Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X
DOI : 10.17406/GJHSS

Global Journal

of Human Social Sciences: F

Political Science

State Elites' Policies

Labour Dispute Resolution

Highlights

Implication for Capitalism

Collective Judicial Responsibility

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 16 ISSUE 2 VERSION 1.0

© 2001-2016 by Global Journal of Human Social Sciences, USA

Volume 16 Issue 25 was originally issued as F2

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F
Political Science

Volume 16 Issue 25
Originally issued as F2

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F

Political Science

Volume 16 Issue 2 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

© Global Journal of Human Social Sciences. 2016.

All rights reserved.

This is a special issue published in version 1.0 of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences." By Global Journals Inc.

All articles are open access articles distributed under "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences"

Reading License, which permits restricted use. Entire contents are copyright by of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences" unless otherwise noted on specific articles.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission.

The opinions and statements made in this book are those of the authors concerned. Ultraculture has not verified and neither confirms nor denies any of the foregoing and no warranty or fitness is implied.

Engage with the contents herein at your own risk.

The use of this journal, and the terms and conditions for our providing information, is governed by our Disclaimer, Terms and Conditions and Privacy Policy given on our website http://globaljournals.us/terms-and-condition/menu-id-1463/

By referring / using / reading / any type of association / referencing this journal, this signifies and you acknowledge that you have read them and that you accept and will be bound by the terms thereof.

All information, journals, this journal, activities undertaken, materials, services and our website, terms and conditions, privacy policy, and this journal is subject to change anytime without any prior notice.

Incorporation No.: 0423089
License No.: 42125/022010/1186
Registration No.: 430374
Import-Export Code: 1109007027
Employer Identification Number (EIN):
USA Tax ID: 98-0673427

Global Journals Inc.

*(A Delaware USA Incorporation with "Good Standing"; **Reg. Number: 0423089**)*

Sponsors: Open Association of Research Society
Open Scientific Standards

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals® Headquarters
945th Concord Streets,
Framingham Massachusetts Pin: 01701,
United States of America
USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392
USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated
2nd, Lansdowne, Lansdowne Rd., Croydon-Surrey,
Pin: CR9 2ER, United Kingdom

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

Global Journals
E-3130 Sudama Nagar, Near Gopur Square,
Indore, M.P., Pin:452009, India

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

To find nodal officer of your country, please email us at *local@globaljournals.org*

eContacts

Press Inquiries: *press@globaljournals.org*
Investor Inquiries: *investors@globaljournals.org*
Technical Support: *technology@globaljournals.org*
Media & Releases: *media@globaljournals.org*

Pricing (Including by Air Parcel Charges):

For Authors:
22 USD (B/W) & 50 USD (Color)
Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional):
200 USD (B/W) & 250 USD (Color)

Integrated Editorial Board
(Computer Science, Engineering, Medical, Management, Natural Science, Social Science)

John A. Hamilton,"Drew" Jr.,
Ph.D., Professor, Management
Computer Science and Software Engineering
Director, Information Assurance Laboratory
Auburn University

Dr. Henry Hexmoor
IEEE senior member since 2004
Ph.D. Computer Science, University at Buffalo
Department of Computer Science
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Dr. Osman Balci, Professor
Department of Computer Science
Virginia Tech, Virginia University
Ph.D. and M. S. Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York
M. S. and B. S. Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey

Yogita Bajpai
M.Sc. (Computer Science), FICCT
U.S.A.Email:
yogita@computerresearch.org

Dr. T. David A. Forbes
Associate Professor and Range Nutritionist
Ph.D. Edinburgh University - Animal Nutrition
M. S. Aberdeen University - Animal Nutrition
B. A. University of Dublin- Zoology

Dr. Wenying Feng
Professor, Department of Computing & Information Systems
Department of Mathematics
Trent University, Peterborough,
ON Canada K9J 7B8

Dr. Thomas Wischgoll
Computer Science and Engineering,
Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio
B.S., M.S., Ph.D.
(University of Kaiserslautern)

Dr. Abdurrahman Arslanyilmaz
Computer Science & Information Systems Department
Youngstown State University
Ph.D., Texas A&M University
University of Missouri, Columbia
Gazi University, Turkey

Dr. Xiaohong He
Professor of International Business
University of Quinnipiac
BS, Jilin Institute of Technology; MA, MS, PhD,. (University of Texas-Dallas)

Burcin Becerik-Gerber
University of Southern California
Ph.D. in Civil Engineering
DDes from Harvard University
M. S. from University of California, Berkeley
& Istanbul University

Dr. Bart Lambrecht
Director of Research in Accounting and Finance Professor of Finance
Lancaster University Management School
BA (Antwerp); MPhil, MA, PhD (Cambridge)

Dr. Carlos García Pont
Associate Professor of Marketing
IESE Business School, University of Navarra
Doctor of Philosophy (Management), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
Master in Business Administration, IESE, University of Navarra
Degree in Industrial Engineering, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Dr. Fotini Labropulu
Mathematics - Luther College
University of ReginaPh.D., M.Sc. in Mathematics
B.A. (Honors) in Mathematics
University of Windso

Dr. Lynn Lim
Reader in Business and Marketing
Roehampton University, London
BCom, PGDip, MBA (Distinction), PhD, FHEA

Dr. Mihaly Mezei
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
Department of Structural and Chemical Biology, Mount Sinai School of Medical Center
Ph.D., Etvs Lornd University
Postdoctoral Training,
New York University

Dr. Söhnke M. Bartram
Department of Accounting and Finance Lancaster University Management SchoolPh.D. (WHU Koblenz)
MBA/BBA (University of Saarbrücken)

Dr. Miguel Angel Ariño
Professor of Decision Sciences
IESE Business School
Barcelona, Spain (Universidad de Navarra)
CEIBS (China Europe International Business School).
Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen
Ph.D. in Mathematics
University of Barcelona
BA in Mathematics (Licenciatura)
University of Barcelona

Philip G. Moscoso
Technology and Operations Management
IESE Business School, University of Navarra
Ph.D in Industrial Engineering and Management, ETH Zurich
M.Sc. in Chemical Engineering, ETH Zurich

Dr. Sanjay Dixit, M.D.
Director, EP Laboratories, Philadelphia VA Medical Center
Cardiovascular Medicine - Cardiac Arrhythmia
Univ of Penn School of Medicine

Dr. Han-Xiang Deng
MD., Ph.D
Associate Professor and Research
Department Division of Neuromuscular Medicine
Davee Department of Neurology and Clinical Neuroscience Northwestern University
Feinberg School of Medicine

Dr. Pina C. Sanelli
Associate Professor of Public Health
Weill Cornell Medical College
Associate Attending Radiologist
NewYork-Presbyterian Hospital
MRI, MRA, CT, and CTA
Neuroradiology and Diagnostic Radiology
M.D., State University of New York at Buffalo, School of Medicine and Biomedical Sciences

Dr. Roberto Sanchez
Associate Professor
Department of Structural and Chemical Biology
Mount Sinai School of Medicine
Ph.D., The Rockefeller University

Dr. Wen-Yih Sun
Professor of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences Purdue University Director National Center for Typhoon and Flooding Research, Taiwan
University Chair Professor
Department of Atmospheric Sciences, National Central University, Chung-Li, Taiwan University Chair Professor
Institute of Environmental Engineering, National Chiao Tung University, Hsin-chu, Taiwan. Ph.D., MS The University of Chicago, Geophysical Sciences
BS National Taiwan University, Atmospheric Sciences
Associate Professor of Radiology

Dr. Michael R. Rudnick
M.D., FACP
Associate Professor of Medicine
Chief, Renal Electrolyte and Hypertension Division (PMC)
Penn Medicine, University of Pennsylvania
Presbyterian Medical Center, Philadelphia
Nephrology and Internal Medicine
Certified by the American Board of Internal Medicine

Dr. Bassey Benjamin Esu
B.Sc. Marketing; MBA Marketing; Ph.D Marketing
Lecturer, Department of Marketing, University of Calabar
Tourism Consultant, Cross River State Tourism Development Department
Co-ordinator , Sustainable Tourism Initiative, Calabar, Nigeria

Dr. Aziz M. Barbar, Ph.D.
IEEE Senior Member
Chairperson, Department of Computer Science
AUST - American University of Science & Technology
Alfred Naccash Avenue – Ashrafieh

President Editor (HON.)

Dr. George Perry, (Neuroscientist)
Dean and Professor, College of Sciences
Denham Harman Research Award (American Aging Association)
ISI Highly Cited Researcher, Iberoamerican Molecular Biology Organization
AAAS Fellow, Correspondent Member of Spanish Royal Academy of Sciences
University of Texas at San Antonio
Postdoctoral Fellow (Department of Cell Biology)
Baylor College of Medicine
Houston, Texas, United States

Chief Author (HON.)

Dr. R.K. Dixit
M.Sc., Ph.D., FICCT
Chief Author, India
Email: authorind@computerresearch.org

Dean & Editor-in-Chief (HON.)

Vivek Dubey(HON.)
MS (Industrial Engineering),
MS (Mechanical Engineering)
University of Wisconsin, FICCT
Editor-in-Chief, USA
editorusa@computerresearch.org

Sangita Dixit
M.Sc., FICCT
Dean & Chancellor (Asia Pacific)
deanind@computerresearch.org

Suyash Dixit
(B.E., Computer Science Engineering), FICCTT
President, Web Administration and
Development , CEO at IOSRD
COO at GAOR & OSS

Er. Suyog Dixit
(M. Tech), BE (HONS. in CSE), FICCT
SAP Certified Consultant
CEO at IOSRD, GAOR & OSS
Technical Dean, Global Journals Inc. (US)
Website: www.suyogdixit.com
Email:suyog@suyogdixit.com

Pritesh Rajvaidya
(MS) Computer Science Department
California State University
BE (Computer Science), FICCT
Technical Dean, USA
Email: pritesh@computerresearch.org

Luis Galárraga
J!Research Project Leader
Saarbrücken, Germany

Contents of the Issue

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Contents of the Issue

1. Globalization and Africa: Issues and Prospects of the New International Economic Order (NIEO). *1-6*
2. Corruption and Post 2015 Development Agenda in Nigeria. *7-18*
3. A Esquerda Aceitável: A Transição Do Pt Para O Reformismo No Contexto Das Eleições De 1994, 1998 E 2002. *19-33*
4. Sustainability Analysis of Nigeria's Foreign Debt Profile and Management Strategies. *35-47*
5. The Multi-Dimensional Impacts of Insurgency and Armed Conflicts on Nigeria. *49-56*
6. Labour Dispute Resolution in Botswana: Mapping a Boundary between Labour Courts and Collective Judicial Responsibility. *57-63*
7. Hyper Democracy and Discombobulation: The United Kingdom Brexit: It's Implication for Capitalism. *65-70*
8. State Elites' Policies towards-Balochistan (1947-70). Its Dynamics and Impacts. *71-78*
9. Globalization and Non – Governmental Organizations in Africa (NGOs). Problems and Prospects. *79-86*
10. China Faced With the Prospect of a Multipolar World. *87-91*

v. Fellows
vi. Auxiliary Memberships
vii. Process of Submission of Research Paper
viii. Preferred Author Guidelines
ix. Index

Global Journal of human-social science: f
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Globalization and Africa: Issues and Prospects of the New International Economic Order (NIEO)

By Eneemaku Idachaba
University of Ibadan

Abstract- This paper investigates the problems militating against the realization of the NIEO. The paper then examines the globalization of the world economy and the economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe, being the two most important economic processes at work in recent years. The negotiations for the NIEO, therefore, cover two broad spectrums of concern to Africa namely, international monetary matters and trade. The paper argues that the multiple transitions involved in globalization, liberalization and democratization, have been implicated in the increase in violence, economic marginalization and criminal behaviour in Africa. The main results of this investigation underscore the fact that only industrialization in Africa will effect a change and have a more (resource) distributive relationship between the West and the continent. Cooperation with one another in economic affairs is indispensable for the realization of economic self-reliance in Africa. The mutually beneficial political and economic relationships between elites in the West and African countries would maintain the structural pattern of dependency in the global economy.

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 349901*

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Eneemaku Idachaba. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Globalization and Africa: Issues and Prospects of the New International Economic Order (NIEO)

Eneemaku Idachaba

Abstract- This paper investigates the problems militating against the realization of the NIEO. The paper then examines the globalization of the world economy and the economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe, being the two most important economic processes at work in recent years. The negotiations for the NIEO, therefore, cover two broad spectrums of concern to Africa namely, international monetary matters and trade. The paper argues that the multiple transitions involved in globalization, liberalization and democratization, have been implicated in the increase in violence, economic marginalization and criminal behaviour in Africa. The main results of this investigation underscore the fact that only industrialization in Africa will effect a change and have a more (resource) distributive relationship between the West and the continent. Cooperation with one another in economic affairs is indispensable for the realization of economic self-reliance in Africa. The mutually beneficial political and economic relationships between elites in the West and African countries would maintain the structural pattern of dependency in the global economy.

I. Introduction

The paper is about international issues and problems and actions being undertaken to deal with them. Despite the strides Africa has made for decades, it finds itself more isolated and ignored than at any time in recent memory. The paper explores the backgrounds and reasons or justifications for the NIEO: What provoked the demand for it? Is it real or mere rhetoric idealism? The paper examines the problems or obstacles militating against its realization, new challenges, opportunities and prospects for the NIEO; the implications of the evolving international landscape (since the collapse of communism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR); What can be done toward a fairer redistribution of the world's resources, and the task of the South1 particularly African countries vis-à-vis that of the North (the developed countries). Have the African States gained or lost international influence/relevance with the end of the Cold War rivalries? Have regional conflicts become easier to settle, or have new ones arisen to take their place? How has the end of the supper power conflict changed the relative power of African states within their own regions? How has it affected their internal political structures – in particular, has the victory of liberal democracy at the global level really enhanced its prospects outside Europe?

Author: University of Ibadan. e-mail: enemaku@yahoo.com

It lays emphasis on emerging debates concerning the direction of contemporary globalization and altered structures of international governance and regulation; spatial dimensions of economic coordination: tensions between globalization and social systems of production. It examines issues and prospects relating to internal order to complement a new international economic order. This also includes an examination of the complex interplay of past continuities and present day changes in an increasingly unified Europe by looking at national experiences and at the broader international and institutional context. It questions the difference globalization can make to a transition economy in a situation where domestic investment is not recovering and where there is still no clear-cut upward trend in levels of production.

The two most important economic processes at work in recent years are the globalization of the world economy and the economic transition in central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Flowing from this are related issues such as increased financial aids, reducing or cancelling the debt burdens of many African countries; improve access to developed countries' markets, changes in the international marketing and pricing of primary commodities (unequal exchange) transfer of technology among others. It goes to say that, given the present philosophies, practices and orientation, the much clamoured New Order will be a mirage rather than a reality. This is because the importance of globalization was not utilized as an entry point for critical discussion at a time when the global economy faces its most serious crisis, thereby confirming the inherent instability of the system.

It is in the light of this that the paper X-rays Africa's plight in search of a new order; analyzes the roles of transnational corporations (TNCs) and financial institutions; examines the process of NIEO rhetorics against the background of conflicting interests; examines inconsistencies, hypocrisies, contradictions and even out right deceits highlighted in the operation of the present system and/or the globalization; examines the global change, the future of African states, international political economy, international law and the United Nations (UN), sheds light on the relationship between national policies, regional integration patterns and the wider global setting; explores and assesses the attainability of NIEO within the context of globalization; brings into sharper focus alternative method of analysis and offers useful insights into the inter-linkages of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

various factors influencing growth processes in Africa and lays the basis for most influential theoretical ideas and their application to critical policy questions concerning the post – Cold War International Order.

II. World Inequality: The Result of Imperialism

The 1974 Declaration of Programme of Action adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) called for the establishment of a NIEO which shall correct inequalities, redress existing injustices, and make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the Northern and Southern countries. Such a struggle has naturally, political undertone which starts with changing Africa's understanding of the situation.

This paper discusses major obstacles in the way of realizing Third World (Africa) demands and the future prospects for their realization. This is done by delving into the political economy of international relations and by trying to highlight the organisational issues and institutional lopsidedness perpetually in favour of the Northern but detrimental to the South. The intensifying under-development of Africa by imperialism has been outlined as Africa remains locked in the international capitalist system which continues to block all hope of sustained economic development and human liberation.

The international economy is about nation-states and is determined by events in these states. In fact, there are parallels in history to what is happening in the international economy today and the NIEO of today cannot be fully appreciated unless it is set against the background of the rise and fall of previous World Monetary Systems and international economic orders. The paper then traces the genesis of the present international economic order to the break down of the World Monetary Systems from Gold Standard through the collapse of the Bretton Woods system on August 15, 1971 to the present floating exchange standard system. Like the one before it the current system has been imposed on the world economy by sheer force of circumstances and so the search for a new World Monetary System continues.

Since late 1974, the World Capitalist system has been in recession – a product of the anarchic unplanned character of the capitalist economy. Everywhere industrial production has been lower, workers have lost jobs and the living standard of the general masses have been under attack and falling. This has landed most African countries in greater and greater debts. As African countries stuck ever deeper into debt, they are forced to recycle back to the imperialist countries an ever bigger slice of their meager export earnings in the form of interest payments and debt repayments.

This lesson has perhaps been learned best by Germany, Japan and the "tiger" economies of East and South East Asia, these states have recognized that success in the global market place requires heavy investment, particularly in infrastructure and in education and training as well as state support to build up export industries and acquire modern technology. National governments, in other words, can still make a difference. National level processes may increasingly have been superseded by global ones, but the result is an economy in which local, national and global factors interact and where governments that understand the dynamics of globalization have some capacity to shape its direction.

III. NIEO: Conceptual and Theoretical Exploration

The Radical and classical schools: the New International Economic Order conveys different meanings and expectations depending on where one stands; in the South or the 'North'. Organisations and governments with radical orientations are located in the Southern hemispheres in alliance with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Brandt Commission, United Nations Institutes for Training and Research (UNITAR), and the Non-aligned group, to mention only the outstanding ones. On the other pole, the views of the orthodox school are represented by the governments of the Western World (the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development Countries (OECDC), the Transnational Corporations (TNCS) the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) now World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank.

The radicals believe in eliminating any international obstacles to the development of the Third World in which Africa belongs. While the classical actors are bent on nurturing the continuity of the political and economic systems of the North, the radicals demand for its reformation. But the orthodox actors being the creditors and owners of technology ultimately must have a final say in the event of any transfers or concessions to the developing countries. In short, what the radical school wants is simply a fairer or better still, equitable, redistribution of world resources.

The radicals would opt for a complete relaxation of the protectionist policies of the developed world, cancellation of debts of the developing countries of Africa, control of the activities of the TNCS and free access to world capital and technology. But for the radical school, protectionism is also a survival tool in a competitive world. Thus in the protection of national interests, tariff and non-tariff restrictions are placed on most imports in order to preserve employment at home.

In addition, the radical actors would prefer to give priority to investment security especially the battle against inflation and unemployment on the agenda of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

NIEO. However, both the radical and classical actors use the socialist and Keynesian arguments of international political economy interchangeably to buttress their opposing points.

Meanwhile, it is useful to remember the historical forces underlying the emergence of the global South (the "Third World") as an analytical as well as a political concept. Those who learned to regard themselves as its members shared important characteristics and experiences. Most were colonized by people of another race, experienced varying degrees of poverty and hunger, and felt powerless in a world system dominated by the affluent countries that once, and perhaps still, controlled them.

The persistent underdevelopment of (most) developing African countries explains their drive for greater wealth and a better life for their people, but their place in the configuration of global power, economic as well as political significantly shapes their pursuit of these goals. The international division of labour that emerged during the colonial era when developing nations became exporters of raw materials and other agricultural products and importers of manufactured goods – persistent long after imperialism and, according to dependency and world system theorists, contributed to their underdevelopment. Thus, a new international division of labour is emerging as production, capital, labour, and technology are increasingly integrated worldwide and decision making becomes transnational. The old ideas of national autonomy, economic independence, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency have become obsolete as national economies are increasingly integrated and the state becomes the agent of the international system. But not all global South economies are positioned to survive in this competitive global environment. Many African countries continue to remain heavily dependent on raw materials and other primary products for their export earnings. Nonetheless, the economies of the African countries will not be immune from the rapid globalization of the world political economy now underway.

The idea of a North-South divide was popularized through the work of the so-called Brandt Reports: North-South: A programme for Survival (1980) and Common Crisis: North-South cooperation for World Recovery (1983). Although the division of the world into a 'North and a South' is based on the tendency for industrial development to be concentrated in the Northern hemisphere (apart from Australia), the terms are essentially conceptual rather than geographical. The concept of the North-South divide drew attention to the way in which aid, third-world debt and the practices of MNCs help to perpetuate structural inequalities between the high-wage, high-investment industrialized North and the low-wage, low-investment, predominantly rural South. The Brandt Reports also highlighted the interdependence of the North and the South, emphasizing that the long-term prosperity of the North is dependent on the development of the South.

Globalization is the domination of the capitalist world by one most powerful country. This domination is being aided by the so-called shrinking of the world-thanks to modern technology, in which the USA is a pioneer. While some may benefit from such integration into the world capitalist economy and prosper, others may become more vulnerable to crises and fluctuations prevalent in capitalist cycles. Impoverished and dependent, much of the (African States) is ill-equipped to reap the benefits of global interdependence. However to cope with dominance and dependence thus remains a continuing theme in the African Countries' search for wealth as well as power. Several of their strategies as they relate to the Global North, therefore warrant attention.

