enhance their status and clout but benefits the economy in such diverse ways as making it possible for a tax base comprising income tax and such other forms of tax to be built.

Today, in sub-Saharan African countries, the middle class, especially the educated segment of the middle class, are demanding a higher standard of their leaders, demanding that they be the kind of individuals that have the penchant and the qualifications to govern the country, and the discernment to appoint similarly qualified people into

government portfolios as well. As *The Economist* notes, “Rule by big men rather than by law has been a disaster for Africa, but it cannot last forever. Urban Africans, who are better informed and harder to intimidate than peasants, are sick of being pushed around and are hollering for better government. Their numbers are rising, from 23% of Africa's population in 1980 to 35% in 2001, so their views are getting harder to ignore.”77 No longer is the mere charisma of a leader enough. It is increasingly being predicated on what the leader brings to the table in terms of potential for moving the country forward. As Wolf notes, “Good markets need good governments.”78 In Liberia’s last presidential election, George Oppon Weah, by far the most popular individual in Liberia79 and an outstanding former soccer star who had won the African, European, and World’s best player awards during his playing career, was rejected at the polls in favour of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf,80 an economist.

It is noteworthy that George Oppon-Weah has since then indicated his desire to further his education in the hope of making himself more attractive to the electorate. In Ghana, the current president, John Evans Atta Mills, is a former law professor with a doctorate in law and his predecessor John Agyekum Kufuor, an Oxford educated lawyer.81 The educated keep increasing with the natural result being more qualified

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79 George Oppon Weah is a figure beloved in Liberia for several acts of selfless sacrifices made for the nation.
80 Sirleaf studied economics and accounts from 1948 to 1955 at the College of West Africa in Monrovia. She was married to James Sirleaf when she was only 17 years old, and then travelled to America in 1961 to continue her studies and earned an accounting degree at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Sirleaf then studied economics and public policy at Harvard’s John F. Kennedy School of Government from 1969 to 1971, gaining a Master of Public Administration. She then returned to her home country of Liberia to work under the government of William Tolbert. – Culled from Wikipedia
81 Thus increasingly, the quality of leadership has also reflected in the personal agenda of leaders where African leaders are increasingly gravitating towards trying to leave behind a legacy. The *Thabo Mbeki Foundation* (South Africa) was launched on the 11th of October 2010 at the Convention Hall in Johannesburg. Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria also instituted an ultra-modern library complex with the aim
people in positions of authority. Increasing levels of education can only lead to a situation where the general populace can only get savvier and more politically conscious.

Governments have increasingly been forced to come to the realization that concrete programs of development and international recognition of their leadership - and not patronage - is what is going to keep them in power. This is coupled with the fact that there is a growing breed of new African leaders that embrace democratic ideals, are increasingly conscious of the fact that their populace are holding them to higher standards, and are thus being compelled to hold their colleagues to same. Many of them are Western educated leaders and there have been changes in the way and manner things have been done. It is no longer ‘business as usual,’ where one leader turns a blind eye to the other’s excesses with the implicit understanding that the gesture will be reciprocated.

*The Economist* provides a typical example;

Earlier this month, following the death of the long-serving ruler of Togo, Gnassingbé Eyadéma, the Togolese army mounted a coup. It installed Mr. Eyadéma's son, Faure Gnassingbé, as president, and let it be known that he would hold that post at least until 2008. Twenty years ago, Togo's neighbors would merely have shrugged. But this time, they clubbed together and insisted that the putsch would not stand. The Economic Community of West African States, the main regional grouping, suspended Togo's membership, imposed an arms embargo and barred the country's leaders from traveling in the region. Blunt condemnation of Togo's coup by heavyweights such as Nigeria's president, Olusegun Obasanjo, appears to have had an effect. Mr. Gnassingbé said he would call an election within 60 days, and Togo's parliament reversed the hasty changes it had made to the constitution that had retroactively "legalized" the putsch.  

