



Editorial

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The world we live in is not only volatile and uncertain; it appears to be increasingly becoming, if not already, a dangerous place. It is in this context that the dominant paradigm, which is based on the hegemony of neoliberal perspectives that have shaped development or caused underdevelopment, and is informed by *accumulation by dispossession* (Harvey 2005), is being challenged. Capitalism, or monopoly capitalism to be specific to the current conjuncture, benefits a few at the expense of the many. The predominance of the United States of America and European countries has maintained the peripheralisation of the global south. This has added salt to injury – the ramifications of the many centuries of brutal enslavement, colonialism, imperialism, plunder and the exploitation of the global south, and Africa in particular, have been followed by further plunder, imperialism and coloniality.¹ The skewed distribution of power, globally has ensured that the interests of the so-called developed countries trump effective and inclusive development in the global south. The world disorder that is in place has to change. Global relations should be transformed. A just world must be made a reality.

This special issue of *Africa Development* interrogates the dynamics of global relations for a just world. The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) partnered with the World Social Science Forum 2015 on the theme of ‘Transforming Global Relations for a Just World’. The papers in this special issue cover the following areas: changing imperatives of international development; emerging powers and impact on international development; the reform of international finance institutions and the growth-development nexus debates. In addition, some papers analyse the origins, contexts, complexities and contradictions of the lopsided global order and their effects on development and implications for Africa’s development.

Without a doubt, the obtaining global disorder is characterised by high levels of inequality, poverty, misery, environmental degradation, diseases, hunger and pervasive injustice, as many have argued or even demonstrated.

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These trajectories have been informed and reinforced by power asymmetry between the global north and the global south, with the former clinging tenaciously to the privileges and power that they derived through colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, and, now, coloniality.

The globalisation processes have been defined by the logic of the market, free trade and deregulation, thus leading to the primacy of capital and its hegemony over all the other factors of production. An increasing feature of global capitalism is financialisation, which involves the development of sophisticated financial tricks such as shares, bonds, mutual funds, certificates of deposits, equities, derivatives, toxic assets and so on, issued by various banks, financial institutions, stock brokerages, insurance providers, credit rating agencies and government-sponsored profiteering entities (as some articles in this special issue discuss). While these products have increased the volume and velocity of money in circulation, they have served to further global interests, within and between countries, manifested by inequalities through payment of bonuses and benefits to corporate executives who constitute a small percentage of global income earners.

The contradictions inherent in global capitalism have led to several cyclical crises which, paradoxically, are altering the balance of economic power in favour of the global south. The shift in the geography of power from the north to the south calls for new debates on how global relations and social processes can be transformed to ensure comprehensive justice. This becomes more pertinent in view of the democratic deficits that still characterize the global governance architecture in a supposedly multipolar world, especially on issues of trade, finance, environment, security and development in general.

Within the context of Africa and or Africa's development, a number of questions remain unanswered. One of the fundamental questions confronting us is: why has the African continent remained behind other continents, particularly in terms of human development and or wellbeing? I think the starting point in an attempt to address this fundamental question of Africa's development or Africans in general is that the various unpleasant experiences of slave trade, colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism have combined to condition the mind of an African to feel inferior and seemingly incapable of creative endeavour – this is not to say that such experiences must be the primary preoccupation and should constrain the ability to determine Africa's desired destiny. As Karl Polanyi (1944) argues, experiences of slavery dehumanize and disempower the victims, even for successive generations. Frantz Fanon (1961) has more to say about this (Fanon 1961: 67).² As many have argued, the totality of the historical experience of

the African continent and peoples of African descent should be taken into account when dealing with the challenges and solutions pertaining to the further renewal of the African continent and for the advancement of the wellbeing of Africans wherever they are.³ Pakiso Tondi (2005:301) puts it aptly that, 'European imperialists employed various strategies that were all intended to depersonalize and empty [us]...' We must indeed reclaim our tempered or damaged souls, as Ama Mazama would put it. Put differently, Africans and those of African descent should retrieve lost glory and reclaim stolen legacy. As argued elsewhere, the thorough understanding of African histories and detailed immersion into the African archive should facilitate processes towards recovering the stolen legacy and reclaiming the lost glory. Cheikh Anta Diop, among others, opened the canvass for us.