Globalization is a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by decisions and actions taken at a distance from ourselves. It implies that nation states can no longer be viewed as independent actors on the world stage. However, it may mean not that the state is irrelevant, but that its role has changed and now largely relates to the promotion of international competitiveness. International politics has been analysed in a number of ways. Idealism adopts a perspective that is based on moral values and legal norms. Realism emphasizes the importance of power politics. Neo-realism highlights the structural constraints of the international system. Pluralism advances a mixed-actor model, and it stresses a growing diffusion of power. Marxism draws attention to economic inequalities within global capitalist system. The balance of the global economy has shifted. The growth of multinational corporations means that states are no longer the only, or perhaps no longer the most significant, economic actors. Moreover, the emergence of rival trading blocs suggests a 'war of the world' scenario, and global inequality has increased through the economic decline of sub-saharan Africa and the advance, in particular, of the states of the Asian pacific region.

a) UN Structure for Global Economic Cooperation and European Integration Process: Lessons for Africa

However, the capacity of the UN to play meaningful role is restricted because of the unwillingness of states to commit resources to the cause of collective security, the unequal distribution of responsibilities in the new international system and the difficulty of finding a new role for the UN in a world that is no longer structured by East-West rivalry of old.

It is pertinent to note that the idea that the global economy is biased in favour of cooperation, harmony and altruism is also questionable. International trade, for instance, is always likely to generate tension

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

and conflict, although countries always wish to penetrate the markets of other countries, they do have an equally strong incentive to protect their own markets from foreign competition. Historically, the cause of free trade has been embraced by economically dominant powers (the UK in the nineteenth century, and the USA in the twentieth century till date) which wished to encourage weaker states to open up their markets while they themselves had little fear of foreign competition. In a multipolar global economy, the danger of rival trading blocs being formed is always acute. Tendencies in this direction have already been apparent in the form of pressure to turn the EU into "fortress Europe", the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which encompasses the USA, Canada and Mexico, and moves by Japan to consolidate her relationship with China with a view, perhaps, to creating an extended East-Asian trading bloc that would dwarf those of North America and Europe. The successful completion in 1993 of GATT negotiations (GATT was replaced by the World Trade Organisation in 1995) has helped to keep the war of the worlds at bay but there is little doubt that the balance of the global economy has shifted decisively.

While economic growth has stagnated amongst the rich industrial countries of the West, the newly industrializing countries (NICs) of the developing world, notably the Asian "Tigers" on the eastern rim of the pacific basin have experienced strong and sustained growth. One consequence of this, among others, is that, in order to compete in world markets industrialized countries are increasingly being forced to find ways of promoting labour flexibility and cutting production costs. Meanwhile, endemic poverty and sometimes declining living standards afflict peripheral regions of the world economy, particularly sub-saharan Africa. Global tensions have come to be seen less in terms of East versus West and more in terms of a "North-South divide'. Ironically, this global economic imbalance has in part, been used by industrialized states to promote trading relationships and economic dependence i.e. (aid as trade) or to exert political or ideological influence i.e. (aid as imperialism). Hence globalization does not necessarily mean the eclipse of the nation state as an economic actor (economic sovereign). More so, economic sovereignty can now be consigned to the dustbin of history. National governments are being forced to work harder to make their societies more internationally competitive.

While the North's economic recession may remotely degenerate into a depression, the South has been virtually submerged into economic destitution. The main reasons for this rather dismal state of affairs could logically be traced to the appalling economic mismanagement of the South. But there is hardly any reasonable doubt that the situation has been aggravated by the North-inspired economic traps, among which are the crushing debt burden; low commodity pricing, IMF/World Bank sponsored policy of liberalization of imports and deregulation without ensuring institutional checks-and-balances; uncontrolled privatization in a milieu that is riddled with abject poverty, corruption and, worst of them all, a one-way capital flight to the North.

The emerging nations of Africa were born into a political economic order with rules they had no voice in devising. Krasner on structural conflict encapsulates the contest between North and South of the globe as the NIEO turns on questions of who would govern the distribution of world wealth and how they would make their choices. Not surprisingly, the Global North rebuffs the South's efforts at reform, and the North-South exchange gradually degenerated into a dialogue of the deaf. So the Global South's determination to replace the existing structures and processes of the world political economy with a NIEO is now little more than a footnote to the history of the continuing contest between the world's rich and poor states. Hence the growing inequality in a society in which the rich become richer and the poor poorer, while at the same time a uniform type of development is forced on all countries and regions of the world "in a world of competing states," political economist Robert Gilpin (1987) notes, "the nationalist considers relative gain to be more important than mutual gain".

The underdeveloped countries began to call for basing trade between the industrialized capitalist 'North' and the underdeveloped 'South' on new terms in place of capitalist aid which always had undesirable strings attached. The call for industrial Capitalist trade with underdeveloped countries on terms that recognized the latter's weakness was dubbed the advocacy of a New International Economic Order. The advocacy of NIEO was opposed by the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was launched to halt the call for NIEO of which the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was the sound board. Sequel to the retreat of the socialist and national liberation revolutions, the call for NIEO ended and "dollar globalism" has taken off. At the same time, globalization is not a bad thing in itself. In fact, some argue that it is potentially the most effective way to end world poverty and spread the benefits of modernization in the world.

Liberalism involves understanding the structures of comparative advantage and the international division of labour in a market economy consisting of producers and consumers who exist, somewhat incidentally, in different political systems. It has a political programme for the international system that emphasizes the market, the role of cooperative international institutions, international law, and national self-determination coupled with electoral democracy.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Structures are politically contestable in the sense that they confer advantages on some and disadvantages on others. Hence the political organization of the international system reflects the power relations of the transnational market economy. Indeed, the tension between liberalism and mercantilism applies broadly to the issues that animate the world political economy.

With the failure of reform envisioned in NIEO, the integration of Africa into the process of globalization will occur according to the rules dictated by the North. Are there alternatives? Do regional arrangements enable Global South States to take advantage of growing economic interdependence to achieve their goals of enhanced wealth and a better future for their people? In Africa where they all tend to export the same products or to have virtually no trade with one another, failure is more likely. In a nutshell, prospects for the success of regional trade regimes seem greatest when African countries cobble their futures to Northern states – but, of course, on terms that the North dictates. That conclusion hardly augurs well for regional economic arrangements as means to end long-established patterns of dominance and dependence between North and South.

In the post-cold war era, the barriers between countries have come down. But is it true in the case of Africa and the Global North? However, with globalization, the interdependence of East Asia, Africa, Europe and America is enhanced. In fact, the future will see more competitive advantage, and Africa will be dominated unless they can interlink with powerful partners in their region. This, without a shadow of doubt, is already happening now in the post GATT era with respect to ASEAN Countries when confronted with the New World Economic Order whereby world economic super powers (not just the US) are feverishly involved in their own regrouping and strategic actions on trade to ensure their continued oligopolistic shares of world trade. The fear of losing hegemony worldwide makes these super powers advocate the resurrection of Bretton Woods institutions to effect structural adjustments in their own favour forever.

b) Critical Analytical Framework

The critical reflection upon the moral claims of the international "community" tradition and the commitment to placing the victims of the society of states at the centre of theorizing open up into a form of "critical international community." A critical account emphasizes the concerns and interests of the less powerful while not ignoring the constraints imposed by the Powerful exploring how the society of states might become more hospitable to the promotion of justice in world politics. Critical theory's project placing the powerless, the developing and the dispossessed at the heart of theory is a pretence which masks the coercive nature of an order policed and dominated by the great powers.

Critical theory attempts to question the definition of international community as based on "Shared Values". But its challenge here will be its ability to reflect upon the question of shared values without undermining its principles. Critical theorists are sensitive to the dangers of a few Western States setting themselves up as guardians of the World Common good.

For critical theorists the society of states is part of the problem of global "human wrongs", but it is also an essential part of the solution. The society of states is morally valuable because its shared practices of sovereignty and non-intervention provide for coexistence between culturally diverse states, and without order there can be no prospect of justice. Critical theory takes as its starting point some aspect of human activity (distributive justice) which leads towards the construction of a larger picture of the whole, and seeks to understand the processes of change in which both parts and whole are involved. Hence its relevance to this article. It usually has a very powerful ethical component to it as derives from this a critique of the contemporary international system as "unjust" or "exploitative" (in various ways and to various degrees).

It also tends to stress the emancipatory capacities inherent in human life which for various reasons, the international system inhibits or suppresses. Writers who offer different versions of this position are; Andrew Linklater and Mark Hoffman, both influenced by Mervyn Frost, and Robert Cox (who is strongly influenced by Marxist scholars especially Gramsci).

Critical international theory poses fundamental questions relating to historical-sociological analysis of the structures of modern world politics; the philosophical critique of particularism and exclusion, and the philosophical enquiry into the conditions under which emancipation in World politics is possible. The theme common to all three areas is that the sovereign state is a central actor on the world stage, which must be accounted for in social and historical terms. It is the foremost example of a particularistic or exclusionary political institution; and, as a result, it is a formidable obstacle to emancipation. Critical international theory's aim of achieving an alternative theory and practice of international relations centers on the possibility of overcoming the sovereign state and inaugurating post-sovereign world politics. It is this critical analysis of state sovereignty, which is emerging as the central object of critical international theory just as it is for post-modernism. The success or not of critical international theory will depend on its ability to develop analyses which advance the practical political task of reconstructing world politics. This article will facilitate keeping up of such momentum.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

While focusing on Africa, many of the ideas, concepts and issues it raises are relevant across Third World Countries – offers salutary lessons at a time when the international community is struggling to define global policies for conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution. In particular, it highlights the need for a more critical understanding of the nature and dynamics of globalization and its North-South implication for dichotomy given the multifaceted nature of the problem. A constant theme of this work is the need for basic first step: to question current paradigms for analyzing the nature of, and responses to, the NIEO demand by understanding why such paradigms prevail, whose interests they serve, and how they can be challenged and modified. Finally, such a discourse is part of a process of creating improved mechanisms of accountability and effectiveness in a world order that has so far promised, but failed to deliver equity and peace and the good life, especially in the developing nations of the world and Africa in particular.

IV. Conclusion

Most issues raised in this article are central to the current state of our subject. It has been clearly and authoritatively shown that the concern is mainly with economic marginalization and economic regression of Africa relative to other regions of the world and the diminishing importance and relevance of Africa to the global economy. It then goes to conclude that internal reforms are not enough to reverse the outflow of resources from African countries and generate sustainable rapid economic growth. In addition, researches pertaining to globalization so far are peripheral in their theoretical focus and most suggested approaches and arguments put forward are becoming increasingly weak, unworkable and even wrong in some cases. The phenomenon of globalization requires a far more critical approach than is present today. Therefore, new theoretical initiatives such as attempted in this article are required to unravel them. The article is to facilitate the filling of the gap in the theoretical focus of the literature reviewed with a view to evolving: a more humane and generally applicable theory of globalization that is Africa-friendly in all its ramifications; an agenda in the light of the current changes in the international scenario, for new challenges and opportunities which are capable of facilitating the realization of the NIEO moreso when most international issues today are centred on or revolve around economics.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Corruption and Post 2015 Development Agenda in Nigeria

By Philips O. Okolo
Niger Delta University

Abstract- This work examined the impediments corruption pose on Nigerias' economy. It states that "Corruption in Nigeria is endemic in all facets and it has continued to challenge the goals of sustainability of development efforts in all ramifications. Thus, this chapter provides explanations on the corruption variable in the country, its negative impacts, consequences and impediments towards the country march to economic recovery in post 2015 and the sustenance of development effort. The work applied the historical method of data collection (secondary sources) using descriptive mechanism of analysis.

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 369999*

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Philips O. Okolo. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Corruption and Post 2015 Development Agenda in Nigeria

Philips O. Okolo

Abstract- This work examined the impediments corruption pose on Nigerias' economy. It states that "Corruption in Nigeria is endemic in all facets and it has continued to challenge the goals of sustainability of development efforts in all ramifications. Thus, this chapter provides explanations on the corruption variable in the country, its negative impacts, consequences and impediments towards the country march to economic recovery in post 2015 and the sustenance of development effort. The work applied the historical method of data collection (secondary sources) using descriptive mechanism of analysis.

I. Introduction

It has been argued that Nigeria currently is richly endowed with qualitative human and natural resources but yet to find an appropriate and rightful place among the commity of nations in the world. One major reason that has accounted or responsible for this situation (socio – economic stagnation) is attributable to corruption and all effort geared at stemming the tide appears to be unsuccessful and problematique.

This work therefore is an attempt to unravel the mystery behind corruption in Nigeria and what has accounted for the difficulties in tackling it, so as to instigate and promote sustainability of development efforts in the country.

There is no gainsaying that the challenges corruption poses have a very severe and devastating consequences on Nigeria particularly from the colonial period to date.

Accordingly, Okolo and Akpokighe (2014. Pp 31 – 38) blamed corruption in Africa on colonialism. Thus, for them:

> *When specifically viewed with Africa's history in mind, administrative corruption, thought rampant across Africa today is an alien culture. Pre-colonial Africa, for the most part, was founded on strong ethical values sometimes packaged in spiritual terms, but with the end result of ensuring social justice and compliance. In both centralized and decentralized pre-colonial African communities, governance was conducted with the utmost seriousness. As the laws were mostly unwritten in nature and therefore prone to being easily forgotten, they were often couched in supernatural terms to instill fear and be instilled in the subconscious.*

Author: PhD, Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State.
e-mails: philipsobolo@gmail.com, philipsokolo@yahoo.com

For example, the heavy emphasis on accountability and good governance across several pre-colonial African communities in West Africa, the Asante confederation was a kingdom that thrived on strict rules and regulations. Established by seven clans close to the city of Kumasi, the Kingdom was held together by the symbolic Golden Stool of Asante-Hene. With strong cooperation from all groups the leadership of the Asante kingdom was known, according to Emizet Kisangani, to have "implemented several modernization policies in administration that included promoting advancement by merit and the development of state enterprise through public investment." The Asante were able to "build roads and promoted agriculture, commerce, industry and education through self-help and self-reliance."

The Yorubas of south western Nigeria for instance, have an institution, *Oyo-mesi* the king making body, acted as a check against the abuse of power by the Alafin (the Oba) or the King of Oyo. The Alafin was constrained to rule with caution and respect for his subjects. When he is proven to have engaged in acts that undermined the interests of his subjects, such as gross miscarriage of justice for personal gains, the *Oyo-mesi* would, in the words of Yunusa Salami "present him with an empty calabash or parrot's eggs as a sign that he must commit suicide" since he could not be deposed, according to tradition.

In the traditional Igbo acephalous society, the absence of any form of overarching authority, by itself, placed leadership in the hands of the people – the very epitome of accountability and good governance. The titled chiefs sat together to address the more difficult issues of governance, and there is a saying among the Igbo that a "titled man does not lie." If one wanted to hear the truth, to be granted pristine justice according to the prevailing standards, s/he only needed to get the impeccable body of titled men to hear the case in question.

Pre-colonial Rwanda had a highly organized, efficient and centralized system of administration. Although an autocratic and hierarchical system presided over by the king, there were systems of checks and balances among those who ruled at the clan level. A variant of the land ownership, *Ubukonde* permeated pre-colonial Rwanda. It was a custom of mutually beneficial exchange of labour between the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, set on agreed principles. At the time it existed, *Ubukonde* was accepted by all parties involved and

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

those who tried to amass land wealth in a corrupt manner outside of the *Ubukonde* system incurred the wrath of the King. Numerous examples abound across sub-Saharan Africa, but in all, what held these communities together and brought administrative corruption down to the barest minimum was a set of rules and regulations, agreed principles and moral values that guided human interactions.

Be this as it may, Colonialism introduced systemic corruption on a grand scale across much of sub-Saharan Africa. The repudiation of indigenous values, standards, checks and balances and the pretensions of superimposing western structures destabilized the well-run bureaucratic machinery previously in existence across pre-colonial Africa. The end result is what is rampant across Africa today; conspicuous consumption, absence of loyalty to the state, oppressive and corrupt state institutions, to mention few. Apart from this introduction, the rest part of the work is divided into three (3), the first deals with the conceptual explanation of corruption; the second addressed the issue causes and cost of corruption and the third provided the conclusion and recommendations.

II. Conceptual Explanation of Corruption

The concept "Corruption" like many other concepts in social sciences has no settled meaning. This means that there is no straight backed definition, or generally accepted, or encompassing definition for the term corruption.

The metaphor corruption has several meanings. For Nuhu Ribadu, pioneer Chairman of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), "corruption is an abuse of public office for private gains" (Jega, 2005:10). The concept "Corruption" like many other concepts in social sciences has no settled meaning. This means that there is no straight backed definition, or generally accepted, or encompassing definition for the term corruption.

However, certain definitional attempts have been proffered by different scholars. Although, there is often difficulties in defining it, because it means not only different things to different people, and even to the same people different things at different times, but also sanctions usually are attached to corrupt practices which hides them and gives them subtle forms. Thus, some people see "corruption" as a conscious and well planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons. Then to others, it is the act of turning power and authority to ready cash.

This work provides a conceptual framework, conceptual explanation of corruption as a term is uncertain and indeed devoid of any strait jacket definition. It depends on who is defining and from what perspective. What is corruption? If you are a typical Nigerian, you would define it as government officials looting our treasury. One could view; everything starts and ends in government offices. It will surprise you that almost everybody is campaigning against corruption in Nigeria? We are all waging a war against corruption. The main reason Nigeria is not making progress we say authoritatively is that those in government are just stealing public money. Corruption in Nigeria is not the exclusive preserve of politicians, civil servants, and captains of industry. Among the "common people" there is an instinctive honing of stealing skills. One should stop thinking people suddenly become corrupt when they join the government. However having been tutored and mentored on petty stealing from probably the age of five, Nigerians naturally explode when they occupy positions of authority at any level either in private or public sector. They join the bandwagon of selfish leaders after suddenly finding themselves in the corridor of power Rather than use their positions to repair its ills; they conform to the enrichment craze. In other words corruption is defined as the involvement in illegal, dishonest, or wicked behaviour which is destructive of the moral fabric of society. To some people corruption "is the conscious and will plan act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons".

It is in this regard that, some see "corruption" as a conscious and well planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons. Then to others, it is the act of turning power and authority to ready cash.

Dan Agbese, (1982), posits that "corruption is a phenomenon so difficult to define, yet it percolates every structure of the society. It affects the military as well as it soils the hands of the civilians". Agbese, went further to define corruption thus:

> *When we use our position in society to secure certain advantages jumping a queue, being waved off at the checkpoint or making others bend the rules to accommodate our demands … by whatever means even if it is just 'thank you' our action however innocent, however well-intentional, however unthreatening to others, has corrupted a system or a convention or some rules and regulations in application.*

Apparently, even whatever form of seasonal gifts, free air tickets, lunch or diner – "kola" is no longer exempted, since these are likely to influence future courses of action and transactions the giver or receiver is thus corrupting protocol or breaching some rules and regulations in the society (Nigeria) etc. Professor Abdullahi, Smith, for instance saw "corruption as the diversion of resources from the betterment of the community to the gain of individuals at the expense of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

the community". (Mumullan 1961: 183 – 4) point out that a public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reason. Then for Malam Adamu Ciroma, corruption is "the deliberate binding of the system to favour friends or hurt foes, any misbehaviour deviation from or perversion of the system, or misleading Nigerians or giving them wrong or distorted information about things they ought to know."

To this end, any act or behaviour or omission, committed, intentionally or not to influence the actions of another, the influential and the influenced, respectively has corrupted a system which is detrimental to the entire society.

The political science school see "corruption" as "an optimal means of bypassing the queues and bureaucratic inertia and hence conducive to economic growth". While the economics school like (Krueger 1974), saw "corruption" as "an external manifestation of rent seeking behaviour on the part of individuals"

The Webster Dictionary defines corruption as:

> *… that act of corruption or the state of being corrupt putrefactive decomposition, putrid matter, moral pervasion depravity, pervasion of integrity. Corrupt or dishonest proceedings, bribery, perversion from a state of purity, debasement as of a language; a debased form of a word.*

Accordingly, Brownberger described corruption as a misapplication of public goods (broadly construed) to private ends. Edward C. Bandfield definition of corruption which we subscribe to for its elaborate and precise nature, defines corruption as the process of obtaining material enrichment or opportunities for oneself and or for others, through the use of public office (or influence) in ways other than those publicly acknowledge through rules and procedures of what office. This includes such behaviours as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgment or actions of a person in a position of trust) nepotism bestowal of patronage by reasons of inscriptive relationship rather than merit and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private uses).

To others it is the act of turning power and authority into ready cash. To yet another group, it is the diversion of resources for the betterment of the community to the gain of individuals at the expense of the community. Black law dictionary however defines corruption thus:

> *An act done to give some advantage inconsistent with the official duty and rights of others. The act of Official or Judiciary person, who unlawfully wrongly uses his position or character to procure some benefit for himself or the right of others.*

The dictionary in the second segment of its definition says that: "*Corruption is the act of doing something with intent to give some advantage in consistent with official duty and right of others or officials* use of a station or office to produce some benefit either personally or for someone else contrary to the right of others". The new edition of the chambers 20th century dictionary defines the term beyond the pilfering of public funds, the amassing of fortunes by illegal or corrupt means does not seem to necessarily disturb the average Nigerian as to make him lose sleep over it. Also, the British Department for International development (DFID) maintains in its Nigeria country strategy paper for the year 2000, that poverty persists in Nigeria because of the mismanagement of resources and corruption found practically but not exclusively in the public sector. The World Bank defines corruption as:

> *The abuse of public office for private gains. Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts edicts or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs through patronage and nepotism, the thereof state assets or the diversion of state resource*.