82 of serving as a centre for excellence in the acquisition of knowledge and development of skills for the youth throughout the continent. Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique has also set up a *Foundation for Peace and Security*. John A. Kufuor of Ghana is also in the process of setting up the *John A. Kufuor Foundation for Leadership, Governance and Development* in Accra, Ghana.

82 *The Economist*. Good and Bad Neighbors: Democracy in Africa. 6th February 2005. Pages 5-6
Those in societies with an educated populace that have failed to take such a strong stance when the occasion has called upon them to do so, have paid a heavy political price such as Thabo Mbeki of South Africa whose refusal to take a hard-line stance against Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe contributed in large part to his unceremonious exit from office.

As the middle class has grown, it has also increasingly become a property owning class. As the property owning class has increased, so has an enhancement in status and a greater number of people have “become stakeholders in the affairs of the body politic.”

There are a greater number of people with a vested interest in seeing that there is peace in the country, and that trouble is not fermented. The middle class now have savings in bank accounts, own cars, plots of land, and there is increasing formalization in the economy with all its benefits. In the days of old when the bulk of property was owned by a few and the great majority lived in shacks with virtually no property to call their own, there was very little to protect and so people could easily be riled and banded together as tools to ferment trouble and cause a breakdown of the rule of law and order in the society. As Souare depicts, “Finding themselves in a condition of abject poverty and without employment or a realistic prospect of having one, they are susceptible to making very simple calculations without taking much heed of their consequences. With the prospect of looting opportunities and the like, these young men and women see little or nothing to lose in case of war. In fact, they may have high expectations of profit from forcible appropriation and control of productive assets, hence gaining from the conflict rather than losing in it.” Thus a concerted effort to decrease those in the lower class and a rapid and

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simultaneous increase in the middle class will be a steady march towards democracy.

Thus this statement by Lipset is most apt;

Perhaps the most widespread generalization linking political systems to other aspects of society has been that democracy is related to the state of economic development. Concretely, this means that the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy. From Aristotle down to the present, men have argued that only in a wealthy society in which relatively few citizens lived in real poverty could a situation exist in which the mass of the population could intelligently participate in politics and could develop the self-restraint necessary to avoid succumbing to the appeals of irresponsible demagogues. A society divided between an impoverished mass and a small favoured elite would either result in oligarchy (dictatorial rule of the small upper stratum) or in tyranny (popular based dictatorship).\(^{84}\)

Clobbering together the masses to ferment trouble in a society with a strong middle class will be difficult. As reiterated and now being emphasized, it will be in the interest of any government to work at reducing the people at the bottom of the society, and making a concerted effort at swelling the middle class. As Lipset notes, “Increased wealth is not only related causally to the development of democracy by changing the social conditions of the workers, but it also affects the political role of the middle class through changing the shape of the stratification structure so that it shifts from an elongated pyramid, with a large lower class base, to a diamond with a growing middle class. A large middle class plays a mitigating role in moderating conflict since it is able to reward moderate and democratic parties and penalize extremist groups.”\(^{85}\) The growing middle class have an investment in their society, and an interest in protecting same.


Polanyi would argue that man “does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets. He values material goods only in so far as they serve this end.” While status is important and serves as a motivating factor to maintain the status quo, indeed and in fact, the goods in themselves have intrinsic value, worth protecting.

A growing middle class has forced African governments to come to the stark realization that an adherence to economic principles and a reliance on the private sector as the engine of growth to fuel the market economy is the way to go. Save for foreign aid in the form of loans and grants to these African governments for which they are held accountable for, and revenue from the sale of raw materials, there are few other avenues for generating revenue except from the private sector through taxes on corporations, income and import taxes, and the like. One of the main indicators that foreign investors look at when considering investing in a country is how educated the local populace is. Is there skilled labour? A growing middle class provides the engine for growth of that economy that is desperately needed. As the markets grow, everyone benefits. The investor is happy and makes windfall profits. The government is able to tax and obtain revenue, sections of the middle and even lower class obtain employment and with this comes the possibility of accumulating more property. This brings about an eventual result of investment of various sections of the populace in the well-being of the society and the eventual flourishing of democracy like a seed flung in fertile soil, or like water flowing to a thirsty land. As the middle class becomes larger and the markets continue to grow, the markets will become increasingly sophisticated through the stock market and such other avenues, opening further avenues for growth and further cementing of democracy.