Among the fundamental constraints to Africa's development is the lack of appropriate policies. The lack of appropriate policies is also associated with poor reforms, as Gumede (2011) explains. Thandika Mkandawire (2001), in the context of Africa as a whole, has argued that there is indeed a challenge of policies, especially social policies. Samir Amin (1972),⁴ on the other hand, has been explaining what kind of a development model could work better for Africa (and the world at large) – indeed, there have been various attempts to come up with 'home-grown' development approaches. Adebayo Adedeji (2002), for instance, has discussed the various strategies and plans that Africa crafted, which have unfortunately been compromised by what he has termed the Development Merchant System – a deliberate design by the global capitalist order to perpetuate a socio-economic and political system that advances the interests of the west and maintains the peripheralisation of the African continent. Adekeye Adebajo (2010) attributes, convincingly, the challenges confronting Africa to the 'curse of Berlin' and the 'bondage of boundaries'. Claude Ake (1996), among others, demonstrated, the constraints imposed by the development approach that Africa followed. Indeed, the debate about what has limited development in Africa continues: the most recent appraisal by Thandika Mkandawire (2015) of various perspectives that have claimed to identify the 'African problem' is a case in point.

As hinted above, the central concern for the further development of the African continent has to do with a socio-economic development approach pursued so far, largely because the approaches for advancing development that have been employed in Africa have largely been borrowed elsewhere (Gumede 2011). As the opening paragraph of this introduction indicates, the dominant approach is the neoliberal economic agenda or dogma which is mainly based on market fundamentalism that has been prone to crises, the

recent case being the ongoing global economic recession, and it perpetuates and accentuates inequalities. Therefore, Africa needs its own socio-economic development approach, informed by a new vision for the African economy. I have described the new approach, or philosophical framework, for socio-economic development in Africa as an African Economic Renaissance⁵ (see Gumede 2013) and I have proposed that the following should be the main aspects of an alternative model: robust social policies, effective industrial policies, entrepreneurship, state ownership and (lastly) intra-African trade.⁶

Arguably, it would be important to look back, perhaps through the works of Walter Rodney, Cheikh Anta Diop, Samir Amin and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, among others, to study how socially and economically Africa was organised before colonisation or colonialism. Adebajo (2010:3) put it interestingly that 'in order to understand contemporary events and for a better future one must inevitably understand the past'. Theophile Obenga has extensively documented the 'past' we must be proud of while Kwesi Kwaa Prah, among others, has succinctly captured the 'past' we must never forget. With regard to the early African economy, for instance, it was characterised or has been described as communalistic, not communistic. According to Rodney (1973), communalism refers to a way of life and or philosophy and or approach where production is done in common and the produce shared equally. Amin (1997) characterised such an economy as pre-mercantilist. Ayi Kwei Armah, Chinweizu Ibekwe and Valentine Mudimbe, among others, have made a case against borrowing foreign notions such as communism or Marxism.

It is probably necessary to indicate that when I argue about 'going back', particularly pertaining to the approach to socio-economic development. I am not suggesting that we should go back in order to replicate exactly what was done many centuries back because of contextual nuances as the reality of globalisation must be factored in. Indeed, there is a need to think innovatively instead of trying to copy what other countries do. Many countries in the African continent are increasingly copying or trying to copy the Chinese social and economic development model. Arguably, replicating the Chinese model would not work well for the African continent for many reasons, chief among them being the reality that the contexts are different.