The Asian development bank understand corruption as involving „the behaviour on the part of officials in the public and private sectors, in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and on these closely related to them, or induce others to do so, by misusing the position in which they are placed. According to Stople, (2008), United Nations Convention against Corruption, recognized corruption as a multi-faceted, dynamic and flexible phenomenon, and therefore does not define, but describe corrupt practices. Corruption may not be easy to define but, according to Tanzi, (1998), it is "generally not difficult to recognize when observed." Corrupt acts required a minimum of two individuals from one or more communities, and either exchange or the promise of an exchange of money.

Henley (2003), on the other hand, defines it as "misuse of private or public funds, office, power and/or position for private benefits". In the light of our experience, we shall adopt the United Nations Human Development (UNHD) report that defines corruption as:

> *Acceptance of money or other rewards for awarding contracts, violations of procedures to advance personal interests, including kickbacks from development programmes or multinational corporations; pay-offs for legislative support; and the diversion of public resources for private use, to overlooking illegal activities or intervening in the justice process. Forms of corruption also include nepotism, common theft, overpricing, establishing*

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

non-existent projects, payroll padding, tax collection and tax assessment frauds (UNHD Report, 1998:11).

This definition is all encompassing and relates to petro-economy corruption in Nigeria. It should be emphasized that this work is on corruption, in its entirety, and not petro-economy corruption (PEC). The PEC is concerned with mismanagement and outright stealing of funds from oil and gas sector of the Nigerian economy. These, as reflected in range from the demand of payment of 10 percent for the award of contracts in the First Republic; sales of oil at concessionary prices to some African countries, over-invoicing, under-reporting of petroleum revenue and embezzlement during the military era; to the Halliburton scam, unaccounted proceeds from excess crude oil production, fuel subsidy and fraudulent award of oil blocks in the Third and Fourth Republics (Aluko, 1976; and Biersteker and Lewis, 1999). These corrupt practices had debilitating effects on the national economy and development (Ujomu, 2000).

According to Salisu, (2000), the simple definition of corruption is that it is the misapplication of public resources to private ends. For example, public Officials may collect bribes for issuing Passports or Visa, for providing goods at sea/airport for awarding contracts or artificial scarcity. Konie, (2003) identified two types of corruption, these are, Vertical corruption, which involves managers and decision makers. This is common in less developed countries and; Horizontal corruption, which involves the entire Officials, informed and laymen groups in the countries. The two types of corruption should be seriously addressed and eradicated if any meaningful economic or political progress is to be made.

Corruption also reduces economic growth, enhances inequalities and reduces the governments' capacity to respond to people's needs. All these swerve down to create poverty in the society. Corruption distorts economic and social developments, by engendering wrong choices and by encouraging competition in bribery rather than in the quality and price of goods and services and, all too often, it means that the world poorest must pay for the corruption of their own officials and of multinationals agents. Corruption leads to a grooving gap between the rich and the poor and deepens poverty by enriching a few at the expense of fellow citizens. Under a corrupt system, there is a concentration of wealth in the hands of a tiny minority of the population. Resultantly income distribution becomes highly skewed.

Closely associated with the connection of wealth in the hands of the few, a distorted consumption pattern, aimed at meeting the luxurious lifestyle of the urban elite, emerge, According to (Transparency International (TI), 2008) Corruption is the misuse of entrusted power for private gains. TI went further to differentiate between "according to the rules" Corruption and "against the rule" Corruption. Facilitation of payments where a bribe is paid to receive preferential treatment for something that the bribe receiver is required to do by law, constitute the former. The latter on the other hand is a bribe paid to obtain services the bribe receiver is prohibited from providing. Some researchers have defined corruption to be related only to bribery and unlawful payments, (Grunner, 1999; Ojaide, 2000), defines corruption as "any systematic vice in an individual, society or a nation which reflects favoritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment or amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power position and derivation of undue gains and benefits. This is where the incumbent president Buhari's pattern of appointment becomes circumspect in my opinion and to those who share the same view with me, given the essential ingredient as provided by the Federal Character Principle (FCP) in Nigeria, were all sections and diverse ethnic nationalities is to be included in the governance process of the country. Corruption also includes bribery, smuggling, and fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking. falsification of documents and records, window dressing, false declaration, tax evasion of any kind to the detriment of another person, community society or nation. The question to ask is: what is the cause of corruption in Nigeria?

III. Causes and Cost of Corruption

a) Causes of Corruption

Re-current studies have revealed many reasons put forward as probable causes for the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria. These ranges from non-conformity to religious tenets, imparted values and ideas and ideas alien to our culture, ethnicity which encourages favoritism and nepotism, a weak legal system which is honored in the breech than observance. The political bureau in its report mentioned such causes as excessive materialism generated by our individual capitalist order which emphasize personal wealth without regard to the collective interest and welfare of the larger society. Other causes of poverty, illiteracy, get-rich- mania, statism, and wrong attitude to public property, absence of a welfare scheme which cushions effect of unemployment, retirement, large families, and quest for power, double standards and low level of patriotism. These are important in themselves; it does appear that poverty is the most important single factor that promotes the wide spread of giving and taking bribes, i.e. illegal financial inducements in the country, Okolo & Akpokighe, (2014. Pp. 31 - 38). As regards features of corruption, the most common are:

- Giving and receiving bribes
- Inflation of contracts
- Kick back and payment upfront

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

- Abuse of public property
- Lodging government fund in private accounts
- Examination malpractices
- Adulterated food or hazardous drugs
- Misappropriation and embezzlement of fund
- Money laundry by public officers
- Using proxy names to buy property.

Thus, Nwaobi, (2004) posited that Nigeria must be one of the very few countries in the world where a mans' source of wealth is of no concern to his neighbor, the public or the government. Wealthy people who are known to be corrupt are regularly courted and honored by communities, religious bodies, social clubs and other private organizations. This implies that people who benefit from the largesse of these corrupt people rarely ask questions. In Nigeria, although traditional values of gift giving and tributes to leaders often lead to what Berger, (1983) describes as "Polite Corruption", the extent of such corruption is relatively small. Dadajo, (2008) revealed that traditional Chieftaincy titles and membership of boards of directors of government – owned corporations are only for the influential individuals in the society who have "made it" economically or politically. Most of these people "made it" through enriching themselves fraudulency, but enjoy public respect and accolades. The most annoying thing is that honest and dedicated public servants, who have not accumulated dirty wealth, do not command much respect from the society. These attitudes serve to encourage a new breed of public servants who engage in corrupt practices.

According to Maduegbuna, (2005), the benefits of corruption are greater than the consequences of being caught and disciplined. High incidence of poverty, which according to National Bureau of Statistics, (2005) is put at 54.1% contributed in no small amount to the desperation of Nigeria to acquire Wealth through any means. While the few employed received low wages, unemployment is high. The unemployed are mostly the youths engaged in anti social activities such as cyber crime, drug peddling, prostitution, political thuggery, paid assassins, oil bunkering, kidnapping, militancy (Niger Delta) among others; all in the name of money. (Jimo et al, 2001) attributed corruption within the (Africa) regions public administration to over – centralization of power, lack of media freedom to expose scandals, the impunity of well connected officials and absence of transparency in public fund management, clienteles and low salaries. Dandago, (2008) observed that the poor salary levels of most public servants have not kept pace with inflation, which has eroded their purchasing power. It is also clear that the process of gaining power in Nigeria is either by armed force or the influence of money.

It is in this regard that, Chobal, & Daloz, (1999) reasoned that in Africa, such factors as the Obligations of mutual support, the imperatives of reciprocity, the importance of gift exchange, the payment of tribute, the need to redistribute even the habits of cattle rustling or, more generally, of plundering others, all have a bearing on the continent today. There are also those who believe that modern bribery may not be seen as cognate with traditional gift giving since it takes place outside the context of a patron – client relationship. Ethnically, the poor man's bribe to the faceless power he will never meet again is completely distinct from his traditional gift to a patron.

b) Cost of Corruption

One of the greatest threats to socio – economic and political development of any nation is corruption. The challenges of corruption have devastating consequences to Nigeria since the colonial period. Corruption as a phenomenon has become a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabric of our system. Almost all levels of Nigeria society are perverted by corruption. Ndubisi (2009) described corruption in Nigeria as endemic and Egonmwan (2002) considered corruption as a sub-culture within the Nigerian context. Thus, the socio – economic and political problem in Nigeria today is as a result of corruption. From the collapsed of our traditional institutions, failure of public enterprises, decay and inefficiency of our public service, to the failure of private enterprise are all considered as consequences of corruption in our society and body polity. (Nsikan, Aliyu & Udensi, 2015. Pp 1 – 5).

The menace of corruption has been tackled at different levels, yet this ugly incidence keeps surviving with us at all facets of our endeavours. For instance, in year 2000, the Guardian, one of the leading newspapers in Nigeria, conducted an opinion poll about the obstacles to Nigeria's development. Respondents were asked to choose from a list including corruption, bad leadership and unemployment. 70 percent of the 1080 respondent picked corruption as one of the worst problems that hinders Nigeria's development Igbuzor, (2008). Consequently, the extraction of billions of dollars in corruptly acquired funds has cost Nigeria dearly. It has been argued that Nigeria's past corrupt leaders stole and deposited about US$400 billion in foreign banks from the first military government in 1966 and the return to civilian rule in 1999 (Ayttey, 2002).

Similarly, the former chairman of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Mallam Nuru Ribadu was noted to have observed that Nigeria's former leaders had misappropriated approximately US$507 billion from public coffers which, when compared against the proposed 2008 budget ofN2.456 trillion, translates into 26 years worth of public spending Igbuzor, (2008). This therefore described Nigeria as 'a money laundering haven' according to report by the

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Financial Action Task Force of 2001 (Ochefu and Chima, 2008).

The former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo in his inauguration speech of 1999 asserted that corruption in Nigeria has reached the stage of a "full-blown cancer" and is "the greatest single bane of our society today" Maier, (2000 p.20). Even the most conservative estimates involve huge sums: in December 2010, Global Financial Integrity (GFI), an international illicit financial outflow watchdog, suggested that from 2000 to 2008, Nigeria's past leaders had overseen the illicit flow of US$130 billion. The report, titled: Illicit Financial Flows from Developing Countries: 2000-2009, ranked Nigeria tenth on a list of nations losing money through illegal capital flights (Amundsen 2010; see also Nsikan, Aliyu & Udensi, 2015).

Corruption differs widely in its forms, pervasiveness and consequence, it occurs in monarchy, democracies and military dictatorships; at all levels of development and in all types of economic systems from open capitalist economies to centrally planned economies (Faloore 2010; Egwemi 2012). In developed countries, the effect may be less severe, while in developing countries particularly African continent the effect on national development are very severe. In Nigeria, corruption affects every facet of human development, little wonder, the Transparency International (TI), global corruption barometer survey rate Nigeria 27 percent in corruption index and ranked 136 out of 175 less corrupt countries (Transparency International, 2014). The futile attempt by the government to fight the cankerworm stems from the fact that government itself is greatly infected with the virus and an average Nigeria is seen as corrupt in most parts of the world (Odofin & Omojuwa 2007).

According to Olugbenga (2007), the word corruption cannot easily be defined because of its complex and multifaceted dimensions having multiple causes and effects that take on various forms and contexts. However, the United Nations Global Programme against Corruption (GPAC) (2009 p.12S) defines it as "abuse of power for private gain". Similarly, the Transparency International, (2008) has chosen a clear and focused definition of the term as "the abuse of entrusted power and public office for private gain". Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public offices and processes for competitive advantages or profit. It also means theft of public trust whether the person concerned is elected, selected, nominated or appointed and it does not matter whether the person affected holds office or not since anybody can be corrupt.

On the other hand, national development refers to the type of economic growth pattern where the use of resources meets the needs of the human population while conserving the environment at the same time. This implies that resources are used in such a way that both current and future human needs can be met (Sustainable development guide online 2012). It should to be noted that consistent corrupt practices has the potential of eroding national development by compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Thus, corruption has strived and sustained despite all efforts at curbing it.

Pervasive corruption has remained a serious obstacle to economic development in Nigeria. Corruption inhibits human and social development. It has impaired hard work, diligence and efficiency. It has caused incalculable damages to the social and political development of Nigeria It subverts honest selection processes and distorts prices. Furthermore, it weakens institutions, hampers investment and retards economic development. More importantly, the resources that should be used for developmental purposes are being diverted from the society to private or personal use. This accumulation of the nation's economic resources for personal benefits had variously contributed to the leakage of capital from Nigeria or illegal deposits abroad.

Since the return of the country to civil rule in May 29, 1999, the Nigerian government has taken a number of measures to address the problems of corruption. These measures include public service reform (monetization to reduce waste and reduction of over-bloated personnel, reform of public procurement); establishment of anti-corruption enforcement agencies (such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission, Independent Corruption and other Practices Commission); and the on-going sanitization of the financial service sector by the Central Bank.

Despite the crusades of anti-corruption in Nigeria, its magnitude appears to be on the high side as corruption continues to permeate and pervade every facet of national life in Nigeria Akindele, (2005). Against this backdrop, this study examines the causes, types and effects of corruption on Nigeria's development. The study also makes suggestion on ways of achieving a society that is free (if possible) from corruption. Thus arguably, the cost of corruption can be classified into four factors, political, economic, social, and environmental. On the political strand, corruption constitutes a major obstacle to democracy and the rule of law. In a democratic system, offices and institution lose their legitimacy when they are misused for private advantage. This is harmful to our democracy in Nigerian in the post 2015 development agenda. Our democracy and political leadership cannot develop in a corrupt climate and this has an implication for the sustainability of development effort in country towards our match to

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

achieving the new sustainable development goal in the current world order.

Generally, governance in Nigeria and more particularly in the Niger Delta States can be referred to anything except democratic: it lacks all the irreducible principles and tenets of democracy such as fair and credible election, rule of law, separation of powers, independence of the judiciary, fragrant abuse of court judgements and checks and balances between the arms of government. The political system of the region is highly mal – functional: the reason, the constitutional framework only exists in paper and not in practice. It is absurd that the democratic presidential system which Nigeria claim to practice, the executive arm could comprehensively dominate other branches such that the governors of the region have become repository of the three branches put together. Consequently, the legislature goes to the governor to ask for money, instead of the other way round, (Okolo & Inokoba, 2014).

The Niger Delta like the larger Nigeria political space is dominated by corrupt, greedy and desperate elites who will stop at nothing just to acquire political power. Corruption has been institutionalized by the ruling elites in Nigeria; hence, political leaders embezzle most of the money accruing from the sale of oil. The former anti – corruption Czar, Mr Nuhu Ribadu while granting an interview to the BBC in 2006 said "more than $380billion has either been stolen or wasted by Nigerian Governments since independence in 1960" (Courson, 2009; see also Okolo & Inokoba, 2014. Pp 11 – 27).

While there is an abundance of extant literature devoted to oil and violence in the Niger Delta, there has been a dearth of studies highlighting the roles and linkages of corruption in the protracted conflict of the region, yet the persistence, the increasing frequency and the intensification of corrupt act among political actors, community leaders and private oil companies operating in the Niger Delta, have for some time been the hallmark of politics in the region Enweremadu, (2009). It is therefore less surprising that today Niger Delta governors and public officials are seen as the most corrupt in the country. Out of the four former governors of Nigeria's major oil producing states (Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom, Delta and Rivers), three have either been convicted for large scale corruption. One has been convicted and jailed for plundering the resources of his state on a massive scale (Alamieyesegha of Bayelsa State). A second was arrested and charged on 105 counts of looting up to 10billion Naira from his state (Ibori of Delta state) Enweremadu, (2009). The same former governor was extradited from Dubai to United Kingdom for money laundering offences tried and convicted, and is currently serving jail term in the UK. The third former Niger Delta governor under close investigations over the same offences though protected by the court is Dr. Peter Odili, and of course the former Governor Timipre Sylva of Bayelsa State between 2007 and Feb., 2012 has also been engulfed with wide scale corruption scandals, (see Okolo & Inokoba, 2014).

For instance, how best can one describe the situation were the immediate past governor of Rivers state Rotimi Amechi presents the States 2014 budget inside government house on the same day and the budget got passed first, second and third readings and signed into law. This goes a long way to explain the nature and manner of desperation politicians / so called political leaders in the region could be. How about the members of the Rivers state house of Assembly, who passed that budget, how do we describe them? Only time will tell, however there are indication that Ritimi Amechi is nominated by the incumbent president Mohammadu Buhari as minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in spite of the termed opposition/petitions of his perceived corrupt tendencies, but there is the absolute need for a change, and that change is now, and if this change is to occasion sustainability of development effort in post 2015 development agenda in Nigeria.

In order to strengthen this argument, on the relationship between mis – governance, poverty and violence in the Niger Delta and as a Nigeria, there is a urgent need to show how Peter Odili of Rivers state (1999 – 2007) recklessly spent the state's 2006 budget. The Rivers states' 2006 budget which was estimated at 160billion naira ($1.2billion), governor Odili spent 10.7billion naira to maintain his office. This sum excluded the 500milion naira spent on 'gifts' and 'souvenirs' for his visitors, the 4.3billion naira used as 'Grants' and 'Donations' and the hefty 5billion devoted to security vote. In the same budget, Governor Peter Odili reserved for himself 3billion naira to take care of his frequent trips overseas, which is even far above what the President of Nigeria gets. The 32 members of the Rivers House of Assembly also got 690million (about $5.4million) naira for their travel, $2.8million of which was meant for foreign trips. This is separate from the $2.8million given to the legislature as sitting allowance (not salaries), Enweremadu, (2009). However, Odili Generosity never extended to social services, which would benefit a greater number of Rivers state citizens. A meagre sum of 2.8billion naira was all that was given to the state ministry of health out of a budget of 160billion naira, in spite of having been coined a 'priority ministry' Enweremadu (2009). It is therefore less surprising that Dr. Peter Odili ran the most expensive presidential campaign in 2007.

On the economic front, corruption leads to the depletion of our national wealth. It has led to the use of scarce public resources to finance uneconomic high profile projects such as power plants pipelines that cost billions whereas if these were channel towards building

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

schools, hospitals and roads or the supply of Electricity and water to rural areas which are basic needs of life. This has hindered the development of fair market structures which has led to job losses and also affects investment.

Corruption is the cause of poverty in Nigeria. This is premised on the logic that if poverty is the root cause of Petro – economy Corruption (PEC), Okolo & Etekpe, (2015. Pp 246 – 266) what can be said for the justification of the petty bourgeoisie who by every standard are not poor, and yet, stole money from the public coffers? What therefore fuels PEC in Nigeria is greed Bayart, (1993). Nigeria is not the only oil producing country in Africa or the world. But the country has one of the worst cases (manifestations) of how oil wealth has either been out rightly stolen or mismanaged to the tune of US $400 billion since independence in 1960 (Ogundele and Unachukwu, 2012). This must have informed Ribadu to refer to oil wealth as the devil's excrement or the Dutch disease. Granted PEC is a global problem that is not peculiar to Nigeria as the world looses about US$4,000 or 10 percent of its gross economic output per day, Global Financial Integrity estimates that between 1970 and 2010, Africa lost more than US$854 billions to corruption.

The Transparency International (TI) puts the amount of bribe companies paid politicians and other public officials in developing and transiting economies annually at US$40 billion; and that Nigeria, in particular, and Africa, in general, constituted major part of it (Ogundele and Unachukwu, 2012, and Isakpo, 2013:52-3). But the point of departure is the degree or pervasiveness which varies from country to country, and the measures each country has adopted to minimize, if not eradicate it. The essence is to produce new knowledge for multiple constituencies to formulate proactive policies for the eradication of corruption to engender sustainable development in Nigeria.

On the social ladder, the people have lost their trust in the political system. In its institutions and leadership, they have developed non-chalant attitude and general apathy towards government policies resulting in a weak civil society. Environmental degradation is yet another consequence of corrupt systems. The non enforcement of environmental regulations and legislation has led to the pollution of the environment in Nigeria. Careless exploitation of Natural resources from oil and minerals by domestic and international agents hassled to ravaged natural environments affecting the health of her citizens. Most environmental devastating project are given preference in funding, because they are easy target for siphoning of public funds into private pockets.

IV. Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

Giving the foregoing discuss, a conclusion can be drawn that the war against corruption in Nigeria should be part of a societal transformation where the citizens are empowered in the fight against corruption. It should be a fight against inhumanity and for the re-orientation of values. It should be a fight that attempts to free the society from mediocrity and makes it difficult for corrupt and unworthy millionaires from taking part in the political process and holding public office. The fight against corruption should not be an event in isolation but a fight for the enthronement of a just, equitable and fair economic system throughout the world. It is only through this that a 'dependency state' can turn into a 'development to another for the benefit of the mass of the people.

The following recommendations are suggested for the reduction/eradication of corruption in Nigeria to promote the economic growth for sustainability of development efforts in the post 2015 development agenda in Nigeria.