RECOMMENDATIONS TOWARDS ACHIEVING THESE GOALS

As an overarching recommendation, there must be a change in the way the IMF, and such other institutions, do business with African countries. As Carol Lancaster asks, “Why, with so much aid, has there been so little development in Africa?”87 Among many fundamental mistakes and a lack of will to embark on any program that has even a remote possibility of adversely affecting the interests of the Western world, these institutional bodies have placed an unhealthy emphasis on macro-economic indicators. The problem with this is that the figures while encouraging, may not necessarily reflect the reality on the ground as they do not pay attention to the overall well-being of the population, the productive apparatus and the domestic market. Though macro-economic indicators are not to be discounted, it is to be noted that governments have a way of achieving these so-called indicators without necessarily impacting the populace at large. Sen for instance, in his Development in Freedom, eschews such approaches as using GDP as an index for measuring development and espouses ideas that go against IMF and World Bank concepts of stimulating development.88 For him, those financial organizations are in a lot of cases putting the cart before the horse.

Further, as an overarching principle, the IMF and the World Bank must cease providing loans to governments that are clearly undemocratic.89 African countries that are saddled with debts from era of despotic and undemocratically elected governments will

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89 On Saturday June 11, 2005, G8 finance ministers agreed on debt relief for 18 HIPC [Highly Indebted Poor Countries] countries in Africa and others. The World Bank, the IMF, and the African development Bank forgave the debt owed by these countries. The next 20 countries on the list “could qualify for debt cancellation if they met targets for good government and corruption-fighting,” the G8 said.
have a case in arguing that those loans were not contracted by - properly so called - the representatives of the people.\textsuperscript{90} As Cohen notes, “Debt is the favourite weapon of harried governments, which do not worry about letting their successors solve these problems. But who is identified as the one who incurred the debt: the government or the people? Debt is a trap in the sense that it exempts governments that borrow from asking who will repay.”\textsuperscript{91} African countries are saddled with huge debts, with many frivolously contracted by despotic governments in the name of the people but largely not used for their benefit,\textsuperscript{92} and would be worthy cases for non-repayment.\textsuperscript{93} Some would argue that these institutional bodies and creditors at large would be unwilling to lend at all to these African countries when there is the possibility that regime change could cause a nation to refuse to pay its debt. Thus critics such as Raghuram Rajan\textsuperscript{94} note that, “Not only would it make it more difficult for odious regimes to borrow, but it would also make borrowing

\textsuperscript{90} As Cohen sarcastically notes, “Yet sovereign nations still do not have a bankruptcy procedure at their disposal; once they have fallen into the debt trap, they remain prisoners, without recourse other than to the generosity of their creditors.” - Michael Cohen. Globalization and Its Enemies. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2006. Page 154

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid Page 156

\textsuperscript{92} As Kieh notes, “It is important to note here that most of the dramatic gains that occurred in Ghana did so immediately after Rawlings seized control of the government through a coup d’etat and before the advent of the Structural Adjustment Programs. The gains were a reflection of an end to many years of public malfeasance and corruption-driven, opportunistic and perverse economic policies by his predecessors [military rulers]…” John Mukum Mbaku. The African Debt Crisis And The New Globalization. Ed. George Klay Kieh Jr. Africa And The New Globalization. UK: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2008 Page 41

\textsuperscript{93} During the Acheampong [military ruler] regime in the 1970s’ in Ghana, he recognized the injustice inherent in the debt burden. Acheampong said in the vernacular, “Yen tua” meaning “We won't pay!” An academic lawyer, Alexander Sack developed the concept of ‘odious debt’ at the beginning of the 20th Century. In referring to the national debt of a country he wrote: "If a despotic power incurs a debt not for the needs or in the interest of the State, but to strengthen its despotic regime, this debt is odious for the population of all the State. This debt is not an obligation for the nation.” Sacks work provided the legal rationale for action taken at the beginning of the 20th Century by the USA in relation to Cuba.