There are also many social problems in the African continent. Some of these are of course common all over the world. However, Africa has many civil wars that are avoidable. There is a big problem of conflicts and the need for peace in the African continent. It is hard to develop society in such conditions. Some scholars have written about this, modelling the role of conflict to economic development. One cannot possibly develop society

effectively while there is conflict. Education is also a challenge, despite large investments into educational sectors in the African continent. The outcomes remain a challenge in terms of skills development, level and quality of education. Take South Africa, for instance. There is a large number of graduates that are unemployed.

There are also challenges that relate to institutions and political systems in the African continent. Moreover, there is always some kind of external influence or interference as the works of Thandika Mkandawire and Adebayo Adedeji, among others, have shown with regard to economic development in Africa. Libya is generally used as a recent case of this issue where the African continent was not given an opportunity, sufficient opportunity, to resolve the crisis or the challenge in Libya. Instead, external role-players came in and worsened the crisis. There is a bigger problem now in the Sahel region all the way down to Nigeria and other parts of that world. Some people argue that the reason Boko Haram seems so prominent now can be linked to what has happened in Libya, for instance, the complete breakdown of society and the ease with which arms flow across the Sahel region, coupled with problems in Mali and other areas.

More fundamentally, as indicated earlier, the African continent remains at the periphery, to use Issa Shivji's formulation (2009), largely because of the global power distribution. The manner in which economic power, social power, political power and otherwise are distributed keeps the African continent at the bottom. As indicated earlier, Adebayo Adedeji has characterized the mechanism that keeps Africa at the bottom as the 'Development Merchant System'. So, the manner in which power is distributed globally is a big challenge. The notion of the 'colonial matrices of power' that decolonial scholars (see, for instance, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Akhona Nkenkana in this special issue) have advanced speaks to a structure which ensures that the global south broadly remains at the bottom and the West remains at the top. It is also in this context that we should always treat narratives, from the West about Africa with circumspection. As Achille Mbembé (2001:3) would put it, 'narrative about Africa is always pretext for a comment about something else, some other place, some other people...Africa is the mediation that enables the West to accede to its own subconscious and give a public account of its subjectivity.' Therefore, we must interrogate narratives such as the 'Africa rising' narrative, which is essentially a narrative of the West and its allies.

Articles in this issue of *Africa Development* do a great job in expanding on the issues I have highlighted and in addressing the theme as well as pertinent aspects of this special issue. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni addresses the question

of how Africa was conceived of as an *idea* and integrated into the evolving Euro-North American-centric modernity. He categorises and describes genealogies of coloniality in the eight broad and overlapping epochs in the production of Africa that impinged on Africa's development in various direct and indirect ways. The eight epochs that Ndlovu-Gatsheni deals with are: the *paradigm of discovery and mercantilist order* running from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century dominated by the slave trade and mercantilism; the *post-1648 Westphalian order* that inaugurated the exclusion of Africa from sovereignty; the *1884-5 Berlin consensus, scramble for and conquest of Africa* that concretized the dismemberment and fragmentation of Africa; *colonial governmentality* that was characterized by production of African colonial subjectivity; the *post-1945 United Nations decolonization normative order* that amounted to the accommodation of Africa in the lowest echelons of the modern world system; the *Cold War coloniality* that polarised Africa ideologically and reduced it to a theatre of proxy hot wars; the *post-Cold War triumphalism of neoliberal order* that Francis Fukuyama (1992) articulated as 'the end of history and the last man'; the *post-9/11 anti-terrorist* period that produced a new securitisation order; and the current *coloniality of markets and new scramble for Africa*. Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues that Africa is today still struggling to free itself from the constraining global colonial matrices of power that have been in place since the time of colonial encounters.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni's article presents a broad theoretical framework that Akhona Nkenkana adapts to examine gender transformation in the context of the transformation of global relations for a just world. Applying a decolonial perspective, Akhona Nkenkana broadly examines gender transformation instruments and narratives about gender empowerment as far as genuine gender transformation is concerned. Akhona Nkenkana's point of departure is that the 'modern' world system and its global order have remained fundamentally patriarchal. She argues that the liberation of women must not be about the incorporation of women within the patriarchal system. For Akhona Nkenkana, decolonising gender, distilling from Maria Lugones' theoretical framework, is to enact a critique of racialised, colonial, and capitalist heterosexualist gender oppression as a lived transformation of the social. As she argues, 'we should be able to understand that the instrumentality of the colonial/modern gender system is subjecting both men and women of colour in all domains of existence and therefore allows us to reveal that the gender transformation discourse is not just a women's emancipation discourse but rather efforts of both men and women to overcoming the colonial global structure that is subjectifying in different ways' (p39). Therefore, the change of the system and its structures, which are essentially patriarchal, is the main mechanism that will bring