- Nigeria's legal and judicial system should be reviewed and restructured to handle swiftly the cases of people that are engaged in corrupt practices. In addition, an establishment of special court for economic and financial crimes (corruptions) to forestall the prevailing attitude of regular courts' incessant adjournments and perpetual injunction.
- There is need for the strengthening of the activities of the anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission (ICPC). This can only be possible if interference by political office holders is checkmated. Again, adequate funding and management of EFCC, ICPC, Police and other agencies saddled with the responsibility of the fight against corruption is required to engender sustenance of the post 2015 development agenda in Nigeria.
- Those who have demonstrated exemplary and corrupt free leadership should be celebrated by rewarding honesty and integrity as a way of checking corruption in Nigeria.
- Leadership position in Nigeria should be manned by honest and incorruptible people; men of high integrity.
- The National Assembly re-organize its standing committees to carry out diligent oversight/ investigative functions inform of monitoring performance of ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs), and holding persons accountable for their actions or inactions.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

- Penalties for corrupt officials should be made very stiffer to serve as deterrent to others.
- The rule of law must be upheld to instill sanity in the administration of justice. Equal treatment of corrupt officials is a necessity. There should be 'no sacred cows' there should be no exceptions to the rules as the law is no respecter of persons. The prevailing situation were perceived corrupt officials are nominated by the incumbent president and undergoing screening by the senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to be appointed as ministers does not in any reflect the fact that all persons are equal before the law in Nigeria.
- Restoration of indigenous values and institutions: Nigerian indigenous values and systems were for the most part debunked by first, the missionaries, then the colonialists in a much more forceful manner. Indigenous solutions to corruption must once again be explored followed by the rediscovery of indigenous systems of administration. Rwanda has successfully done the latter through the *Gacaca, Abunzi, Umuganda, Umudugudu* and other indigenous systems. The above is by no means a call for Nigeria Christians and Muslims to revert to African traditional religion as is often perceived whenever the indigenous is mentioned. Far from it. The merging of Nigeria's social, cultural, and moral values with its religion was the handiwork of some over-zealous missionaries and racist colonialists. Nigerians have come of age to separate between religion and other causes and to realize that one can be fully functioning in his chosen religion and still abide by several positively rewarding indigenous Nigerian values.
- Education: Formal, Informal and non-formal education is the greatest vehicle for cultural transmission towards a transformation of prevailing social paradigm is education. In its formal form, the curriculum of learning across Nigerian must be overhauled to make for real mental and intellectual independence. In its non-formal manifestation, conferences, workshops, camps, and other non-formal learning situations must be widely utilized to re-educate citizens on the fact that real living occurs only when individuals have sound moral values, or at least, consistently and seriously aspire to it. Informally, the media will be mobilized as a crucial element of mass mobilization towards an appreciation of the Nigeria's authentic social, cultural and economic environment.
- Religion as a nation building institution: Nigerians listen to their spiritual leaders, much more than they do politicians and policy makers. The pulpit ought to be mobilized as a knowledge and faith-based platform for reaching the souls of Nigerians and in directing them towards nation-building.
- Promotion of the "African" nation state: For the past 55 years, Nigerians have been struggling in vain to assimilate the artificially imposed colonial boundaries. It is time to promote the greater African nation-state and de-emphasize the cosmetic divisions that is filled with antagonistic ethnic groups.
- Nigerians must be encouraged, motivated and facilitated to travel widely across the continent in order to overcome the ethnic animosities that was ignited by colonialism, established by the post colonial tussle for power among ruling elites, and strengthened by geographic claustrophobia.

References Références Referencias

1. Agbese, D. (1992) "Corruption, the Palm Oil that stains the fingers of the Giver and the Receiver" Newswatch March 9, vol. 15, No. 109 – 115. pp. 9 – 15.
2. Akindele S.T *(200S).* A Critical Analysis of Corruption and its Problems in Nigeria. *Anthropologist,* 7(1): 7-18.
3. Akinkuotu, A. (2005, March 7). The Evils the British Did. *Tell,* pp. 33-36.
4. Aluko, O. (1976). Oil at Concessionary Prices for Africa: A Case Study in Nigerian Decision – Making *African Affairs,* Vol. 75:301.
5. Amundsen, 1. (2009). *Political corruption: "An introduction to the issues",* working paper 99:7, Bergen: Milson institute.
6. Ayttey, O (2002). Corruption and Human Trafficking: The Nigeria case. *West Africa Review, 4(1); 14S-157.*
7. Ayua. I. (Ed). Proceeding of the National Conference on the problem of corruption in Nigeria, 26-29 March 2001, Abuja.
8. Bayart, J F. (1993). *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly.* London: Longman.
9. Bayart, J., Ellis S. & Hibou, B. (1999) *The criminalisation of the State in Africa (African issues).* Great Britain, Villiers Publications London N3.
10. BBC News (2009, November 10) 'Ribadu tells of Nigeria Corruption battle' London, BBC news. [Online]. Available at hUp://news.bbc.co.ukl2/-hi/africa/8322992.stm
11. Biersteker, T & Lawis, P (1997). "The Rise and Fall of Structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria" in Diamond, L et al. *Transition without End,* London: Lynne Rienner.
12. Brownsberger, W.N. (1983). "Development and Governmental Corruption-materialism and political fragmentation in Nigeria", *Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, 21:215 -233.
13. Brownsherger, W. (1983). "Development and Governmental Corruption Materialism and Political Fragmentation in Nigeria" Journal of Modern African Studies, p. 218.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

14. Chobal, p etal (1999). Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. James Currey: Oxford.
15. Dadajo, K.I" (2008). "The Constitutional fight against corruption in Nigeria: Is it enough?" International *Journal of Government, Finance and Management*, 8:61-70.
16. Diamond, L. (1991). "Political corruption: Nigeria"s Perennial Struggle" *Journal of Democracy,* 2(4): 73-85.
17. Dixon-Ogbechi, B. (2002). *Research Methods & Elementary Statistics in Practice.* First Edition, Lagos, Philglad Nigeria Limited.
18. Edward C. Bandfield "Political Influence" Glencoe Free Press 1996, p. 315.
19. Egonmwan, 1. (2002). *Public Policy Analysis: Concepts and Applications,* Benin City: SMO Aka and Brokers Press.
20. Egwerni, V. (2012) Corruption and Corrupt Practices in Nigeria: An Agenda for Taming the Monster, *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa,* 14(3); 87-120.
21. Etekpe, A. & Okolo, P. O. (2011). Politics and Democracy in Contemporary Nigeria. International Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2011). ISSN 2141-873X. Center for the Promotion of International Relations, Studies and Development, Kandid Gold, Accra Ghana. www.ccsdev.org. Pp. 424 – 434.
22. Etekpe, A. & Okolo, P. O. (2011). The challenges and Prospects of Sustainable Rural Development Programs in Bayelsa State of Nigeria, 1999 – 2009. International Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2011). ISSN 2141-8713, Center for the Promotion of International Relations, Studies and Development, Kandid Gold, Accra Ghana. *www.ccsdev.org.* Pp. 377 – 393.
23. Etekpe, A. & Okolo, P. O. (2012). *International Court of Justice (ICJ) Judgment on the Bakassi Penisula and Lake Chard: Litmus Test for Peace and integration in Africa.* In Albert, I. O; Eselebor, W. A. & Danjibo, N. D. (eds) (2012). Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria. Ibadan. John Archers Publishers Ltd. Pp. 509 – 524.
24. Ezekiel, O. (2011, March 30) 'Nigerian Politics: the crippling legacy of godfatherism'. The Guardian. [Online] Available at httv.Z'www.ngtguardiannews.-com. (Accessed 30th)
25. Faloore, O. o. (2010). "The Family and Corruption Management in Nigeria", *Journal of Social and Policy Issues,* 7(2); 84 - 89.
26. Fawole, W. (2005) 'Voting without choosing: Interrogating the crisis of Electoral democracy in Nigeria,' in Kasongo, T. (Ed.). Liberal Democracy and its critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the struggle for social Progress, London, Zed Books Ltd. Pp 148-171.
27. Henley, J. (2003, October 11). French Sleaze Inquiry Targets US Oil Subsidiary. The *Guardian*, pp. 15.
28. Ibaba, I. S. (2013). "Is Nigeria A Failed State?" *Monograph Series 08,* Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University, Bayelsa state, Nigeria.
29. Ibaba, S.I. & Okolo P.O. (2009). *"Resolving Militia conflicts in the Niger Delta:* The Role and strategies of Mediation, Martins papers, Martins Institute Article 2: http://www.class.uidaho.edu/martin_archives/-Martin%20Papers.html
30. Igbuzor, O. (2008), *Strategies for Winning the Anti-Corruption War in Nigeria,* Abuja: Action Aid.
31. International Centre for Economic Growth (1999). Information Brief 6, Causes and Effects of Corruption, Nairobi Kenya.
32. Isakpa, Philip (2013). "Global Corruption Barometer 2013". *Business Day,* July 15; 52-3.
33. Jega, M., (ed) (2005). *Corruption: The Trouble with Nigeria – Discharging a Burden.* Proceedings of the 3rd Media Trust Annual Dialogue Lagos: Media Trust Ltd.
34. Jimo, H., etal (2001). West and West Central Africa in Global Corruption Report. Berlin: Transparency International, pp: 81-94 Retrieved from: http://www.-globalcorruptionreport.org
35. Konie, G. (2003). "National Reconciliation." The Post, a Zambian Newspaper July 23.No.2471, pp: 11.
36. Kumolu, C. (2009, October 7). Millennium Development Goals: The Crack and Mortal Blows Ahead of Nigeria. *Vanguard,* pp. 39.
37. Langseth, P. etal (1997). The *Role of a National Integrity System in Fighting Corruption*.EDI Working paper. The World Bank: Washington, D.C.
38. Maduegbuna, N. (2005). "Anti-Corruption in Nigeria: Public Communications Perspective", *Corporate Mirror*, 1 (10):16-18, 48.
39. Maier, K (2000). *This house has fallen: Nigeria in crises.* London, Penguin Books. March 2011).
40. Ndubusi, A, (2009). *Nigeria What Hope?* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
41. Nnoli, O. (1981). Short History of Nigeria under development in Okwodiba Nnoli (ed.) path to Nigerian Development Daker coderia p. 36.
42. Nsikan, E. J; Aliyu, M. & Udensi, L. O. (2015). Analysis of corruption and Nigeria's Socio – Economic Development. Unpublished Conference Paper, Presented at the Faculty of the Social Sciences, Annual Conference, 24th – 25th September, 2015. DELSU, Abraka.
43. Nwaobi, G.C. (2004). Corruption and Bribery in the Nigerian Economy: An empirical investigation public Economics 0404006, EconWPA. Retrieved from: http://papers.ssrn.com/so13/papers.cfm?

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

44. Ochefu, D and Chima, O (2008). *Money Laundering: A toll on the image on Nigerian banks.*
45. Odofin, A. P. and Omojuwa, K. A (2007). *The Challenges of Democratisation Process in Nigeria,* Zaria, A. Y. Sule Digital Printers.
46. Ogundele, K & Unachukwu, A J. (2012, August 29). US$400 billion Oil Money Mismanaged by Government. *The Nation,* pp. 61.
47. Okolo P. O. (1997). Definition of Corruption, its manifestations and challenges to the Administrator (unpublished) A term paper presented on POL. 457.2, 25/1/97. Department of Pol. and Admin. Studies, Uniport.
48. Okolo, P. O. & Akpokighe O. R. (2014). Federalism and Resource Control: The Nigerian Experience. Journal of Public Policy and Administration Research, Vol. 4, No 2, (2014). IISTE USA. http://www.iiste.org/journals/index.php/PPAR/article/view/11092. Pp. 99 - 109.
49. Okolo, P. O. & Akpokighe, O. R. (2014). Corruption in Nigeria: The Possible Way Out, *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F Political Science*, Vol. 14(7), pp. 30 – 38.
50. Okolo, P. O. & Etekpe, A. (2011). A study of Public Maintenance Culture and its Impacts on the Socio-Economic Development of Nigeria, 2005 – 2009. International Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2011). ISSN 2141-8713, Center for the Promotion of International Relations, Studies and Development, Kandid Gold, Accra Ghana. www.ccsdev.org. Pp. 29 – 46.
51. Okolo, P. O. & Etekpe, A. (2014). Value Re-Orientation: Policy Option for Sustainable Development in the Niger Delta. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa,* Vol. 16(6), pp. 166 – 186.
52. Okolo, P. O. & Inokoba, P. K. (2014). "Democracy and Resource Conflict Resolution: Making a Case for the Democratic Solution to the Niger Delta Crisis". International Journal of Development and Emerging Economics. Published by European Centre for Research Training and Development UK (*www.ea-journals.org*) Vol. 2, No. 2, Pp. 11 – 27, June, 2014.
53. Okolo, P. O. (1997). The Nigeria Police (NPF) and Corruption (1990 - 1995) A case study of Rivers State Police Command being a B.Sc. Thesis, submitted to the Dept. of Pol. & Admin. Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Uniport, PHC. Nig.
54. Okolo, P. O. (2014). Managing Minority Problems in Nigeria: The case of the Ethnic Minorities of the Niger Delta Region. Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development, Vol. 5, No. 6, (2014). ISSN 2222-1700 (Paper) ISSN 2222-2855 (Online). IISTE USA. *http://www.iiste.org/journals/-index.php/JEDS/article/view/11938* or *www.iiste.org.* Pp. 91 – 99.
55. Okolo, P. O. (2014). NDDC, Conflict, Peace – Building and Community Development in the Niger Delta Region, Global Journal of Political Science and Administration, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 36 – 51, March 2014 – Published by European Centre for Research Training and Development, UK. (www.ea-journal.org)
56. Okolo, P. O., Opukri, C. O., Osimerah, C. A. & Max-Egba, K (2014). Nigerian Political Parties and Patron - Clientele Syndrome. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa,* Vol. 16(5), 102 – 118.
57. Okolo, P. O; Akpokighe, R.O. and Igbokwe, H. I. (2014). The need for Ethnic Integration in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: A Focus of Western Niger Delta. Journal of Development Country Studies, Vol. 4, No. 4, (2014). IISTE USA. http://www.iiste.org/-journals/index.php/DCS/article/view/11117. Pp. 152 - 163
58. Olugbenga, B (2007). Endangering Good Governance for Sustainable Democracy: The Continuity Struggle against Corruption in Nigeria, *Journal of research in Peace, Gender and Development,* 1 (11): 307 - 314.
59. Owugah, L. (1999). Local Resistance and the State, paper presented at Oil Watch Africa General Assembly, February 9 – 14, Port Harcourt, Nigeria.
60. Ribadu, N. (2006). Nigerian's Struggle with Corruption. A paper Presented at the Congregational House Committee on International Development Washington, DC.
61. Salisu, M. (2000). Corruption in Nigeria. Lancaster University Management School Working paper 2000/006.The LUMS Working Papers series. Retrieved from: http://www.lums.co.uk/publications
62. Stople, O. (2008). "Corruption and Anticorruption in Nigeria and beyond". A Paper presented at one day workshop on "Reporting corruption in Nigeria" Organised by the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC), in collaboration with the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ).
63. Tanzi, V., (1998). Corruption around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope and Cures.IMF Staff papers, 45(4). Retrieved from: http://www.imf.org/-external/pubs/FT/staff/1998/12-98/pdf/tanzi.pdf
64. World Bank, (1997). *Helping Countries combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank.* World Bank: Washington DC.

65. Philips O. Okolo FHRD, mnipr, mspsp, acipm.
66. Holds a B.Sc (Hons) degree in Political and Administrative Studies (Pub.Admin) from the University of Port Harcourt, Choba, Port Harcourt; A Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies from the University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria; and a Ph.D in Political Science from Delta State University, Abraka. He lectures at the department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Niger Delta

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State, Nigeria. Okolo, is the pioneer National Publicity Secretary Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Nigeria. He has published extensively.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

A Esquerda Aceitável: A Transição Do Pt Para O Reformismo No Contexto Das Eleições De 1994, 1998 E 2002

By Guilherme Augusto Batista Carvalho
Federal University of Goiás

Abstract- This article has the challenge to discuss the ambivalent relationship between arrival in the power through concessions to conservative sectors of society, foreshadowed in the "letter to the Brazilian people" and the discourse of the struggle for power based on the argument of search for relevant social gains, in which part of the Brazilian left is immersed since the victory of Workers Party in 2002 in the presidential election in Brazil. Here are the actors and the main events that give basis for the proposed discussion. To give theoretical basis, we analyze the case in light of Marxian theory, seeking to enable reflections on the question: some sectors of the Brazilian left, do not perform structural failure in the power system in the country, made the social reformism and economic conservative as a search of power, articulating the cooling of tensions between the classes? We conclude that the proposed reformism is a mechanism not completely abandoned the search for social justice proposals, however, it is the exclusion of any possibility of structural changes, whether the values in the order or in the structure of domination.

Keywords: *left; party; election; conservatism.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 369999*

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Guilherme Augusto Batista Carvalho. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

A Esquerda Aceitável: A Transição Do Pt Para O Reformismo No Contexto Das Eleições De 1994, 1998 E 2002

Guilherme Augusto Batista Carvalho

Resumo- O presente artigo tem o desafio de discutir a ambivalente relação entre chegada ao poder através de concessões aos setores conservadores da sociedade, prenunciada na chamada "carta ao povo brasileiro" e o discurso da disputa pelo poder baseado no argumento da busca por ganhos sociais relevantes, na qual parte da esquerda brasileira se encontra imersa desde a vitória do Partido dos Trabalhadores em 2002 na eleição presidencial no Brasil. Apresentamos aqui os atores e os principais acontecimentos que dão embasamento para a discussão proposta. Para dar fundamentação teórica, analisamos o caso à luz da teoria marxiana, buscando viabilizar reflexões a respeito da seguinte questão: alguns setores da esquerda brasileira, ao não realizarem rupturas estruturais no sistema de poder no país, tornaram o reformismo social e econômico uma forma conservadora de busca do poder, articulando o arrefecimento das tensões entre as classes? Concluímos que o reformismo proposto é um mecanismo de não abandono completo das propostas de busca por justiça social, no entanto, é a renúncia de qualquer possibilidade de mudanças estruturais, seja nos valores, na ordem ou na própria estrutura de dominação.

Palavras-Chave: *esquerda; partido; eleição; conservadorismo.*

Abstract- This article has the challenge to discuss the ambivalent relationship between arrival in the power through concessions to conservative sectors of society, foreshadowed in the "letter to the Brazilian people" and the discourse of the struggle for power based on the argument of search for relevant social gains, in which part of the Brazilian left is immersed since the victory of Workers Party in 2002 in the presidential election in Brazil. Here are the actors and the main events that give basis for the proposed discussion. To give theoretical basis, we analyze the case in light of Marxian theory, seeking to enable reflections on the question: some sectors of the Brazilian left, do not perform structural failure in the power system in the country, made the social reformism and economic conservative as a search of power, articulating the cooling of tensions between the classes? We conclude that the proposed reformism is a mechanism not completely abandoned the search for social justice proposals, however, it is the exclusion of any possibility of structural changes, whether the values in the order or in the structure of domination.

Keywords: *left; party; election; conservatism.*

I. Introdução

As dinâmicas sociais e políticasno Brasil, durante os anos 1990 passavam por uma fase de adaptações e por transições em diversos campos, como a cultura e a política que foram liberalizadas após vinte e um anos de regime militar.

No campo econômico, parte significativa do país sofria com quedas drásticas da produção, estagnação da indústria devido a pouca capacidade técnica de inovação, taxa de câmbio flutuante após o inicio do plano Real, variações expressivas da taxa de desemprego, precariedade das relações trabalhistas e consequentes impactos negativos nas classes assalariadas.

> A política adotada, a partir do início dos anos 1990, permitiu uma forte exposição externa da base produtiva local, implementou um novo receituário de política econômica e buscou enfraquecer o poder de barganha dos segmentos organizados da sociedade, na esperança de reduzir a resistência aos projetos de flexibilização do sistema de proteção social[1]inscrito na Constituição de 1988" (Dedecca, 2005, p. 105).

É importante demarcar que, em nossa visão balizamos a ideia de classe assalariada por meio da seguinte constatação: "o trabalho cria prosperidade para o proletariado? De nenhum modo. Cria o capital, isto é, a propriedade que explora o trabalho assalariado e que só pode aumentar sob a condição de produzir um novo trabalho assalariado, a fim de explorá-lo novamente" (MARX; ENGELS, s.d, p.32).

Singer (1999) alega que a política econômica adotada no Brasil durante os anos de 1990 redefiniu a inserção do país na economia mundial, sacrificando o crescimento e comprometendo a prestação de serviços sociais, por obedecer à lógica de um ajuste fiscal, que criou crises que afetaram principalmente a classe assalariada.Mészáros faz uma análise dessa tentativa de "inserção dependente" de países pobre pós-Guerra Fria e conclui que:

Author: *Federal University of Goiás.*
e-mail: guilherme.rel1404@gmail.com

[1] Grifo nosso. Em outras palavras, o que buscou-se foi a desestabilização da oposição social e política à política econômica.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

> "Cinquenta anos de "modernização" deixaram o "Terceiro Mundo" numa condição pior do que nunca; o sistema soviético teve um colapso dramático, sem qualquer perspectiva de estabilização pela entrada no clube do "capitalismo avançado", pois até a restauração bem-sucedida de uma forma "subdesenvolvida" de *capitalismo dependente* impôs dificuldades proibitivas ao sistema que se estilhaçava; e os poucos países privilegiados de "capitalismo avançado" estão passando por repiques de recessão em intervalos cada vez mais curtos" (MÉSZÁROS, 2002, p.49).

As instabilidades econômicas, que embora afetassem de forma incisiva as classes subalternas, não evitaram uma tentativa de inserção econômica através de maiores aberturas para produtos e indústrias externas somadas a um ajuste fiscal severo. Contudo, essa expansão do mercado através da tentativa de inserção brasileira no mundo, ainda assim não garantiu o desenvolvimento social, como pregava o mantra liberal na época: "inaugurava-se naquele momento, a "novíssima dependência", que significava que o desenvolvimento do país estaria relacionado à abertura econômica para as economias desenvolvidas, a partir da integração entre mercados globalizados" (MESQUITA; OLIVEIRA, 2008, p.5). Pelo contrário, o que foi aprofundada foi a desigualdade entre as classes e a menor equidade na distribuição de renda.