\textsuperscript{94} IMF Economic Counsellor and Director of the IMF’s Research Department
more difficult for any legitimate regime that had even a remote possibility of being succeeded by an odious regime. A fledgling democratic regime, struggling to borrow to avoid the consequences of drought, might find the going even harder if creditors were also attempting to judge the possibility that the regime might collapse.\textsuperscript{95} One must note that this cannot be the case because what is being referred to here is clearly regime change from an undemocratic government that has contracted such loans such as Robert Mugabe’s in Zimbabwe.\textsuperscript{96} If the democratic government of South Africa for instance is overthrown tomorrow, no later government can refuse to pay any debt contracted under that democratically elected government that was overthrown.

Further, there must be an emphasis in developing countries on the dual concepts of natural resources being ‘stabilization funds’ and the market economy being a ‘diversified portfolio.’ While a sizable portion of the revenue from natural resources should be geared towards development, it should primarily be viewed as “stabilization funds,” that is, an “endowment, of which the current government and generation are trustees for future generations.”\textsuperscript{97} Such revenue should primarily be invested in a diligent manner. The portion of such revenue channelled to development and obligations of the state can be complemented heavily by revenue derived from the market economy through a diversified economy. The combination of these twin concepts will ensure, first and foremost, that countries do not fall prey to the ‘Dutch disease’\textsuperscript{98} as Nigeria for instance. Stiglitz notes that, “The problem, known as the Dutch disease, in honour of the country

\textsuperscript{95} Rajan Raghuram. Odious or Just Malodorous: Why The Odious Debt Proposal Is Likely To Stay In Cold Storage. Finance Development. International Monetary Fund. 1\textsuperscript{st} December 2004, Page 54
\textsuperscript{96} Even strictly speaking, that situation should not arise because no loans should have been extended to that government during its era of undemocratic rule in the first place.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid 150
\textsuperscript{98} The Dutch disease is a concept that purportedly explains the apparent relationship between the increase in exploitation of natural resources and a decline in the manufacturing.– Culled from Wikipedia
where it was first analyzed, has plagued resource-rich countries around the world…Before the oil boom three or four decades ago, Nigeria was a major exporter of agricultural produce. Today, it is a major importer.”99 In Ghana for instance where oil was recently discovered in commercial quantities and is to be exported in the near future, there is the fear that like its neighbour Nigeria, it could fall prey to the ‘Dutch disease.’

With respect to furthering these goals enumerated above, with specific reference to contributing towards having an educated populace, it must not be a piecemeal project but a concerted effort requiring great infrastructural investment such as the building of educational institutions, well-stocked and equipped libraries, and the like. Stiglitz notes, “The international community can help create an environment in which development is possible; it can help provide resources and opportunity. But in the end, responsibility for successful, sustainable development – with the fruits of that development widely shared – will have to rest on the shoulders of the developing countries themselves.”100 Bodies such as the IMF must assist101 but in respect of such projects, a good amount of money disbursed should be in the form of very closely monitored aid and not loans.102

This can be complemented with what is loosely known as ‘infrastructural investment contracts’ of various sorts103 such as the ‘build, operate and transfer’ (BOT)