about possible equal futures for women in Africa, as her case studies of Rwanda and South Africa show.

Devan Pillay makes a strong case that the 'Africa rising' narrative is misleading, reminding us, indirectly about what Achille Mbembé says regarding 'narratives about Africa'. The 'Africa rising' narrative, Devan Pillay argues, draws the people of Africa into a false sense of promise – of 'development' and 'decent' jobs for all – that can never be delivered by the current economic growth paradigm. He appeals for a radical rethink to break out of the cycle of deepening inequality, dispossession and ecological devastation. Devan Pillay also addresses the behaviour and effects of capital: it develops but also destroys; if left to its own devices, its destructive power is incalculable. Pillay's article situates the 'Africa rising' narrative and the challenges of growth and development within the context of the global *poly-crisis*. Pillay demonstrates, among other things, that the world we live in is increasingly and irreversibly falling apart because of monopoly capitalism. The article is a convincing case for transforming global relations for a just world.

There are two articles that deal with Africa's relations in the context of the role of the global south in transforming global relations for a just world: Phineas Bbaala examines Africa-China relations while Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo looks at Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS). It is indeed very important that an analysis of the global south is undertaken or that the various initiatives that purport to bring about a new world order are analyzed. It would seem that the transformation of global relations for a just world can only be led by the global south. Africa, as part of the global south, has an important role to play in the transformation of global relations so that the whole of humanity benefits from the fruits of whatever progress is made. It might very well be that the global south needs its own vision and its own approach to development, instead of Africa pulling alone.

Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo reflects on the dynamics of the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) states' political economy and implications to Africa's continuous efforts to search for new developmental paradigms. Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo addresses the following important questions: What are the BRICS states specifically proposing to the existing world order and the global south in the areas of paradigms of economic and social development and systems of governance? What do BRICS countries have in common? Can this commonality be instrumentalised and converted in favour of African progress? What is the ideological foundation of their solidarity? Within the pragmatism and ideology related to this solidarity, are the BRICS states proposing new development schemes from the failed old top-down, the 'free' and anarchical market-based, linear, and the middle-

class one-size-fits-all model of social and economic development? Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo concludes that to have a significant impact in Africa, activities of BRICS should be shaped and guided by bottom-up perspectives. He notes that BRICS strongly calls for shifts of paradigms in the world order. Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo, however, has doubts whether BRICS can bring about a new world order given that BRICS seems to be working within existing paradigms instead of explicitly charting a new development path for the global south.

Phineas Bbaala examines the relationship between Africa and China, answering the question of whether Africa-China relations are benefitting Africa in any tangible manner. Phineas Bbaala highlights that 'notwithstanding China's long solidarity with Africa throughout the liberation struggle, and its contribution to the continent through foreign direct investment, infrastructure development, trade and bilateral aid, some of its recent engagements with the continent have raised questions of neo-colonialism tantamount to those in the North-South relations' (p93). In other words, are the new Sino-Africa relations mainly driven by China's hunger for Africa's natural resources and its search for international markets for its manufactures, and business opportunities for its multinational corporations? Phineas Bbaala demonstrates that the new Sino-Africa economic relations, although still largely 'win-win' could soon plunge into 'win-lose' relations in favour of China.