Para Barros, Henriques e Mendonça (2000)a desigualdade brasileira está profundamente arraigada na histórica negligente política de distribuição de rendano país. "A pobreza no Brasil pode estar associada ao fato de os países do mundo, em seu conjunto, permanecerem relativamente pobres, [...] ou, de modo alternativo, ao fato de o Brasil apresentar um elevado grau de desigualdade na distribuição dos recursos" (BARROS; HENRIQUES; MENDONÇA, 2000, p.126).

"A burguesia controla cada vez mais a dispersão dos meios de produção, da propriedade e da população. A consequência inevitável disso foi a centralização política"(MARX; ENGELS, 2001, p.31). Nessa passagem do "*Manifesto do Partido Comunista"*, escrito em 1848, os autores ensejam nossa visão a respeito do momento político, econômico e social dos anos 1990, no qual o processo de liberalização fez com que cada vez mais a população se encontrasse alijada do poder, estando carente de uma representação de fato.

As instabilidades no país, somadas ao fim da experiência soviética levaram a um misto de desânimo quanto a uma proposta socialista revolucionária stricto sensu e a impulsão pela busca da justiça social, frente ao quadro de gradual deterioração dos poucos ganhos da classe trabalhadora. Esse conjunto de fatores levou ao reverso da tradicional estratégia socialista: romper com as barreiras do Estado e da democracia burguesa, instalando um Estado e uma democracia socialistas.

A ideia da aceitação dos valores burgueses de democraciavai na contramão da proposta feita por Marx e Engels no famoso "*Manifesto do Partido Comunista*" [1848], em que os autores dizem que o partido representante da classe trabalhadora deve se distinguir dos demais, tendo como objetivos centrais a: "constituição dos proletários em classe, derrubada da supremacia burguesa, conquista do poder político pelo proletariado" (MARX; ENGELS, s/d, p.31). Mas como operar tal transição revolucionária? Trotsky responde com:

> só seria realizável se pudesse existir um partido revolucionário independente que exprimisse os interesses da democracia camponesa e pequeno-burguesa em geral e, com o auxílio do proletariado, fosse capaz de conquistar o poder e determinar o seu programa revolucionário (TROTSKY, 1958, p. 138).

Contudo, a realidade se mostrou extremamente reversa a um processo revolucionário no Brasil e além do mais, boa parte dos partidos de esquerda formados do país não tinham sequer o caráter revolucionário, mas sim reformador.

Por meio de um reformismo das propostas de mudanças políticas, a esquerda se envolveu paulatinamente em uma adaptação ao sistema vigente, não apenas corroborando-o, mas de propondo mudanças dentro desse mesmo sistema, aceitou-se conviver com a democracia burguesa e não avançar rumo ao projeto de uma democracia socialista.Esse mesmo fator pode ser observado na análise de Trotsky sobre o caráter titubeante de um movimento de centro-esquerdaeuropeu: "a social-democracia devia sustentara burguesia liberal na luta contra a reação, mas defender, ao mesmo tempo, os interesses do proletariado contra a burguesia liberal" (TROTSKY, 1985, p.19).

Simultaneamente ao processo de aceleração da expansão da perda de direitos da classe trabalhadora, está a deterioração da esquerda revolucionária como movimento(s) organizado(s), a partir da fragmentação da mesma no embate pelo poder: "a esquerda hoje está prostrada, impossibilitada de apresentar alguma estratégia revolucionária unificada e organizada para a superação da propriedade privada" (REZENDE, 2014, p.61). Isso significa que o horizonte da busca pela emancipação de classe se encontra cada vez mais distante. Todavia, essa fato não sacramenta uma derrota permanente da esquerda revolucionária, tendo visto os mais de cento e cinquenta anos de organizações partidárias e sociais. Mas nos dá certos parâmetros reflexivos acerca das dificuldades em estabelecer estratégias de rompimento com o status quo.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

a) Conceituação Dos Partidos De Esquerda No Brasil

A conceituação das vertentes ideológicas se faz imperativa para que haja a melhor compreensão das narrativas desse artigo.Os termos direita e esquerda fazem referência a uma separação definida ainda na Revolução francesa, portanto passível de críticas, sejam elas relativas a um possível caráter anacrônico ou a uma modernização dos valores[2]e dos conceitos quanto aos fatos sociais e políticos. Contudo, é inegável que esses termos representem de forma constante o universo político e social até nossos dias.

Norberto Bobbio (1995) em "Direita e Esquerda: razões e significados de uma distinção política" caracteriza a esquerda pela busca da igualdade e a direita pela busca da liberdade, uma podendo abrir mão da outra para conseguir seus objetivos centrais – a esquerdasendo capaz de abrir mão da liberdade em prol da igualdade e a direita sendo capaz de abrir mão da igualdade em prol da liberdade. Dentro desses espectros as visões de direita e esquerda se dividem, radicalizando ou até mesmo caminhando para um meio termo.

Segundo o sociólogo britânico, Anthony Giddens (1996), em sua obra "Para além da esquerda e da direita", o pensamento transformador, ou revolucionário, quase sempre foi interpretado nas sociedades pós-revolução industrial, como instigação ao radicalismo. Costumeiramente essa ideia foi relacionada à militância de esquerda, principalmente devido a experiência soviética que rompeu com diversos paradigmas deuma dita evolução da sociedade – que em termos gerais se relaciona a ideia de evolução do capitalismo e de suas formas de organização. O autor define radicalismo como um comportamento que tende a se inquietar quanto ao papel histórico da sociedade, ou nas palavras dele: "ser radical é romper com os domínios do passado" (GIDDENS, 1996, p.9).

O fim da experiência soviética, segundo Giddens (1996), condicionou a militância da esquerda a uma postura argumentativa defensiva, que busca elencar avanços histórico a agendas voltadas para temas sociais. Contudo, a base argumentativa produziu cisões dentro do campo da esquerda que passou a defender, em maior ou menor medida, métodos diferentes para a busca da ampliação da igualdade social.

Se por um lado houve – e em menor medida – a defesa da experiência soviética e seus métodos de rompimento radical com o desenvolvimento baseado na matriz capitalista, houve uma esquerda que nasceu da falência da experiência soviética e se abriu para nova agendas, na tentativa de se manter na "vanguarda da história", realizando concessões a setores que antes eram adversários políticos, buscando não se tornarem movimentos atrofiados dentro do desenvolvimento histórico. Giddens (1996, p.10-11) elenca alguns dos principais argumentos e bandeiras que surgiram nessa esquerda pós-União Soviética: Argumentos: 1. A experiência soviética não representou o socialismo em sua totalidade; 2. A revolução foi traída; 3. O bem estar é arrasado pelo desenvolvimento do capitalismo. Bandeiras: 1. Proteger os ganhos sociais; 2. Defesa da ecologia; 3. Militância pelos direito humanos; 4. Defesa da igualdade de gênero; 5. Defesa das minorias; 6. Nova etapa de desenvolvimento social.

Para nossa melhor compreensão dos atores políticos aqui mencionados, como sendo "partidos de esquerda" [3] do Brasil, tomaremos como referência a avaliação feita por Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, em sua obra "*Partidos, Ideologia e Composição Social"*(2002). Rodrigues ressalta que o material empírico investigado é limitado por uma lógica que vêm do próprio material, devido à diversidade do conjunto social dentro desses partidos, mas o autor elenca como método de classificação de vertentes políticas, mesmo que controversa,o uso de questionários aplicados às elites políticas no Congresso Nacional durante os anos 1990. Rodrigues classifica como partidos de esquerda[4]: PCB – *Partido Comunista do Brasil* –, PPS – *Partido Popular Socialista* –, PC do B – *Partido Comunista do Brasil* –, PDT – *Partido Democrático Trabalhista* –, PMN – *Partido da Mobilização Nacional* –, PSB – *Partido Socialista Brasileiro–,* PT – *Partido dos Trabalhadores* – e PV – *Partido Verde–,* durante o período pesquisado[5].

Cremos que embora cada uma dessas bandeiras, partidos e consequentes proposições de transformações tenham conotações diferentes,quanto ao que se fazer caso obtenha-se o poder, ambas são bandeiras de grande valor para todos os partidos de esquerda do Brasil – em maior ou menor medida.

b) As Eleições De 1994 E 1998

Durante os anos de 1990houveram duas eleições presidenciais no Brasil. A eleição de 1994consagraria o sociólogo, ex-Senador, Ministro das Relações Exteriores e da Fazenda, *Fernando Henrique*

[2] Ver segunda modernidade em BECK, Ulrich. Sociedade de Risco - Rumo a uma outra modernidade. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2010.

[3] Devemos ressaltar que nem todos os partidos mencionados têm visões propriamente orientadas por uma causa revolucionaria, portanto, fazem parte da camada reformista, na qual o presente artigo não se direciona a discutir.

[4] Cabe ressaltar que na análise de Rodrigues (2002), O PT do B – *Partido Trabalhista do Brasil* –, PTR/PP – *Partido Trabalhista Renovador/Partido Progressista* –, PRP – *Partido Republicano Progressista* – PSDC – *Partido Social Democrático Cristão* – e o PTC – *Partido Trabalhista Cristão*–, ficaram sem classificação ideológica.

[5] Devemos sinalizar que outros partidos se encaixariam nessa descrição, porém, como no período pesquisado não tinham representação no Congresso Nacional, o autor os deixou de fora. Podemos elencar nessa mesma faixa o PSTU – *Partido Socialista do Trabalhadores Unificado* –, PCO – *Partido da Causa Operária*.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Cardoso do PSDB – *Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira*[6] – como Presidente da República e *Marco Maciel*[7] PFL – *Partido da Frente Liberal*[8] como vice. A chapa eleita traria um misto de tranquilidade e esperança e isso se deve ao sucesso do plano econômico de estabilização da inflação, denominado "Real", que teve Fernando Henrique Cardoso a frente do Ministério da Fazenda na época de sua inauguração. Tal plano deu certa tranquilidade aos mercados de capitais e aumentou o prestígio de Fernando Henrique Cardoso, como um importante aliado do mercado financeiro: "para se ter uma ideia, em junho de 1993, o último mês antes do real, a inflação foi de 50%. Um ano depois estava em torno de 2%. Fernando Henrique ficou conhecido como o "pai" do real, o Plano e a moeda" (RENAULT, 2008, p.110).

Haviam duas chapas de esquerda nas eleições de 1994, uma se denominava como "*Força do Povo",* que era uma coligação eleitoral entre PDT-PMN, obtendo 2.771.788 votos, ou 3,18% dos votos válidos,e tinham como principais exponentes, *Leonel de Moura Brizola*[9] (PDT) como cabeça da chapa e *Darcy Ribeiro*[10] (PDT) como vice.A outra chapa era mais numerosa, se denominava "*Frente Brasil Popular"* e era composta por PT, PPS, PSB, PCdoB, PV, PSTU e PCB, obtendo o segundo lugar na eleição, com 17.112.255 votos ou 27.04% dos votos válidos, tendo *Lula* (PT) como cabeça de chapa e *Aloízio Mercadante* (PT) como vice.

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, que era tido como um Sociólogo de esquerda, ao compor chapa com o PFL, que era um partido majoritariamente liberal-conservador, acabou por sacramentar a continuidade do projeto burguês de poder. Conforme afirma Carvalho (2015).

> Claras mudanças econômicas pairavam no ar após a eleição de 1994 com a eleição do ex-Ministro da Fazenda, FHC, que tinha em tese o intuito de garantir a preservação do ganho de estabilização do Plano Real. Oliveira e Turola (2003) sintetizam essas mudanças ordenando-as por mandatos do novo Presidente: 1°mandato: introdução de medida de controle das finanças dos governos estaduais e municipais; aumento do *déficit primário*; aumento da despesa com juros; déficits crescentes em conta corrente. 2° mandato: Ajuste fiscal voltado para a geração de *superávits primários*, baseado em aumento de receitas e redução de despesas; metas de inflação; reversão dos déficits em conta corrente (CARVALHO, 2015, p. 156).

Essa política macroeconômica, segundo Boito (2006) em suma aumentava os lucros dos grandes capitalistas e em detrimento, deteriorava as condições da classe trabalhadora, através de: "desregulamentação do mercado de trabalho, de redução de salários e de redução ou supressão de gastos e direitos sociais. Todas empresas capitalistas, pequenas ou grandes, industriais, comerciais ou agrícolas, nacionais ou estrangeiras, tiram proveito" (BOITO, 2006, p.273).Houveram diversos protestos, por parteda classe trabalhadora no período, porém nada que afetasse o resultado eleitoral posterior.

Nas eleições de 1998 houve maior dispersão dos votos entre a esquerda. O PSTU viria com *José Maria de Almeida* (PSTU) como cabeça de chapa e *José Galvão* (PSTU) como vice, conseguindo 202.659 de votos, ou 0,30% dos votos válidos. O PPS dessa vez foi para a eleição com a candidatura de *Ciro Gomes*[11]e *Roberto Freire*[12] (PPS) como vice, tendo o PL[13] e o PAN[14] em sua base, juntos obtiveram 7.426.190 de votos, ou 10,97% dos votos válidos. Já o PT e o PDT que na eleição passada haviam rivalizado no primeiro turno, compuseram uma mesma chapa com Lula (PT) como cabeça e Leonel Brizola (PDT) como vice, junto a eles estavam o PSB, PCdoB e PCB, conseguindo novamente o segundo lugar com 21.475.218 de votos, ou 31,71% dos votos válidos.

Frente a uma segunda vitória nas urnas, a chapa de Fernando Henrique Cardoso e Marco Maciel teve a liberdade para continuar a impor uma pauta que não só feria os direitos trabalhistas, mas agora também feria o próprio trabalho: "Em 1995, a taxa de desemprego real era de 4,6% a.a. [...] em 1998 se elevara para 7,6% [...] a segunda fase do governo, por sua vez começou com uma taxa de 7,6% a.a. e encerrou com 7,1% a.a. [...] o governo FHC apresentou um aumento de mais de 50% no desemprego" (CHRISTO *apud* CARVALHO, 2015, p.158). Contudo, nesse novo mandato da chapa reeleita, houve uma maior mobilização por parte da classe trabalhadora contra o governo:

> Em 1997, é dado o inicio aos protestos contra o governo FHC, através de uma marcha até Brasília, liderada pelo MST. Após os primeiros efeitos nos salários, aumento do desemprego Diante dos desacordos entre movimentos sociais em relação à política econômica, e ao governo de modo geral, a

[6] Classificado por Rodrigues (2002) como sendo um partido de centro.
[7] Importante nome do conservadorismo no Brasil, ex-Deputado Federal, Senador, Ministro da Casa Civil, da Educação e Governador de PE.
[8] Classificado por Rodrigues (2002) como um partido de Direita.
[9] Figura de destaque do combate ao regime, ex-Prefeito de Porto Alegre e ex-Governador do RS e RJ.
[10] Antropólogo, um dos fundadores da Universidade de Brasília e membro da Academia Brasileira de Letras.
[11] Ex Prefeito de Fortaleza, Governador do Ceará e Ministro da Fazenda.
[12] Ex Presidente nacional do PCB, fundador do PPS e Deputado Federal.
[13] Tido por Rodrigues (2002) como um partido de Direita.
[14] Partido do Aposentados da Nação, mais tarde incorporado pelo PTB – Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro –, tido como um partido de Direita.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

CUT em um congresso nacional em 1999, fez uma pauta com os principais temas de luta contra o segundo mandato do Presidente: "Reposição das perdas salariais das categorias, e reajuste mínimo de 10%; Redução da jornada de trabalho sem redução de salários; Combate à miséria; Revogação de todas as medidas do governo que precarizam as relações de trabalho; Fora FHC" (CARVALHO, 2015, p.157).

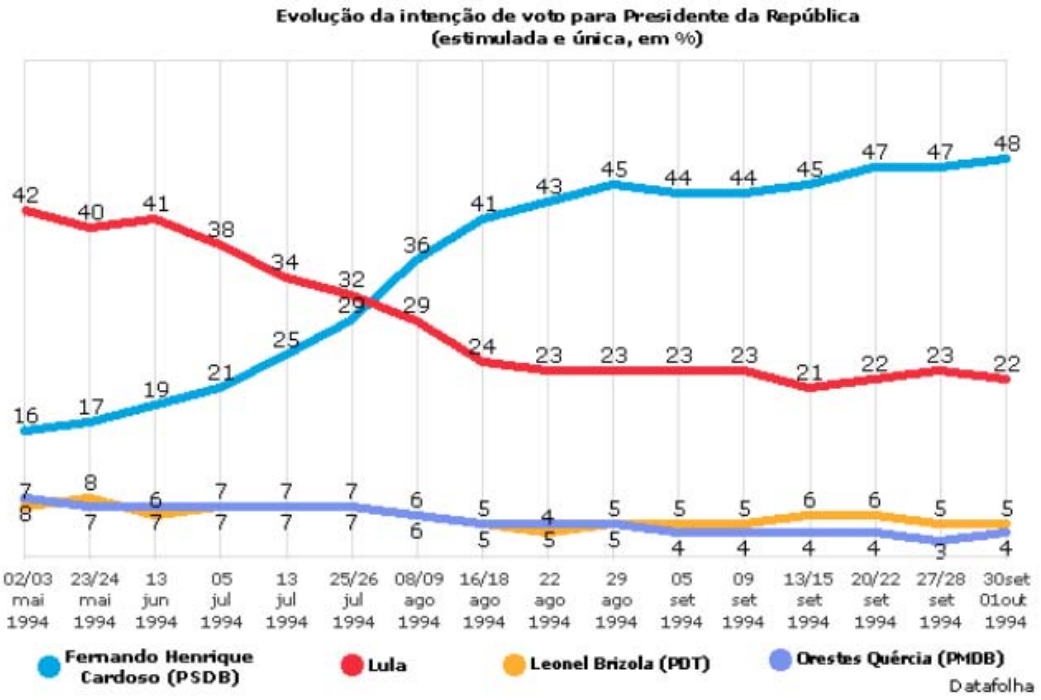
Antes de avançarmos nas narrativas sobre como a burguesia manteve seu projeto de poder no Brasil, cremos ser imperativo analisarmos o quadro em que se encontravam as condições sócio-econômicas e os argumentos desenvolvidos pela oposição.

c) *A Adesão Ao Projeto Reformista No Período Entre 1994-1998*

A ascensão do plano Real com seus métodos de combate a inflação, foi um fator, sem dúvidas, importantíssimo na definição dos rumos da eleição de 1994. Figueiredo (2007) destaca que Lula e Fernando Henrique Cardoso tiveram resultados diferentes noque tange seus desempenhos durante a campanha e como seus discursos impactaram na sociedade, tendo Lula começado na frente nas pesquisas e Fernando Henrique Cardoso conseguido ultrapassá-lo no decorrer da disputa – fato que como explicaremos mais a frente, acreditamos estar relacionado aos valores da sociedade. Esse efeito pode ser acompanhado a partir das pesquisas do Instituto Data Folha sobre a mudança nas intenções de voto na eleição de 1994:

Eleições1994 - 01/10/1994

Intenção de voto presidente - 1994



Fonte : Pesquisa Datafolha divulgada em: 01/10/1994

Figura 1 : Pesquisa de intenção de votos de 1994

Como método de inferência desses dados, o instituto teve como base metodológica o levantamento de amostragem estratificada por sexo e idade aleatoriamente nas cinco regiões do país, na população acima de 16 anos de idade.

Já após o primeiro mandato de Fernando Henrique Cardoso, até a campanha de 1998, houve um processo de mudanças estruturais no campo da economia que durante o primeiro mandato não tiveram efeitos tão práticos, pois aqueda da inflação advinda do plano Real provocou uma queda nos números de desempregados, contudo isso foi momentâneo, poisdurante o segundo mandato podemserem vistos os dados apresentando resultados, nos quais o desemprego chega a dobrar – em maior medida no segundo mandato:

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Tabela 2

Brasil: Taxa de Desemprego Aberto segundo Caracteristicas Pessoais - Sexo e Posição na Família; Regiões Metropolitanas [a]; 1991 - 2002
(Média Anual)
(%)

Ano	Gênero		Posição na Família			
	Homens	Mulheres	Chefe	Cônjuge	Filho	Outros
1991	4,8	4,9	3,1	2,6	9,4	6,2
1992	5,6	6,0	3,7	3,4	11,0	7,2
1993	5,2	5,6	3,4	3,1	10,0	6,8
1994	4,8	5,5	3,2	3,1	9,7	6,9
1995	4,5	4,8	3,0	2,9	8,8	5,7
1996	5,0	6,1	3,4	3,8	10,0	7,3
1997	5,3	6,3	3,7	3,9	10,4	7,1
1998	7,1	8,3	5,1	5,4	13,4	9,3
1999	7,0	8,3	5,0	5,2	13,5	9,1
2000	6,5	8,0	4,6	5,2	12,9	9,0
2001	5,9	6,7	4,1	4,2	11,2	7,6
2002 [b]	5,9	6,8	4,1	4,3	11,3	7,7

Fonte: PME/IBGE

Figura 2 : Taxa de Desemprego de 1994-2002

Frente a esses números– de 1995 – 1998 –, o PT construiu argumentos baseados em críticas pontuais, que como veremos, são muito mais leituras do cenário do que proposições – técnicas –para solucioná-lo. Esse discurso fica muito claro em seu programa de governo de 1998 – que foi construído baseado em seus argumentos de oposição até a eleição:

> As políticas econômicas adotadas pelo governo Fernando Henrique Cardoso geraram profunda subordinação financeira e desestruturação da economia e da sociedade. A abertura indiscriminada, a ausência de políticas industriais, agrícolas, de emprego e de comércio exterior, assim como os elevados juros comprometeram a produção e o emprego nacionais (PT, 1998, p.6)

Notamos que durante toda a seção sobre "emprego", no documento de 1998, ao procurarmos – na ferramenta de busca do arquivo – verbos no futuro do presente como "faremos", "implantaremos" e "geraremos", simplesmente não aparecem. Todavia, verbos no pretérito simples, como "geraram" aparece 6 vezes eimplantaram 2 vezes. Chama atenção a falta de proposições e a quantidade de criticas.