100 Ibid 287
101 As Tsikata notes, “External support can be important in offsetting some costs associated with globalization or offering new directions.” Yvonne Tsikata. Globalization, Poverty and Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Political Economy Appraisal. OECD Development Centre: Produced as part of the research Program on Empowering People To Meet the Challenges of Globalization, 2001. Page 33
102 Here, Jeremy Bulow’s arguments that “Multilateral loans should largely, and in some cases, completely, be replaced by aid,” has great resonance. Again, his further assertion that, “The aid should be…focused on issues that involve externalities, such as environment and education, rather than on macroeconomic structural adjustment” is most apt. Jeremy Bulow. First World Governments And Third World Debt. Brookings Paper on Economic Activity, Volume 2002, No. 1 (2002) Pages 230, 231
103 These infrastructure contracts could be build, own and transfer, (BOT), build, operate, and own (BOO), build, own, operate and transfer (BOOT), build, operate and renew the concession (BOR) projects, among other options.
but particularly the R4I contracts. These are peculiar types of contracts which consist in the exchange of natural resources for the building of national infrastructure such as dams, healthcare, educational facilities, and the like. So in these types of contracts, the government seeking the natural resource does not pay the mineral-rich host government physical cash per se but in exchange for extracting these natural resources, engage in the building of infrastructure agreed on with the host government, and a sort of balancing of accounts done at agreed stages. This greatly reduces the avenues for corruption which is so rife in African governments while allowing for both the provision of world class infrastructure and the opportunity for local contractors to learn from these foreign experts.\footnote{Economists have noted a number of good effects that multinationals can bring in their wake. Perhaps the chief good effect is what economists call spillovers. These refer to the fact that domestic firms learn productivity enhancing techniques from multinationals with better technology and management practices.” – Jagdish Bhagwati. In Defense of Globalization. UK: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pages 180-181} China has engaged in contracts of this nature with some African governments such as Angola, Ghana\footnote{The Bui Dam is a 400 megawatt hydro-electric project currently being built at the Bui Gorge at the southern end of Bui National Park in Ghana. The project is a collaboration between the government of Ghana and Sino Hydro, a Chinese construction company. – Culled from Wikipedia} and Nigeria.\footnote{It is interesting to note that as Carmody notes, “25% of China’s oil supplies now come from the Gulf of Guinea”- Pádraig Carmody. Globalization in Africa: Decolonization or Renaissance? London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010. Page 12}

The World Bank and the IMF must not simply pump money into these African countries without a clear and concerted focus on building from the ground up. As Martin Luther King quotes T. S. Elliot, “The last temptation is the greatest treason: to do the right thing for the wrong reason.”\footnote{Martin Luther King, Letter from Birmingham Jail, 16th April 1963, Page 9} The focal point should be the adaptation of “policies for sustainable, equitable and democratic growth.”\footnote{Joseph E. Stiglitz. Globalization and Its Discontents. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002. Page 251} The focus should be to grow the
middle class and that can only be done through support for small business\textsuperscript{109} including the agricultural sector,\textsuperscript{110} and education in a holistic manner - that is from educating the child in a classroom to the judge on the bench through refresher programs.

The World Bank and the IMF must cut drastically, loans to these governments and focus on some primary areas such as education,\textsuperscript{111} small business, and a few select areas that will be the engine for private sector growth and not simply make available, funds to run or stabilize the economy. Though it may sound radical, African governments will then be constrained to actively and meaningfully participate in the global economy. As DiNello and Squire note, “The myth is that Africa is poor because of its marginalization in the world economy; the reality, however, is that Africa using various factors of global integration is not meaningfully participating in the global economy. Yet embracing globalization has been, is and still will be a key ingredient for Africa’s successful economic growth and development. With better economic policies Africa can

\textsuperscript{109} It must be noted that conditions must be put in place to ensure that small business has access to the highest echelons of power. It should not be the case as happened in Argentina, that “By far, the most excluded and angry businessmen, however were small and medium industrialists who claimed they had absolutely no access to the highest reaches of political power.” Judith Teichman. Private Sector Power and Market Reform: Exploring The Domestic Origins of Argentina’s Meltdown and Mexico’s Policy Failures. Third World Quarterly, Volume 23, No. 3, Pages 491-512, 2002. Page 495

\textsuperscript{110} As Ann Harrison notes, “The poor are more likely to share in the gains from globalization when there are complementary policies in place...In Zambia, poor farmers are only expected to benefit from greater access to export markets if they also have access to credit, technical know-how, and other complementary inputs.” – Ann Harrison. Globalization and Poverty. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007. Pages 3 and 4

\textsuperscript{111} Dordunoo and Dogbey also note that, “The experience thus far with the agricultural sector reforms suggest a number of lessons:

\textsuperscript{111} Emphasis should be placed on such areas as remuneration of teachers, and of course, such areas as “teacher training, construction of schools, student/teacher ratio.” – George Psacharopoulos. Why Educational Policies Can Fail: An Overview of Selected African Experiences. World Bank Discussion Papers; Africa Technical Department Series, 1990. Page 4
trade more and attract more capital flows.”