Samuel Oloruntoba examines the nature and scope of capitalism, in almost a similar manner as Devan Pillay and Yash Tandon do – see their articles in this special issue. Samuel Oloruntoba locates the growing inequalities in the world within the global politics of financialisation in which the transnational capitalist class (TCC) adopts a reactionary ideology of neoliberalism to further their interest through the creation of massive fictitious wealth, maintenance of stranglehold on domestic and international policy institutions and spreading of the 'illogic' of the sanctity of the market. As many have argued, including Devan Pillay and Yash Tandon in this special issue, Oloruntoba argues that capitalism in its current form is unsustainable for the global human society and that the structure of power that informs and maintains the current order must therefore be transformed to foster inclusive development. Oloruntoba concludes that there is an inextricable link between financialisation of capital/capitalism and global inequality.

This special issue ends with a hard-hitting rendition by Yash Tandon on imperialism and development. Yash Tandon, drawing from his works of many decades on 'development' argues that: in our epoch, resistance against imperial domination is the first law of motion of development. Tandon

examines the various aspects of the development theories and practices of 'development' and concludes that economic theories are actually ideologies and those propounding such theories are ideologists. Tandon also makes use of specific cases or case studies to sharpen his main argument and support the conclusion reached. The discussion is situated firmly in the context of the harsh reality of imperialism. The West, Tandon argues, suffers from an acute case of amnesia when it comes to recognising imperialism and its role in destroying the cultural, economic and social roots of Africa's evolution into self-sustaining and respected member of the international community. Tandon makes a point that the fundamental reason why the 'African economy is shattered' is because of the so-called 'free trade' dogma. This and other points captured in his article support or inform his main argument that 'development is resistance'.

In conclusion, it indeed seems that there are numerous efforts to transform global relations. The global south must not relent. Africa must push harder. Leadership is one of the most critical ingredients for successfully pursuing the overdue transformation of global relations. As I have been arguing, it is not just 'leadership' that is needed. Rather, what is very much needed is 'thought leadership'. The needed thought leadership should be coupled with critical consciousness. Thought leadership is about the leadership that is based on progressive ideologies, beliefs and orientations that have significant pragmatic and positive impact appeal. Critical consciousness, on the other hand, should be linked to decolonising the minds of Africans, as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Molefi Kete Asante, Ama Mazama and Chinweizu Ibekwe, among others, have argued. Knowledge production is therefore an important component in the pursuit of the desired transformation of global relations and the fundamental re-configuration of the global disorder to ensure a just world. For Africa, the transformation of global relations has to be informed by the ideals of African renaissance within the framework that pan-Africanism provides for as Ras Makonnen argued in the 1970s.

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Notes

1. Decolonial scholars describe coloniality as the legacy of colonialism – colonial systems and structures that survive beyond the so-called era of colonialism. For instance, coloniality is said to be primarily in three spheres: coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being
2. Frantz Fanon (1961:67) puts it well that ‘colonialism, by a kind of pervasive logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts it, disfigures and destroys it.’
3. See, for instance, works Molefi Kete Asante and Archie Mafeje, among others.
4. There are many works of Samir Amin that have been explaining problems with the development paradigm that Africa has followed. See for instance, Amin, S., 1972.
5. African economic renaissance implies that Africans should decide on the African economy and or the socio-economic system that works for them. The point of departure is that Africans have had, prior to colonialism and imperialism, an economy and an economic system that worked well for them. For more, see Gumede, V. (2013).
6. For detailed explanation of the socio-economic development model I have proposed, see Gumede, V. (2013). There is ongoing work to elaborate the proposed model with a focus on the twenty-second century because some of us think that Africa has missed the twenty-first century. We in fact argue that as the twenty-first century slowly draws to a close it will, socioeconomically, be remembered as one that firmly established the ascent of the Asian sub-continent and economies like the People’s Republic of China, Republic of Korea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and also the secondary rise of South American and Latin nations (e.g., Federative Republic of Brazil, Republic of Chile, United Mexico States).

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