Paralelo ao processo de crescente desemprego, ainda há um tímido aumento no salário mínimo:

1998	01/05/1998	R$ 130,00	Lei 9.971/2000	8,33 %
1997	01/05/1997	R$ 120,00	Lei 9.971/2000	7,14 %
1996	01/05/1996	R$ 112,00	Lei 9.971/2000	12,00 %
1995	01/05/1995	R$ 100,00	Lei 9.032/1995	42,86 %

Fonte : IBGE

Figura 3 : Aumento do salário mínimode 1995-1998

No quesito salário, o que nos chamou mais a atenção – e que nos parece sintomático – é a ênfase dada ao salário como instrumento de consumo, no programa de governo do PT de 1998. Tal ideia fica clara na proposição de utilizar o salário como instrumento de "poder aquisitivo" (p.8) e por meio da elevação do salário mínimo, aumentar a participação dos salários na renda nacional (p.6). Fora isso, o documento do PT apenas destrincha mais críticas ao governo vigente, assim como no que tange ao desemprego. Segundo

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Braga (2013), a partir do inicio do primeiro mandato após a vitória da chapa de Fernando Henrique Cardoso e Marco Maciel, ocorreu um processo de:

> financeirização da economia que se intensificou com o plano Real (1994) piorou ainda mais essa situação ao atrair, por meio de juros estratosféricos, sobretudo, o capital financeiro de curto prazo interessado principalmente em financiar a dívida pública. A indústria de transformação desnacionalizou-se e regrediu, esmagando ganhos de produtividade e acentuando o chamado efeito "dependência" da estrutura social (BRAGA, 2013, p.148).

A proclamada característica reformadora do governo Fernando Henrique Cardoso, foi demonstradadurante todo seu governo. Segundo Gimbiagi (2005), dentre as maiores mudanças econômicas e no sistema burocrático do Estado, destacam-se as privatizações, o fim dos monopólios estatais nos setores de petróleo e telecomunicações, a mudança no tratamento do capital estrangeiro, e o saneamento do sistema financeiro, facilitando a entrada de bancos estrangeiros, o que atendia a política governamental de busca de ampliação da concorrência e internacionalização do setor.

Houve, juntamente com o tímido aumento no salário, um frondoso aumento de juros, que consequentemente pesou ainda mais sobre o salário mínimo, principalmente em relação ao sustento básico; expomos os seguintes dados que são ilustrativos, na tentativa de demonstrar a evolução da taxa de juros mensal:

MÊS/ANO	1995	1996	1997	1998
Janeiro	0,00%	2,58%	1,73%	2,67%
Fevereiro	3,63%	2,35%	1,67%	2,13%
Março	2,60%	2,22%	1,64%	2,20%
Abril	4,26%	2,07%	1,66%	1,71%
Maio	4,25%	2,01%	1,58%	1,63%
Junho	4,04%	1,98%	1,61%	1,60%
Julho	4,02%	1,93%	1,60%	1,70%
Agosto	3,84%	1,97%	1,59%	1,48%
Setembro	3,32%	1,90%	1,59%	2,49%
Outubro	3,09%	1,86%	1,67%	2,94%
Novembro	2,88%	1,80%	3,04%	2,63%
Dezembro	2,78%	1,80%	2,97%	2,40%
Acumulada no Ano	38,71%	24,47%	22,35%	25,58%
Acumulada Geral	38,71%	63,18%	85,53%	111,11%

Fonte: Ministério da Fazenda – Receita Federal

Figura 4 : Variação da taxa de juros de 1995-1998

No quesito dos juros, o programa de governo se dedica, assim como nos quesitos anteriores, quase que exclusivamente a criticas do modelo econômico. Há apenas uma proposição – não demonstrada em termos técnicos ou do que se faria para atingir tal meta: "A redução das taxas de juros e, portanto, das mensalidades viabilizarão o ingresso de milhares de novos mutuários" (PT, 1998, p.6).

O efeito prático dessa desaceleração das medidas que fossem atender as camadas trabalhadoras em seu processo produtivo individual, foi uma plataforma eleitoral de oposição – que como veremos nas seções subsequentes, foramrepresenta-das pelo PT e vários partidos de esquerda –, não foi visto apenas em termos de salário e emprego, mas também apresentado no conjunto, a partir da queda do Produto Interno Bruto – PIB:

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Tabela 1 : Crescimento do PIB

Crescimento do PIB - Brasil e Mundo - 1994 a 1998 (em %)

Ano	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
PIB Brasil	5,3	4,2	2,2	3,4	0,0
PIB Mundo	4,8	4,3	4,0	4,1	2,5

Fonte: IBGE/BANCO MUNDIAL – FMI

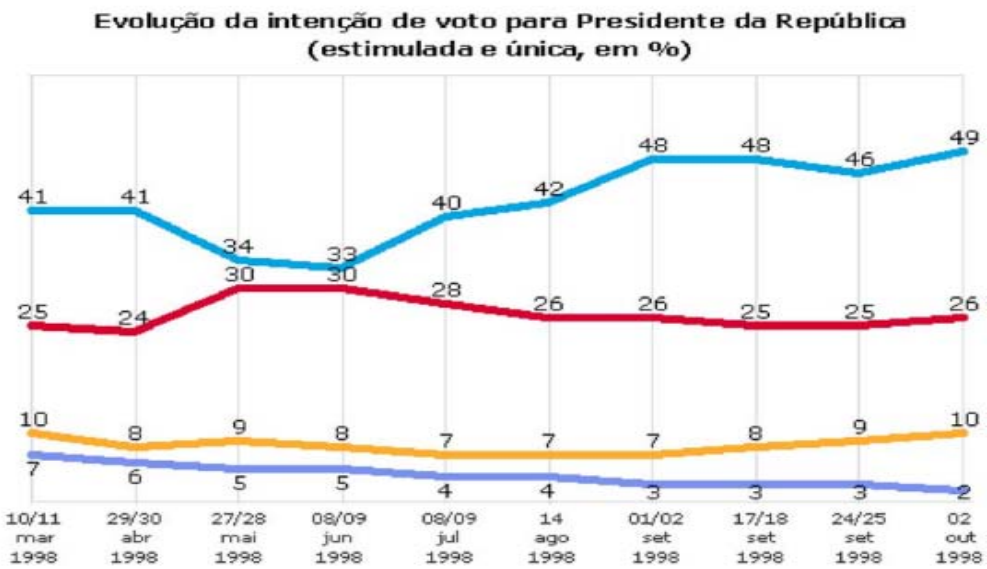
No quesito crescimento, é onde o discurso "nacional desenvolvimentista" aparece pela primeira vez e sem dúvidas, é onde há mais proposições, aparecendo 14 vezes dentro do documento, não apenas em forma de críticas, mas, inclusive, apresentado o que seria feito para atingir as metas de crescimento. Quanto a essas metas, um trecho é simbólico:

> O governo da União do Povo se empenhará no fortalecimento de negociações nacionais em torno das políticas públicas, particularmente no caso das políticas industrial, agrícola, agrária, tributária, social e de rendas, introduzindo mecanismos compatíveis com as metas de estabilização monetária, crescimento econômico e distribuição de renda constantes em nossas diretrizes de programa de Governo (PT, 1998, p.13).

O resultado prático dos efeitos sociais, provocados pelas medidas graduais deabertura econômica, não provocou um resultado negativo para o governo, levando tanto Fernando Henrique Cardoso quanto Lula a terem médias de intenções de votos, bastante estáveis:

Eleições1998 - 02/10/1998

Intenção de voto presidente - 1998



Fonte : Pesquisa Datafolha de 02/10/1998

Figura 5 : Pesquisa de intenção de votos de 1998

Frente a esse quadro, cremos que existem algumas hipóteses possíveis para a derrota da esquerda, e em especial do PT, segundo colocado, são: 1. Apesar de haverem aumentos de juros, aumento da taxa de desemprego e desaceleração do crescimento da economia interna, as proposições da oposição não foram efetivas o suficiente frente a redução drástica da inflação, o que não permitiu ao eleitorado uma identificação com proposta de melhorias do quadro econômico e social; 2. A capacidade de interlocução da esquerda com a sociedade foi deveras precária por não apresentar alternativas concretas – como veremos mais a frente; 3. Havia um medo significativo de grandes alterações – lembrando que o discurso do PT ainda era relacionado ao radicalismo político; 4. O PT não propôs efetivamente nada que atraísse um novo eleitorado – o que viria a fazer em 2002. De todas esses hipóteses, acreditamos que a quarta tenha significativa importância nesse processo de continuidade do governo Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Contudo, é notado uma inflexão no discurso do PT, sinalizando sua abertura para o mercado e para suas regras.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Acreditamos que todos os fatores advindos do período entre 1994-1998, construíram um PT que foi se tornando mais conservador quanto ao processo de transformação da sociedade de forma a romper com o sistema vigente. Tal ideia pode ter embasamento na impopularidade que o discurso de rupturas radicais tiveram frente à sociedade, na qual o partido entendeu nesse período, que deveria se dedicar a atacar o governo, assumidamente de matriz liberal, e se apresentar como uma alternativa que não iria alterar significativamente o sistema. Vale ressaltar que esses ataques foram feitos, fracamente argumentados, por meio de esboços de métodos de desenvolvimento nacional. Ressalta-se ai, pela primeira vez, a ideia do consumo como matriz balizadora da proposta do PT. Na próxima parte do trabalho, buscaremos discutir a dicotomia que o PT encontrou entre projeto transformador radical e reformismo consentido.

d) Sobre As Derrotas Da Esquerda Nas Eleições De 1994 E 1998

O primeiro ponto a ser levantado é sobre as propostas de governo do PT em 1994, quando ainda se proclamava abertamente como um partido socialista. Tendo em vista que foi o partido de esquerda mais votado e a maior chance de consolidar um programa transformador, o PT foi o partido que teria maior condições de, se vencesse o pleito de 1994, impor grandes transformações. Em suas considerações iniciais, focava-se em: "nossa meta principal, que se articula com o objetivo estratégico de construção de uma sociedade socialista e democrática" (PT, 1994, p.12). A palavra "socialismo/socialista" constou 15 vezes no programa de governo. É importante ressalvar que na década de 1990, assim como em várias épocas da História do Brasil, houve uma profunda recusa em relação ao socialismo. Em parte, acreditamos, se deve ao fim da experiência soviética, em outra, devido a *exacerbação dos valores burgueses* na sociedade.

Esses valores burgueses, mostra o proeminente politólogo Norberto Bobbio (1987), estão diretamente relacionados à criação ou liberalização – no caso brasileiro pós-ditadura – de direitos individuais como norteadores das relações sociais. Bobbio lembra que Marx se valeu da expressão "*Bürgerliche Gesellschaft"* – sociedade burguesa e sociedade civil ao mesmo tempo e com os mesmos valores – para explicar essa sociedade baseada no consumo. Nessa sociedade, afirma Engels em "*A origem da família, da propriedade privada e do Estado"* (1984), se manifestam as relações de dominação e os grupos que lutam contra essa dominação.Proveniente dessa luta surgem os conflitos sociais, econômicos, ideológicos e religiosos.

Claramente na carta de compromisso do PT de 1994 não consta a defesa dos valores individuais, pelo contrário, firma compromissos de socializar a participação popular e as esferas diversas do Estado com a população. Contudo,não se compromete explicitamente com a ruptura radical do modelo burguês, mesmo afirmando que o objetivodas propostas do PT se articula com suas visões socialistas de democracia:

> A socialização da política do poder exigirá reformas institucionais, mecanismos de controle social, democracia direta e a democratização dos meios de comunicação. Desta forma, o bloco social interessado nas *reformas democrática*[15] e populares ampliará sua força e estabelecerá sua hegemonia na sociedade brasileira [...]a participação popular será o instrumento privilegiado pelo Governo Democrático e Popular para socializar o poder e a política, pois uma nova sociedade só poderá ser construída se a política for assumida como preocupação por dezenas de milhões de brasileiros e se o poder não ficar confinado nas estruturas burocráticas de um Estado tradicionalmente organizado para garantir a dominação de uma minoria" (PT, 1994, s.p)

No "*Manifesto do Partido Comunista",* Marx e Engels projetam uma ideia de luta pela democracia, no sentido stricto sensu da palavra luta. Marx e Engels afirmam: "o primeiro passo na revolução operária é a elevação do proletariado a classe dominante, a conquista da democracia pela luta. [...] o proletariado usará a sua dominação política para arrancar a pouco e pouco todo o capital à burguesia" (MARX; ENGELS, 2000, p.49). Paralelo a isso, na carta de princípio do PT, de 1979, consta a seguinte diretriz:

> O PT afirma seu compromisso com a democracia plena, exercida diretamente pelas massas, pois não há socialismo sem democracia nem democracia sem socialismo. Um partido que almeja uma sociedade socialista e democrática tem de ser, ele próprio, democrático nas relações que se estabelecem em seu interior (PT, 1979, p.3).

Os Marx e Engels demonstram uma visãobastante diferente dos métodos empregados pela esquerda da década de 1990 – como veremos – em especial o PT, que apesar de ser considerado "extremista em alguns campos" para os valores da época, já projetava uma luta por dentro do sistema, em parte, acreditamos, por já estar sitiada pelo modelo de sociedade burguesa que ao ter como valor máximo o consumismo, expressava rejeição ao modelo socialista.

A partir da derrota em 1994, o PT que constituía o partido cabeça-de-chapa do campo da esquerda que obteve a maior votação. O PT buscou redefinir suas prioridades. Adotou-se a partir dai, um discurso que, segundo Lopes (2014), foi gestado no 9° Encontro Nacional do PT, em 1994, e consolidado no 10°

[15] Sublinhado nosso

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Encontro em 1995, de que a chapa que assumiu o governo tinha um perfil liberal-conservador que acentuava um perfil de inserção subordinada aos grandes blocos econômicos, nacionais e internacionais. A partir dai, é criada uma nova agenda, que não necessariamente discutia rompimentos, nos moldes dos setores socialistas dentro do partido, mas sim, entra na agenda, a ideia de "desenvolvimento nacional" e que redefine até mesmo, sua agenda programática de atuação nacional, não como combativa ao capital, mas à acumulação:

> O PT terá que dar um salto de qualidade: reelaborar sua estratégia de poder, desenvolver um projeto de sociedade e um projeto partidário. Terá que atualizar e reelaborar o programa democrático e popular, articulando forças sociais amplas em torno de um projeto para a sociedade brasileira, alternativo ao neoliberalismo vigente e ao nacional-desenvolvimentismo caduco. É preciso mostrar à sociedade brasileira que as políticas propostas por FHC não podem constituir um projeto de desenvolvimento que atenda às grandes maiorias nacionais. Elas carecem de uma dimensão nacional e social. Não visam a realização de um processo de integração nacional, a incorporação de todos os brasileiros à cidadania, mas apenas a acumulação de capital e a integração de uma minoria de consumidores ao Primeiro Mundo (PT *apud* LOPES, 2014, p.30).

Nos discursos criados a partir de 1995, destaca-se o problema em relação a uma minoria restrita de consumidores. A partir dai, é aberta a janela para a construção da agenda da "democratização do consumo". Para apresentarmos um paralelo, Moreira (2011) explica essa democratização do consumo por meio do exemplo europeu e norte americano:

> "A necessidade de apresentar uma imagem e um estilo de vida semelhante ao do grupo de referência social, levou a um grande crescimento da procura de crédito ao consumo, uma vez que o crédito veio permitir que os indivíduos ajustassem o seu rendimento às suas despesas, financiando-lhes a aquisição de uma vasta gama de bens e serviços. O crescimento continuado das taxas de endividamento das famílias verificado na maioria dos países da Europa e nos EUA nas últimas décadas, permite concluir que o crédito ao consumo se expandiu a todas as classes sociais, deixando de ser apenas concedido às classes favorecidas ou de ser visto como um sinal de pobreza" (MOREIRA, 2011, p.92).

Ou seja, trata-se de um estilo de retórica que tem como fim a expansão do capitalismo, por meio do consumo, reduzindo ai, a partir de 1995, uma tentativa de executar um discurso contrário ao grande capital, por parte do maior partido de esquerda do Brasil.

Lopes (2014) lembra que nos Encontros Nacionais sequentes do PT, no final da década de 1990, o Partido se declarou como "Pós-Comunista" e "Pós-Social Democrata" – provavelmente em oposição ao que o partido governista, ao qual o PT era oposicionista. Paralelo a isso, nos mostra o autor, o PT instituiu um discurso de novo pacto nacional, visando ampliar as melhorias de vida para todas as camadas da sociedade brasileira, ampliando seu discurso de – poderia parecer até nacionalista – novo desenvolvimento nacional, baseado em um novo pacto programático com a sociedade. Destaca-se ai que nenhum conteúdo de classe foi colocado em discussão – diferente do que era habitual até 1994 –, mas sim a combatividade ao "entreguismo", por meio da exaltação ao conteúdo de desenvolvimento nacional.

Esta fetichização da comunidade nacional é o corolário da fetichização do Estado, o qual passa a ser representado como uma entidade que se situa (ou deveria situar-se) acima das classes. Neste sentido, a ideologia nacional – inclusive em suas vertentes mais sofisticadas – opera uma separação estanque entre esse âmbito da igualdade (a nação) e a dominação de classe (...) A ideologia nacional é, portanto, uma dimensão importante do processo de desorganização do proletariado (LOPES, 2014, p.65).

Em 1998, os termos "socialismo/socialização", foram reduzidos a preocupação com o "social" em quatro oportunidades. O programa de governo nessa eleição foi marcado não pelas proposições, mas sim pela combatividade e oposição ao atual governo de Fernando Henrique Cardoso:

> A união das esquerdas se amplia conquistando importantes setores comprometidos com o progresso, a soberania nacional, a democracia e a ética política. Ela expressa o sentimento de todos aqueles que condenam o atual estado das coisas e querem superar os problemas que afligem nosso país há séculos, sumamente agravados pelo governo FHC. (PT, 1998 p. 03)

Lopes (2014, p.33) argumenta que a integração entre proposta de mudança de grupo político e somado à ideologia nacional se fez acompanhar, ao nível de discurso, por um deslocamento da centralidade de categorias como a de 'proletários' ou mesmo 'trabalhadores' para as de 'povo' ou 'sociedade'. A luta social, tendo o PT como referência, não mais se volta contra a estrutura do Estado capitalista, mas para a conquista do Governo e, por meio deste, para a redefinição da política estatal.

Já é possível notar no programa de governo de 1998, uma clara ideia de crítica incisiva ao modelo empregado, porém com proposições bastante reformistas como método de mudança da realidade social, política e econômica, reduzindo a luta política a uma luta contra o governo:

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

> Candidato a presidente da República pela "UNIÃO DO POVO MUDA BRASIL", *proponho-me a fazer do poder político um instrumento capaz de promover as profundas refor* [16] exigidas pela nossa sociedade [...]Assumo, enfim, o compromisso de empenhar a minha vida, indiferente a pressões, ameaças ou riscos, para que o nosso governo faça do Brasil uma Nação socialmente justa, segura, digna, soberana [...]No meu governo, *vou garantir a estabilidade monetária mas também a estabilidade econômica e social*[17] *[...]* Serei o fiador de um novo contrato social com este país, que se fundamentará numa nova hegemonia democrática[18], capaz de efetivamente construir a Nação brasileira para todos os brasileiros (PT, s/p, 1998).

Como fica claro, o PT, partido de esquerda com a maior força politica do Brasil, paulatinamente buscou a conquista do poder lado a lado com a redução das propostas de radicalização de rupturas com o sistema vigente. Muito disso, reafirmamos, se deve a uma sociedade que buscava cada vez mais a afirmação de seus direitos individuais e assim, o PT de 1994 para 1998 caminhou para a proposição dessas garantias de procura pelo bem estar individual através de propostas de alinhadas a esse modelo.Na próxima seção, analisaremos como essa busca por bem estar individual se tornou um valor conservador para o PT.

e) Prenuncio Do Reformismoconservador Aceitavel

Conforme expomos na parte introdutória do presente trabalho, a difícil relação entre a conceituação de partidos de esquerda e suas posições de fato, estão diretamente ligadas ao momento político em que o capitalismo se expandiu de forma avassaladora, adquirindo novas formas e novos atores dentro desse contexto. Acreditamosque devido a isso, os partidos de esquerda em maior ou menor grau, tenderam a "afunilarem suas posições", buscando situar-se dentro do próprio sistema vigente e as vozes que propunham a ruptura com esse modelo, perderam força gradativamente. IstvánMészáros em "*Para além do Capital"* (2002, p.39), nos lembra de uma tendência bastante parecida, que foi desencadeada no inicio do século XX, a partir da abertura de mercados, na qual, os Partidos Social Democratas em toda Europa, mas mais em especial na Alemanha, propuseram reformar o capitalismo sem alterar sua essência.

Tendo visto a consideração feita sobre o conservadorismo, acreditamos que para fins de uma análise melhor guiada será necessário expressarmos nosso conceitopara essa categoria. Segundo Nisbet (1983), o conservadorismo se alicerça em modelos do passado em busca de "terrenos firmes" para dar os passos futuros. Tendo visto que os exemplos passados no Brasil nunca foram de luta pela justiça social, distribuição de renda como o grande orientador de políticas de governo, acreditamos que o conservadorismo brasileiro jamais se alicerçou junto às bandeiras revolucionárias. Para o professor Florestan Fernandes (*apud* CARVALHO, 2015, p.149), há um pacto conservador no Brasil no sentido de afastar as massas das esferas de influência política: "zerar a presença popular em todos os processos cívicos e políticos, de alguma magnitude, monopolizados pelas elites culturais [...] manter as rédeas presas para que a massa e trabalhadores sejam premente banidas do exercício do poder" (FERNANDES, 1986, p.44).