With their backs against the wall, African governments will also be forced to make strident and concerted efforts at generating revenue internally through such measures as further formalization of the economy, and a better use of revenue.

When governments are forced to rely on internally generated funds, cutting down on waste will be imperative. In virtually every African country, top government officials live in government properties and are provided with utilities and domestic help free of charge, coupled with luxury vehicles provided and fuelled by the state, and availed all manner of perks that are simply a drain on the national coffers. When forced to operate within lean budgets, waste will be cut down, efficiency and revenue mobilization will be increased, and the markets will be aggressively stimulated. As David Kennedy notes, “The developing world is full of potential assets – but they have not been harnessed to productive use.” This should be complemented with aggressive assistance by these institutional bodies in the form of helping eliminate the trade barriers that discriminates so much against developing countries. Bardhan notes that, “Eliminating the trade barriers and subsidies adopted by the rich countries that discriminates against products produced in the Third World, would significantly improve the material welfare of the

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113 “It is clear that globalization has several aspects to it...For one thing, it is those states that have mobilized their resources in pursuit of economic growth that have been the most successful.” – John Agnew. Globalization and Sovereignty. Lanham Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009. Page 17


poor in the Third World.”

When the markets are aggressively stimulated complemented with these forms of assistance, the market-economy can only grow robust.

It should be possible for any African country that properly stimulates its markets through capacity building of the middle class, to be able to set the standard that each child of school-going age will be mandatorily and properly educated free of charge up to the high school level. There should be a shift and an emphasis on the building of the capacity of the people mainly through an education which while keeping them abreast with current developments, produces a populace that is savvy, proactive and African.

As Boyle notes, “Organizations like the World Bank have shown their acute awareness of the crisis of education in Africa and the importance of education for development. The real question is whether they will exercise the leadership necessary to promote positive change for the sector.”

The bigger the middle class, the less power the elites have, and the power shift will lead to massive changes in the way things are done.

In furtherance of advancing this educational agenda, there should be an emphasis on sponsoring brilliant individuals with an interest in academia, to educational institutions abroad to specialize in fields and areas in which there is lack of expertise

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117 This emphasis on savvy, proactive and African is intentional because as Bray notes, “In the same way, education should not be considered as an independent or even an inflexible force for change. The direction in which the educational vehicle takes society depends firstly on the intentions of the government and other members of society…” – Mark Bray, Peter B. Clarke, David Stephens. Education and Society in Africa. UK: Edward Arnold Press, 1986. Page 30

within the nation. Globalization and the burgeoning of the middle class have caused an increase in the number of Africans enrolled in graduate programs in the Western world. These individuals with their specialized knowledge have often returned home and occupied positions in academia and government and made very positive impacts on the government and the society at large. Dr. Dominic Ayine\textsuperscript{119} of the University of Ghana, Legon for instance, would be one such example. He had the opportunity to study among other things, \textit{International Trade and Investment Law} at the University of Michigan and Stanford University. He now teaches some of these courses at the University of Ghana and also advises government on matters such as trade law,\textsuperscript{120} greatly impacting policy. As Stiglitz notes, “A quarter of a century ago, those in the developing countries might rightly have given some deference to the ‘experts’ of the IMF. But just as there has been a shift in the military balance of power, there has been an even more dramatic shift in the intellectual balance of power. The developing world now has its own economists – many of them trained at the world’s best academic institutions. These economists have the significant advantage of lifelong familiarity with local politics, conditions and trends.”\textsuperscript{121} The Ghana government in times past, hired foreigners at great expense for such advise - individuals who were not in a position to take into account the reality on the ground.