As eleições de 2002 contaram, em sua maioria, com chapas de vertentes de esquerda. O PCO fazia sua estreia em eleições presidenciais, lançando *Rui Costa Pimenta*como cabeça de chapa e Pedro Paulo de Abreu (PCO) como vice, obtendo 38,619, ou 0,04% dos votos válidos. José Maria do PSTU novamente era candidato, dessa vez junto a *Deyse de Oliveira* (PSTU), obtendo 402,333 votos, ou 0,47% dos votos válidos. Ciro Gomes novamente se candidatava pelo PPS, dessa vez junto ao PTB que lançava *Paulo Pereira*[19]a vice, conquistando 10.170.882 votos, ou 11,97% dos votos válidos. Outro partido de esquerda disputando as eleições era o PSB, que lanço *Anthony Garotinho*[20] como cabeça da chapa e *José Antônio Figueiredo* (PSB) como vice, obtendo juntos 15.180.097 votos, ou 17,86% dos votos válidos. As eleições de 2002 tiveram segundo turno, entre o segundo colocado do PSDB, *José Serra*[21] junto a*Rita Camata* (PMDB), que haviam obtido 19.705.445 votos, ou 23,19% dos votos – chapa de partidos considerados por Rodrigues (2002) como de centro – e o primeiro colocado, Lula do PT, junto a *José de Alencar*[22] (PL) – chapa mista entre esquerda e direita –, que obtiveram em primeiro turno 39.455.233 votos, ou 46,44% dos votos válidos.

Diniz (2006) defende que após as sucessivas derrotas nas eleições majoritárias para presidente, houverem importantes lutas internas dentro do partido dos trabalhadores. Algumas correntes começaram um processo de distanciamento em relação às teses socialistas de rompimentos radicais com a ordem, sob o argumento de medo de se tornar o "atraso da história": "desde 89, carecemos de verdadeira estratégia global, naquele sentido forte, substantivo, de um projeto alternativo coerente e de um caminho sócio-político definido para tentar viabilizá-lo" (DULCI *apud* DINIZ, 2006, p.7).

[16] Sublinhado nosso.
[17] Sublinhado nosso.
[18] Bobbio (1987, p.25) entende que hegemonia dentro da sociedade civil significa a totalidade dos valores burgueses como um imperativo à sociedade.
[19] Sindicalista ligado à Força Sindical, também conhecido como "Paulinho da Força".
[20] Ex-Prefeito de Campos dos Goytacazes (RJ).
[21] Ex-Deputado constituinte, Ministro do Planejamento e da Saúde.
[22] Conhecido grande Industrial brasileiro, Ex-Senador da República.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

As disputas internas do PT levaram a uma síntese não só ideológica, mas também programática, de mudança nos caminhos do partido:

> "a luta interna entre as diversas correntes foi, como foi ressaltado, o ano de 1995, quando a liderança Lula/ José Dirceu vence as eleições para a direção do partido, cabendo a Dirceu a presidência do PT, sendo Lula nomeado presidente de honra. Em síntese, como argumenta Palermo (2003:25), "(...) já por volta de fins dos anos 90, levando em conta a evolução programática de longo prazo do partido que se expressa em documentos, declarações e tomadas de posição de dirigentes destacados, registrava-se um progressivo distanciamento da temática socialista (o que pode ser exemplificado) pelo documento Um Outro Brasil é Possível, de junho de 2001" (PALERMO *apud* DINIZ, 2006, p.7).

As diretrizes apresentadas no documento de 2001, segundo um importante economista do PT, Aloisio Mercadante (2010), poderiam impulsionar um novo ciclo de desenvolvimentismo no Brasil. Dentre os princípios, chama a atenção a defesa do desenvolvimento por meio do consumo: "impulsionar a constituição de um amplo mercado de consumo de massa, que promovesse a inclusão de milhões de brasileiros, universalizasse as políticas sociais básicas e resolvesse o drama histórico da concentração de renda e riqueza" (Mercadante, 2010, p. 36).

Seguindo a mesma linha do documento "Um outro Brasil é possível", o PT se preparava para uma nova eleição, e Mercadante (2010) apresenta uma narrativa sobre uma transição programática que vinha sendo construída internamente na conjuntura política interna do partido, a partir da seguinte afirmação:

> Em 2002, em plena campanha presidencial, os analistas do PT refizeram sua análise de conjuntura e chegaram à conclusão de que a correlação de forças era desfavorável a uma ruptura, e anunciaram, por meio da "Carta ao povo brasileiro", a "necessária revisão tática" de abdicar da ruptura e assumir "o compromisso com uma transição progressiva e pactuada" (Mercadante, 2010, p. 37).

Lula e o PT, após serem derrotados em 1989, 1994 e 1998, decidiram reformular suas táticas de campanha. Antes mesmo do primeiro turno, o PT lançou uma nota, que ficou conhecida como *"carta ao povo brasileiro"*. Como mostra o Editorial do Jornal Estado de S.P, Lula e o PT procuraram mostrar uma face mais moderada, diferente das eleições anteriores, pois: "Na época, a divulgação das pesquisas apontavam o favoritismo de Lula eram acompanhadas por turbulências nos mercados de câmbios e ações. O panorama começou a mudar quando o petista lançou a carta ao povo brasileiro" (ESTADÃO, 2010, s.p). Segundo Aldé (2003), uma das estratégias da situação, representada pela candidatura de Jose Serra, foi culpar Lula pelo momento político, através da afirmação de que o candidato fazia oposição pela oposição. Inclusive, Fernando Henrique Cardoso aparece na Tv para falar dos riscos de eleger um candidato incompetente.

Frente ao contexto adverso e ao que poderia se tornar a quarta derrota do PT nas eleições, o partido afirma por meio do documento supracitado: "Parcelas significativas do empresariado vêm somar-se ao nosso projeto. Trata-se de uma vasta coalizão, em muitos aspectos suprapartidária, que busca abrir novos horizontes para o país" (PT, 2002, p.2). Nesse ponto, a carta propõem uma coalizão supraclasses, quefoi totalmente de encontro ao interesse de um empresariado que queria lucrar ainda mais e de uma sociedade que queria adquirir poder de compra: "A volta do crescimento é o único remédio para impedir que se perpetue um círculo vicioso entre metas de inflação baixas, juro alto, oscilação cambial brusca e aumento da dívida pública" (PT, 2002, p.4).

A carta além de se comprometer com a manutenção dos valores engendrados pela lógica de mercado se comprometeu também com o próprio mercado: "O desenvolvimento de nosso imenso mercado pode revitalizar e impulsionar o conjunto da economia, ampliando de forma decisiva o espaço da pequena e da microempresa, oferecendo ainda bases sólidas par ampliar as exportações" (PT, 2002, p.5).

Ao finalizar a carta, o PT sela a passividade quanto aos valores vigentes, sem se afastar totalmente de suas bandeiras de defesa do social, porém se contendo quanto aos termos "socialismo" e outros que pudessem versar sobre transformações radicais na sociedade, na economia e na política: "Mas, acima de tudo, vamos fazer um Compromisso pela Produção, pelo emprego e por justiça social [...] o Brasil precisa navegar no mar aberto do desenvolvimento econômico e social" (PT, 2002, p.5). E a partir dai foi assumido um compromisso de não-confronto com o mercado e com os bancos, fazendo com que a afirmação de Marx e Engels se torne ainda mais atual: "o governo moderno não é senão um comitê para gerir os negócios comuns de toda classe burguesa" (MARX; ENGELS, s/d, p.23).

Não demorou muito e a resposta da carta aos brasileiros, por parte do mercado e dos bancos veio:

> No "Valor Econômico" foi encontrada apenas uma matéria que trata da posição dos banqueiros em relação à carta em 2002, matéria essa posterior ao processo eleitoral. Essa matéria trata da nota emitida pela FEBRABAN após a eleição de Lula, na qual a entidade se pronuncia em "defesa do Brasil"; se prontifica "a colaborar com o governo em muitos de seus projetos, em especial na busca de soluções para o desenvolvimento sustentado"; e expõe o desejo de que Lula consiga governar sobre os princípios contidos na "Carta ao povo Brasileiro",

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

> com ênfase nas políticas fiscais, de inflação, e com respeito às instituições e aos contratos. (FEBRABAN *apud* DIAS, p.6, 2012).

Além da clara sinalização de aceitabilidade da ordem vigente que o PT já demonstrava aceitar, inclusive institucionalmente por meio de documentos emitidos por sua executiva nacional, o desgaste e a impopularidade do governo de Fernando Henrique Cardoso atingia altos níveis, como Carvalho apresenta:

> Foram de crises econômicas que geraram impactos sociais através do aumento de juros e redução do superávit, até diversos casos de corrupção. Alguns desses casos chamaram bastante a atenção da opinião pública, como as chamadas "farra do PROER" e os "grampos do BNDES", mas que não ganharam tanto destaque na mídia nacional. "A venda da empresa de telecomunicações e os acordos velados entre governo e mídia redefiniram a imagem do governo e do próprio presidente [...] resultaram no apoio ao governo e às suas políticas econômicas estampado nos principais jornais e revistas" (TAVARES, 2012 p.14). Além de apoio, a mídia por diversas vezes se mostrou omissa à prática da vinculação de notícias contrárias ao governo FHC. "Todas as denúncias de corrupção, do caso SIVAM à "pasta rosa", da compra de votos para reeleição ao caso do grampo no BNDES e ao dossiê das Ilhas Cayman, assim como surgiram, desapareceram, graças à ação do governo e a colaboração da mídia" (Lesbaupin, 1999, p.10-11). (CARVALHO, 2015, p.158).

Esses fatores conduziram cada vez mais para a mudança de grupos políticos no poder:

> a partir de meados de 2002, quando a campanha eleitoral se torna mais intensa, a insatisfação com o governo Fernando Henrique Cardoso já havia alcançado grande amplitude. A rejeição do candidato situacionista torna-se também crescentemente visível. A opinião pública vinculou suas expectativas de mais emprego e crescimento econômico à reformulação da política econômica, associando-a, por sua vez, a uma mudança de governo. Neste sentido, mudar o rumo, na percepção do eleitor, implicaria a mudança das elites no poder (DINIZ, 2006, p.9).

O resultado do discurso de conciliação promovido pela carta ao povo brasileiro foi a derrota da investida do governo de Fernando Henrique Cardoso contra a chapa de Lula. A chapa PSDB-PMDB que tinha José Serra e Rita Camata obtivera 33.370.739, ou 38,72% dos votos válidos. Enquanto a chapa que tinha Lula (PT) como cabeça de chave e o empresário – sintomaticamente – José de Alencar (PL) como vice, saiu vencedora com 52.793.364 votos, ou 61.27% dos votos válidos.

Não podemos negligenciar, porém, que nessa eleição houveram mais chapas de esquerda do que nunca, tendo PSTU, PCO, PSB, PPS e PT lançado candidatos e esse fato pode ter aglutinado votos para a chapa de esquerda – com o PT como cabeça – no segundo turno. Contudo, no plano da estrutura social, econômica e política, tudo indica que a aceitabilidade por parte do PT de se contentar com promessas de reformas com pouco impacto na ordem econômica e social, acabou por sacramentar sua chapa como "aceitável", desde que ela aceitasse o que lhe era imperativo, transformando sua candidatura em uma candidatura conservadora que aceitou as imposições da ordem vigente.

Esse processo deu inicio ao que Castelo (2012) chama de "nova fase do desenvolvimentismo brasileiro", que segundo o autor foi amplamente comemorada pelas classes dominantes, pelos claros sinais de incentivo ao adensamento do projeto capitalista de impulsão do consumo e promessa de manutenção do modelo econômico vigente – superávit primário, metas inflacionárias e câmbio flutuante. "o Brasil viveria uma etapa do desenvolvimento capitalista inédita por conjugar crescimento econômico e justiça social – o que inauguraria um original padrão de acumulação no país, o social-desenvolvimentismo" (CASTELO, 2012, p.615).

II. Conclusão

Em nossa análise não buscamos ressaltar se em maior ou menor medida o PT era um partido de esquerda, mas sim o mecanismo utilizado por ele para transitar do campo progressista para o campo reformista/conservador. E com isso não queremos dizer que o PT se tornou um partido de direita. Nossa intenção é apenas a de mostrar como a radicalização de um socialismo revolucionário stricto sensu e mesmo de uma reforma mais abrangente, se retiraram gradualmente das propostas do maior partido de esquerda do Brasil para que ele chegasse ao poder.

Não temos, porém, elementos para afirmar que o PT esvaziou seu conteúdo transformador para que obtivesse o poder, contudo – embora tenhamos apresentado elementos suficientes para mostrar sua busca pela aceitabilidade dos diversos setores da sociedade, mesmo contrariando seus princípios fundamentais – temos fatos que demonstram que a mudança de posições, que caminharam da esquerda para o centro através de claros sinais de abertura para diálogos interclassistas, contribuiu, em grande parte, com a aceitabilidade de um partido de esquerda no poder.

É de se notar que durante nossa análise não demos prioridade ao conteúdo reformador explícito, que poderiam revelar atores que contribuíram com as propostas de reformas. Entretanto, buscamos solidificar

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

uma perspectiva implícita estrutural que buscou demonstrar que a alteração de valores do PT, ou o arrefecimento de algo que poderia ser radicalizado após chegar ao poder, em muito se deve a uma sociedade baseada em valores que não aceitam modificações estruturais, e recebe reformas com suspeição.

Concluímos que esse reformismo, em certa medida amistoso, proposto pelo PT na carta ao povo brasileiro, demonstrou que a zona que separa o pleiteante do poder exige concessões. Dessa forma, o reformismo proposto é um mecanismo de não abandono completo das propostas de busca por justiça social, no entanto, é a renúncia de qualquer possibilidade de mudanças estruturais, seja nos valores, na ordem ou na própria estrutura de dominação.

References Références Referencias

1. ALDÉ, A. As eleições presidenciais de 2002 nos jornais. *Alceu,* v.3. n.6. p. 93-121. 2003.
2. BARROS; HENRIQUES; MENDONÇA. Desigualdade e pobreza no Brasil: retrato de uma estabilidade inaceitável. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, Vol. 15 no 42 fevereiro/2000.
3. BOBBIO, Norberto. *Estado, Governo e Sociedade:* por uma teoria geral da política. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987.
4. _____. *Direita e Esquerda:* razões e significados de uma distinção política. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 1995.
5. BOITO, Armando Jr. As relações de classe na nova fase do neoliberalismo no Brasil In: *Sujetossociales y nuevas formas de protesta.* Buenos Aires: CLACSO, julio 2006.
6. BRAGA, Ruy. *Para onde vai o precariado brasileiro?* Sindicalismo e hegemonia no Brasil contemporâneo. São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, Nº 10, Ano 7, 2013.
7. BRAMATTI, Daniel. 'Carta aos brasileiros' em 2002 mostrou face moderada. *Estado de São Paulo.* Acessado em: <http://www.estadao.com.-br/noticias/geral,carta-aos-brasileiros-em-2002-mostrou-face-moderada, 506720>. Acessado em: 23/04/2016.
8. CASTELO, Rodrigo. O novo desenvolvimentismo e a decadência ideológica do pensamento econômico brasileiro. *Serv. Soc. Soc.,* São Paulo, n. 112, p. 613-636, out./dez. 2012.
9. DEDECCA, Claudio.Notas sobre a evolução do mercado de trabalho no Brasil. *Revista de Economia Política,* Vol. 25, N° 1, 2005.
10. DIAS, Rodolfo P. Carta ao povo brasileiro: recepção dos banqueiros à entrada do PT no poder. Campinas: *VII Colóquio Internacional Marx Engels,* 2012.
11. DINIZ, Eli. Empresários e Governo Lula: percepções e ação política entre 2002 e 2006. *V Workshop Empresas, Empresários e Sociedade.* Porto Alegre, 2 a 5 de maio de 2006.
12. ENGELS, F. *A origem da família, da propriedade privada e do Estado.* Rio de Janeiro, Editora Civilização brasileira, 1984.
13. FERNANDES, Florestan. Que tipo de República? In: CARVALHO, Guilherme. A Poliarquia brasileira: da aliança entre mídia e governos à liberdade de oposição social organizada durante os governos Collor e FHC. *Revista Convergência Crítica*, v1, n°7, dezembro/2015.
14. GIDDENS, Anthony. *Para além da esquerda e da direita:* o futuro da política radical.São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 1996.
15. CARVALHO, Guilherme. A Poliarquia brasileira: da aliança entre mídia e governos à liberdade de oposição social organizada durante os governos Collor e FHC. *Revista Convergência Crítica*, v1, n°7, dezembro/2015.
16. KLINGEMANN, H-D.; VOLKENS, A.; BARA, J. & BUDGE, I. (eds.). *Mapping Policy Preferences II:* Estimates for parties, electors, andgovernments in Eastern Europe, European Union and OECD 1990-2003. Oxford: Oxford University, 2006.
17. LOPES, Walson. O PT na década de 90: construindo um programa neonacional-desenvolvimentista. *Lutas Sociais,* São Paulo, vol.18 n.33, p.23-34, jul./dez. 2014.
18. MARX, K; ENGELS, F. Manifesto do Partido Comunista. In: MARX, K. e F. Engels. *Obras Escolhidas* - Volume 1. São Paulo : Alfa-Omega, s/d., p. 13- 47.
19. _____. *Manifesto do Partido Comunista.* Porto Alegre: L&PM, 2001.
20. MERCADANTE, Aloizio. *Brasil:* a construção retomada. São Paulo: Terceiro Nome, 2010.
21. MESQUITA, Daniel L; OLIVEIRA, Elias R. *As Reformas Liberais da Década de 90: as Políticas da "Terceira Via" e o Novo Ambiente Institucional no Setor Sucroalcooleiro Brasileiro.* Rio de Janeiro: XXXII ANPAD, 2008.
22. MÉSZÁROS, István. *Para além do Capital:* rumo a uma teoria da transição. São Paulo: Boitempo editorial, 2002.
23. MOREIRA, Filipa R. O consumo e o crédito na sociedade contemporânea. *Gestão e Desenvolvimento,* n°19, p. 91-114, 2011.
24. NISBET, Robert. *O Conservadorismo.* Lisboa: editorial Estampa, 1987.
25. TRABALHADORES, Partido. *Carta de Princípios.* A Comissão Nacional Provisória, 1º de Maio de 1979.
26. _____. *Bases doPrograma de Governo.* São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 1994.
27. _____. *Carta Compromisso.* São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 1998.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

28. _____. *Carta ao povo brasileiro.* São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2002.
29. RENAULT, David. A construção da imagem de FHC na mídia impressa (1993 – 1994). *Comunicação e Espaço Público,* Ano XI, nº 1 e 2, 2008.
30. REZENDE, Claudinei C. Retomar Marx para compreender o fracasso da esquerda brasileira. *Revista eletrônica arma crítica*, n°5, agosto de 2014.
31. RODRIGUES, L. M. *Partidos, ideologia e composição social:* um estudo das bancadas partidárias na Câmara dos Deputados. São Paulo: Editora USP, 2002.
32. SINGER, P. "A raiz do desastre social: a política econômica de FHC". In: LESBAUPIN, I. (org.). *O Desmonte da Nação: balanço do governo FHC.* Petrópolis - RJ, Vozes, 1999.
33. TROTSKY, Leon. *A revolução permanente.* São Paulo: Editora Kairós, 1985.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Sustainability Analysis of Nigeria's Foreign Debt Profile and Management Strategies

By David M.E. Nwogbaga & Onwa, Doris O
Ebonyi State University

Abstract- Over the years, Nigeria has faced series of development challenges despite the fact that the governments have constantly accessed credit facilities for national development. This contradiction became a source of worry for scholars, journalists, and commentators who began to question the management of the country's foreign debt. The debate became more critical and controversial when Nigeria in attempt to wriggle itself out of the foreign debt burden negotiated "Debt Relief" with the major external creditors. While some individuals share the view that the negotiated debt relief actually relieved Nigeria from its financial burden; others contended that the purported "Debt Relief" more or less worsened Nigeria's indebtedness to the creditors because the conditions like previous ones associated with the debt management strategies were more exploitative than palliative. Although attempts have been made to examine the country's debt management strategies by investigating the trends in Nigeria's debt profile, adequate research-based attention has not been given to the extent which the "Debt Relief" is effective and sustainable.

Keywords: sustainability, foreign debt, debt profile, management strategies.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699p

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. David M.E. Nwogbaga & Onwa, Doris O. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Sustainability Analysis of Nigeria's Foreign Debt Profile and Management Strategies

David M.E. Nwogbaga [α] & Onwa, Doris O. [σ]

Abstract- Over the years, Nigeria has faced series of development challenges despite the fact that the governments have constantly accessed credit facilities for national development. This contradiction became a source of worry for scholars, journalists, and commentators who began to question the management of the country's foreign debt. The debate became more critical and controversial when Nigeria in attempt to wriggle itself out of the foreign debt burden negotiated "Debt Relief" with the major external creditors. While some individuals share the view that the negotiated debt relief actually relieved Nigeria from its financial burden; others contended that the purported "Debt Relief" more or less worsened Nigeria's indebtedness to the creditors because the conditions like previous ones associated with the debt management strategies were more exploitative than palliative. Although attempts have been made to examine the country's debt management strategies by investigating the trends in Nigeria's debt profile, adequate research-based attention has not been given to the extent which the "Debt Relief" is effective and sustainable. Consequently, this paper is tailored towards addressing the questions: How effective were the debt management strategies adopted by the Nigerian government in addressing debt crisis? Has the debt relief granted to Nigeria in 2006 actually relieved the country from the debt burden? How sustainable is the debt relief? This study is therefore meant to analyse Nigeria's foreign debt management and the challenges of sustainability. In the light of the dependency theory and time-series analysis, it is argued that Nigeria only enjoyed temporary relief from the debt crisis because the management strategies adopted so far were not effective as to ensure sustainability.