In terms of drafting of legislation and such other matters, Ghana has some lawyers who have been well trained in that field. Being African, Ghanaians for that matter, they are attuned to the reality of the Ghanaian situation and do not simply engage in legal

\textsuperscript{119} www.ayineandfelli.com
\textsuperscript{120} As Yvonne Tsika notes, “Boosting the capacity of non-government agencies and individuals who can advise policymakers and increase a government’s accountability is critical.” - Yvonne Tsikata. \textit{Globalization, Poverty and Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Political Economy Appraisal}. OECD Development Centre: Produced as part of the research Program on empowering People To Meet the Challenges of Globalization. December 2001. Page 32
transplantation\textsuperscript{122} that may not necessarily benefit the society. As Stiglitz notes, developing countries should adopt legislation “adapted to their own situation, not to accept templates designed by and for the more developed countries.”\textsuperscript{123} There must be a fundamental understanding of the workings of African societies that can only be gleaned from African scholars who have lived in Africa and can make the law have the necessary bite. Raz is most apt when he notes, “The law is not just a fact of life. It is a form of social organization which should be used properly and for the proper ends…A knife is not a knife unless it has some ability to cut.”\textsuperscript{124} The laws, with the proper input, can be formulated so as not to be only good laws on the books but also laws in action.

Thus Ghana, after 18 years of the 1992 constitution, is having the constitution undergo a review to see if there are any omissions and defects, to bring it abreast with new developments. The Commission that is working on this is composed entirely of Ghanaians who have expertise on such matters such as Dr. Raymond Atuguba for instance, a professor at the University of Ghana with an LL.M and a SJD from Harvard University, and with great knowledge in such matters. It is instrumental to note that Ghana’s constitution despite its imperfections has worked very well precisely because it was drafted by indigenous Africans and therefore easy to practise by lawyers, and easy to interpret by judges.

\textsuperscript{122} Scott Newton defines it as, “a term that has come to be used for the borrowing or importing of legislative models, concepts, approaches, or even statutory language from another jurisdiction, typically via the offices of experts in the borrowed law.” – Scott Newton – Post-Communist Legal Reform: The Elision of The Political, Page 161


In Raz’s concept of a knife, he draws from legal positivism. He considers it to be instrument of conception - it could be used for good or bad. Knife has to be sharpened so it can do its work. Sharpness is a quality of a good knife. However, it says nothing as to the use to which it could be put – surgery or murder. Here, if you have ‘sharp laws’ on the books without taking into account the history and circumstances of the people, it will simply not cut despite its outer appearance of being a law.
CONCLUSION

Though many despair that democracy will never manifest strongly in Africa, much progress has been made. As The Economist notes in *Booting Out the Big Men: Democracy in Africa*, “Democracy sprouts, slowly. Despite what most outsiders think, Africa is becoming more democratic.”125 Africa has moved, albeit slowly, toward democracy. Perhaps Ake says it best when he writes, “Africa has come a long way with democratization but there is still a very long way to go.”126

Nurturing and cementing democracy in Africa will start from a foundational level of having some form of rule of law in the society. It will then take a concerted effort based on harnessing the positive effects of globalization while eschewing globalization in its unbridled form. Globalization in its unbridled form will wreck the socio-economic fabric of African countries. The synergy of an educated populace and a growing middle class are crucial to having democracy take root. Those are what will be the offshoots, what will spurn those desirable traits seen in democracy such as good governance, respect for human rights, a strong judicature, strong markets, and the like.

The recommendations in this paper are a guide as to how things ought to be done with a relatively different approach, to assist these goals to be fully realized. As Albert Enstein notes, “The definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results.” Governments and institutional bodies such as the IMF and World Bank, working hand in hand along these lines, in a concerted manner, can make these goals achievable and create a self-sustaining democracy for years to come.