Keywords: sustainability, foreign debt, debt profile, management strategies.

I. Methodology

The study applied the documentary research design. In essence, the data used in the study were generated from existing documents and analysed through the aid and techniques of content analysis, time-series analysis, and descriptive statistical tools.

II. Introduction

In the wake of granting independence to African countries from late 1950s, each new government had struggled to engage in meaningful sustainable national development; but the countries experienced severe savings gap and shortage of funds to implement their development plans (Onuoha, 2008). Given that the governments of these African countries had no adequate internal sources of fund to promote the various national development plans, they resorted to the temptation of external borrowing. Although a country like Nigeria as at independence owned N82.4 million, it had enormous development needs to attain (Onuoha, 2008). As a result, it was compelled to augment the meagre revenue by borrowing from internal and external sources like other countries. But instead of enhancing national development, the stringent conditions and circumstances associated with the credit facilitiesare said to have stunted the development essence and made it very difficult for Nigeria to fully explore the benefits expected from the loans taken at various times by different governments (Eke, 2009). This study is therefore a foray into Nigeria's debt history with a view to understanding how the country got entangled in debt crisis as well as the effectiveness and sustainability of the strategies adopted in managing the debt crisis.

a) Framework of Analysis: Dependency Theory

The dependency theory postulates that the definition, pursuit and realisation of national interests in any state are functions of economic variables (Offiong, 1980; Robertson, 1984; Karen, 1999; Rourke and Boyer, 2002). States therefore strive to amass sustainable economic resources through such economic strategies as imperialism which eventually creates closely-knit dependency relations such that the interests of the exploited state are subject to the whims and caprices of the exploiter state (Robertson, 1984). This condition of economic dependency is created through (a) the concentration of capital which results in centralisation of capital in the international system as in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank; (b) expansion and vitalisation of capital by confiscating or seizing indispensable raw materials like oil mineral deposits (c) investment banks which impose infinite number of financial ties of dependence upon all the economic and political institutions of the dependants, including non-financial capital as in the IMF loaning conditions; and (d) exploitative imperial (colonial and neo-colonial) foreign policies (Offiong, 1980). The situation results in technological dependence, financial dependence, and trade dependence on the west which consequently determine their foreign policy decisions. The dependency theory as applied in this study therefore

Author α σ: PhD, Department of Political Science, Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki. e-mails: dnwogbaga504@gmail.com, onwadoris@yahoo.com

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

explained how the conditions and circumstances associated with foreign credit facilities are said to have stunted their development essence.

III. Historical Analysis of Nigeria's External Debt Profile, 1970-1999

The history of Nigeria's debt is traceable to the late 1970s and early 1980s when the country borrowed the estimated sum of $1 billion only, at a non-concessional interest rate of 3%-4% from the London Inter-Bank Offered Rate (LIBOR) (Onuoha, 2008). From this time, the government of Nigeria kept borrowing for national development from both internal and external sources like Federal Government bonds, treasury bills, and treasury bonds; as well as multilateral financial institutions (e.g. World Bank and the International Monetary Fund - IMF), Paris Club, London Club, and through promissory notes. From 1970 to 1999, the loans from the various sources identified are summarised and presented in table 1:

Table 1 : Nigeria's External Debt Profile, 1970-1999

Year	Foreign Debt *($m)*	Percentage Variation
1970	175.0	
1971	178.5	2%
1972	265.6	48.8%
1973	276.9	4.25%
1974	322.4	16.43%
1975	349.9	8.53%
1976	374.6	7.06%
1977	365.1	2.54%
1978	1,252.1	242.95%
1979	1,611.5	28.70%
1980	1,866.8	15.84%
1981	2,331.2	24.88%
1982	8,819.4	278.32%
1983	10,577.7	19.94%
1984	14,808.7	40.99%
1985	17,300.6	16.83%
1986	41,452.4	139.60%
1987	100,789.1	143.14%
1988	133,956.3	32.91%
1989	240,343.7	79.42%
1990	298,614.4	24.25%
1991	328,453.8	10.93%
1992	544,264.1	65.71%
1993	633,144.4	16.33%
1994	648,813.0	2.47%
1995	716,865.6	10.58%
1996	617,320.0	13.89%
1997	595,931.9	3.47%
1998	633,017.0	6.22%
1999	2,577,374.4	307.16%

Source: (Enebeli-Uzor, 2012; The Guardian, 28 April, 2004; [percentage calculation: mine])

Meanwhile, Nigeria's external debt profile for a period of 29 years (1970-1999) maintained a geometric progression from about $1 billion in 1970 to $9 billion in 1980, roughly shot up to about $18.5 billion in 1985, and skyrocketed to $34.1 billion in 1995. This shows a shocking long history of loans which eventually trapped Nigeria in a complex web of debt crisis that the country found very difficult to wriggle itself out and transited into the new millennium. The percentages of the foreign debt variations for the various years are presented in the graph below to show the trend:

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

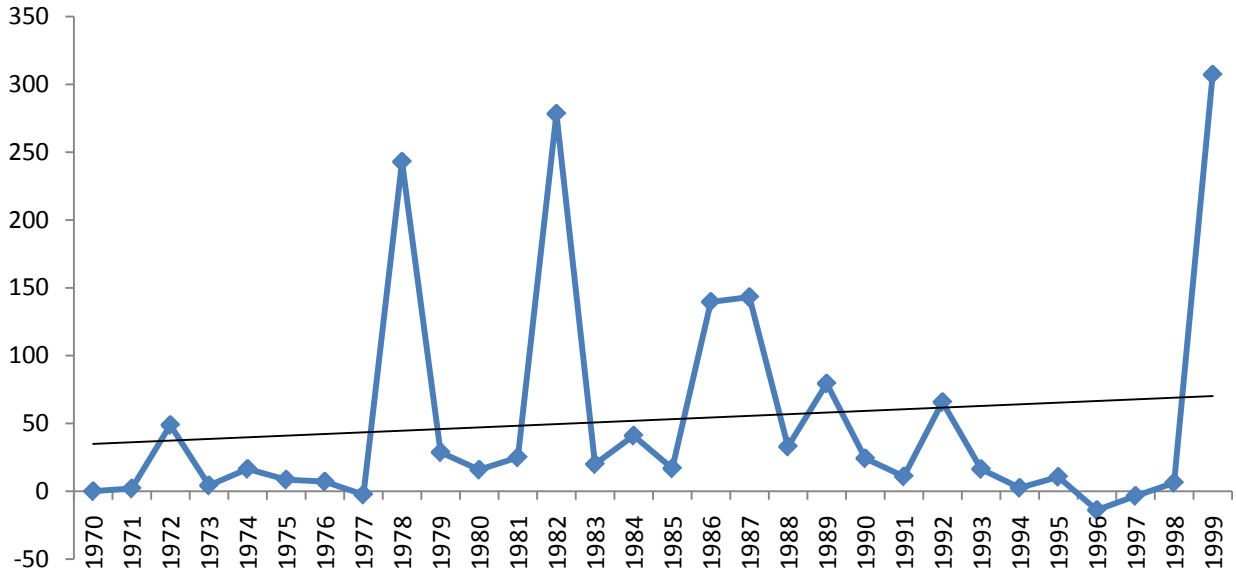


Figure 1 : Nigeria's Foreign Debt Percentage Variations, 1970-1999

The graph above indicated that as at 1999, Nigeria's foreign debt profile maintained worrisome increasing trend. The variables which combined to bring the external debt to the stated level of the increasing trend included both internal and external factors as identified by the Central Bank of Nigeria (1992). The internal factors which border mainly on inappropriate policy measures taken by the government to manage the debt include:

- Pre-SAP maintenance of overvalued exchange rate for government's import substitution industrialisation strategy;
- Pre-SAP exchange control measures;
- Pre-SAP inappropriate pricing of agricultural products;
- Inadequate incentive framework for Direct Foreign Investment;
- Inflation.

On the other hand, developments in the Oil Market, instability in commodity prices, adverse terms of trade, rising international real interest rates, and fluctuations in the value of key currencies resulted in the following external factors blamed for the debt burden:

- Borrowing from the multilateral and bilateral institutions;
- Rapid accumulation of trade arrears;
- Default in the repayment of loans;
- Capitalisation of unpaid interests;
- Depreciation of the US dollars against which other major international currencies in which the loans were contracted.

a) *Effects of the Geometric Rise in Nigeria's Debt and Government's Policy Control Measures*

The geometric rise in Nigeria's debt as a result of the identified factors above, manifested in (a) low external reserves; (b) deficit in government finances; (c) deficit in balance of payment; and (d) geometric mounting of the external debt.

The magnitude and severity of the debt problem was further demonstrated by the Central Bank of Nigeria (1992) by extrapolating the debt with *export ratio, GDP ratio,* as well as measured the debt burden in relation to *debt service*. While the export ratio moved from 13.3% in 1980, 404.2% in 1986, 341% in 1987 and 241.5% in 1991; the GDP ratios were 3.8% in 1980, rose to 20.5% in 1983, 62.3% in 1986, and 350.1% in 1991; whereas the ratios of the debt burden in relation to debt service were 0.7% in 1980, 28.1% in 1985, and 25.8% in 1991 (CBN, 1996).Relying on the ratio of the GDP to the debt, the Central Bank of Nigeria (1992) concluded that apart from interest payments, the country would need 3 years Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to pay off the principal debt. But this option was difficult because it would imply starving Nigeria for the 3 years or taking more loans to pay the debt.

Consequently, the government initiated firm and definite measures to wriggle the country out of the financial burden and curtail the rising trend in the debt ladder; hence, the following measures were undertaken:

- Embargo on new loans;
- Directives to state governments to minimize their external borrowings;
- Adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme;
- Seeking the active supports of the International Financial Communities particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF); and

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

- Initiation of Debt Relief Strategies through refinancing, restructuring, and rescheduling;

Apart from the Debt Relief Strategies, the other four measures were more or less options to circumvent further loans. Thus, the major concern was how the debt relief strategies of refinancing, restructuring, and rescheduling actually impacted on the debt burden in the 1980s and 1990s.

b) Analysis of Nigeria's Debt Relief Strategies in the 1980s and 1990s

The Nigeria authorities adopted three major strategies of *refinancing*, *restructuring*, and *rescheduling* to manage the country's debt in the 1980s and 1990s. These strategies were designed to (a) ameliorate the debt burden; and, (b) stimulate sustainable growth in the economy. Eventually, the debt relief options had varying effects on the nation's financial profile.

c) Refinancing of Short-Term Trade Arrears

Sequel to the economic difficulties that faced Nigeria in the early 1980s, the country was unable to pay for its imports; as such, the arrears of trade debt were accumulated (CBN, 1996). Consequently, the foreign creditors refused to open new lines of credit. In order to arrest this challenge, the government deemed it vital to seek debt relief through refinancing the trade arrears. The strategy of refinancing specifically meant "borrowing to pay debt owed". In other words, the government had to borrow again to pay the trade arrears owed. A total of US$2,112 million worth of letters of credit was refinanced. The first refinancing exercise included (a) repayment period of 30 months (January 1984-July 1986) with a grace period of six months; and (b) Fixed interest rates that did not fluctuate with the international market dynamics (CBN, 1991).

But despite all these efforts, the trade arrears continued to rise thereby further increasing the level of the country's indebtedness (CBN, 1996). As a result, the government was compelled to intensify efforts to secure more debt relief. Hence, government decided to refinance the remaining trade arrears especially those contracted through open accounts and bills for collection by issuing promissory notes to cover them (CBN, 1991). The terms of the promissory note agreement included:

- The payment of interest at the rates of 1% above the arithmetic average of the lending rates quoted by some major international banks in New York, London, and Paris;
- Maturity period of 6 years and a grace period of 30 months;
- Redemption of the notes in 14 equal quarterly instalments from 1986 (CBN, 1991).

However, as a result of the difficulty in servicing the debts under these terms, the agreement was renegotiated; this led to the stretching of the payment period over 22 years with an effective rate of return of 5% per annum. Invariably, the total value of promissory notes issued amounted to US$4.8billion. Given that the refinancing option could not adequately arrest the rising debt crisis situation and was not suitable for other forms of debt, the government also explored alternative strategies like debt restructuring.

d) Restructuring of Commercial Banks' Debt (London Club Debts)

After the refinancing exercise of 1983, Nigeria incurred Commercial Bank Debts in arrears through the medium of Letters of Credit to the tune of US$5.8 billion (CBN, 1996). The debts were mainly incurred from the London Club. Consequently, debt relief negotiations were initiated with the London Club in 1986 and the agreement to restructure the debt was signed on 23 November 1987 (CBN, 1996). In the agreement, the sum of US$2.8 billion out of US$5.8 billion was refinanced while the sum of US$3 billion of Medium and Long Term Components of the debt was restructured (CBN, 1996). The terms of the restructuring agreement were:

- Interest rate of 1.25% per annum above the London Inter-Bank Offered Rate (LIBOR);
- Repayment period of over 5 years;
- The Banks were to provide new money of US$320 million;
- Nigeria was required to pay US$1.345 billion per annum;

Similar to the experience under the refinancing strategy, the *high debt service obligation* made it impossible for Nigeria to meet its commitment and consequently it defaulted. In turn, the Banks did not provide new money. This necessitated a new round of renegotiation of the agreement with the London Club. The new agreement was titled the "Refinancing and Restructuring Amendment Agreement". It contained options designed to provide the country *debt service relief.* The options included:

- Longer terms of repayment;
- Conversion of repayable debt into "interest-bearing naira denominated securities with a coupon rate of 13.25% per annum;
- Maturity period of 18 months; and
- Interest rate that varied from zero per cent per annum for payable debt to LIBOR plus a margin of 0.875% per annum for a medium/long term debts (CBN, 1996).

Under the 1987 agreement, the terms had the effect of reducing payments to the Club from US$1.345 billion to US$711 million (CBN, 1996). But despite this cash-flow situation, the country could not absorb such a high debt service rate as provided under the 1989

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

amendment agreement. Hence, the major challenge shifted efforts from attempts towards repaying the debts, to attempts towards reducing the high debt service obligations as a way of constraining further geometric accumulation.

Meanwhile, Nigeria approached the Bank in March 1990 with a request for the entire debt to be restructured. This proposal was meant to achieve an effective debt service reduction. As a result, Nigeria lobbied for the conversion of all the Commercial Banks' Debt into a 30-year bond with a grace period of 10 years and at an interest rate of 3% per annum. This proposal was however, not acceptable to the creditors; the Banks therefore made counter proposal which suggested (a) debt buyback, (b) issuance of Par Bonds with principal and interest collateralized, and (c) traditional rescheduling.

Nigeria's proposal and the Bank's counter proposal led to an intensive and protracted negotiations which lasted for 1 year. On 1st March 1991, an agreement in principle was reached with the following highlights:

- Conversion of the debts into a single currency denominations (that is, US Dollar);
- Issuance of 30 year Par Bonds with principal amounts fully collateralised with US Treasury Zero Coupon or equivalent US obligation and interest amount for 1 year also collateralised;
- Fixed interest rate of *6.25%* per annum on the Par Bonds;
- Traditional rescheduling with interest rate of LIBOR plus 0.8125% and repayment period of 20 years (10 years grace period and 10 years repayment period);
- Banks favouring the traditional option were required to provide new money to the tune of 10% of the amount so committed;
- Interest on the new money to be LIBOR plus 1% per annum (CBN, 1991).

It was however disappointing that the implementation of the agreement ran into a hitch when Nigeria offered to collateralise the Par Bonds with the "Resolution Funding Corporation Zero Coupon Bonds (REFCORP BONDS) instead of the US Treasury Zero Coupons. The argument was that the agreement provided for an alternative which would be equivalent to a US Treasury obligation. In this light, Nigeria firmly maintained that REFCORP Bonds were equivalent to US Treasury Coupons. The Banks' rejection of the collateral led to a stalemate that later culminated in the two parties starting another round of negotiation. Consequently, the terms of the agreement were revised and featured the following highlights:

- Principal amounts to be collateralised with US Treasury Zero Coupons Bonds;
- Interest rate was fixed at 5.5% per annum thereafter;
- Banks that elected the traditional rescheduling were required to provide 20% of the amount so committed to the option (CBN, 1991).

When the agreement was completed on 21st January 1992, Nigeria bought back 62% of the debt and issued collateralised Par Bonds for the remaining 38% (CBN, 1996). Through this option, Nigeria was able to achieve some debt and debt service reduction. This reduction significantly resulted from some shifts in the terms of the renegotiated agreement from the previous one. Although the question of an alternative considered equivalent to US obligation was excluded; the fixed interest rate Par Bond was reduced from 6.25% to 5.5% with a difference of 0.75%; while the percentage amount of new money to be provided by the Banks that elected the traditional rescheduling options was increased by 10% (CBN, 1996). Invariably, the renegotiation had some payoff in favour of Nigeria.

e) Rescheduling of Debts owed to the Paris Club

The rescheduling strategy was mainly adopted to secure relief from debt crisis that arose from the Paris Club. Nigeria's first agreement with the Paris Club was in December 1986; followed by the second agreement in March 1989, and the third in January 1991. The 1986 and 1989 agreements provided for rescheduling under *conventional or traditional terms with market related interest rates*. But the 1991 agreement provided for rescheduling on terms applicable to the medium income heavily indebted countries of the low category. In essence, Nigeria was grouped along with Congo, Morocco, Honduras and El-Salvador, which had earlier been accorded a similar treatment by the Paris Club. The debt rescheduled under the 1991 was US$3.2 billion (CBN, 1996). At the end of December 1991, Paris Club Debt of US$17.793 million constituted about 53.6% of Nigeria's total debt (CBN, 1996). Consequently, its debt service obligations resulted in substantial net outflow of foreign exchange.

The Paris Club debt was therefore considered the most significant overhang which needed to be adequately addressed in order to accelerate the much-needed economic growth. Although the Paris Club made other rescheduling terms available (e.g. Toronto terms, Trinidad terms, Poland/Egypt terms, and Benin/Nicaragua Initiatives) which were designed to provide the beneficiary debtor countries with "debt and debt service reduction", none was granted to Nigeria in the 1980s and 1990s (despite her efforts to secure such concessions). It was presumed that the Paris Club had not deemed it financially worthwhile to grant such concessions to Nigeria because of the exaggerated notion of the country's wealth and resources.

In a sense, the debt management options Nigeria had obtained from the Paris Club had only

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

provided very temporary relief and had not resulted in any way, in the reduction of the "net present value of the debt". Most of the debt relief packages granted to Nigeria by the Paris Club were always structured to accommodate and apply only to the "maturities" falling due within a consolidation period of about 15 months and not the entire debt stock (CBN, 1996). Hence, the management of the Paris Club debt seemed to have been the most complex and complicated given that the several agreements could run concurrently.

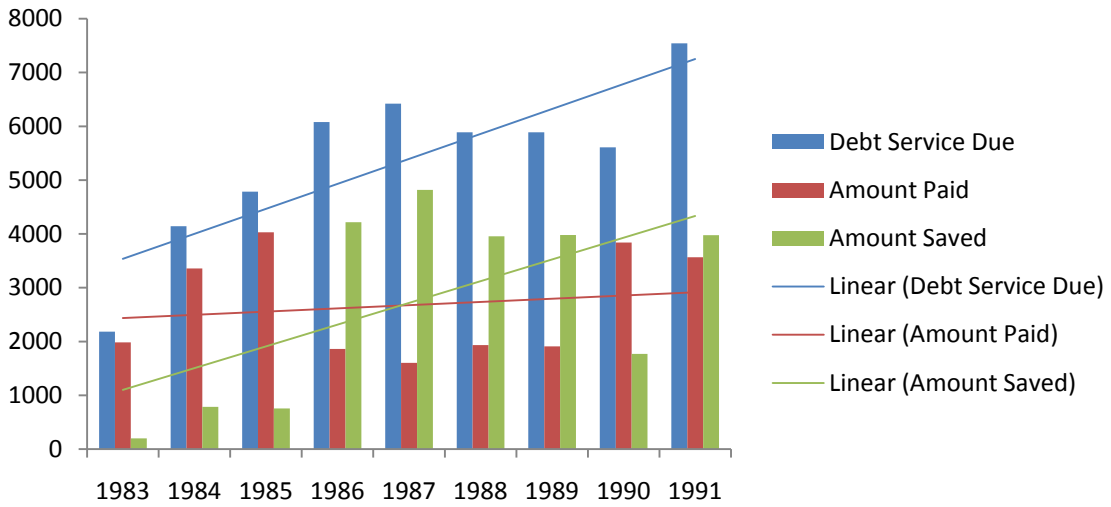
f) Effects of the Debt Management Strategies on Nigeria's External Debt Stock and Debt Services

The debt management strategies applied had the following effects on Nigeria's foreign debt:

- Refinancing and restructuring of Nigeria's debt between 1987 and 1991 attracted the payment of US$1,918.6 million to Paris Club. The payment arose from payable debt repayment; and interest payments on refinanced letters of credit and restructured debts;
- Due to exchange rate variations between 1987 to 1991, the stock of the debt rose from US$5.86 billion to over US$5.98; while the promissory notes increased from US$4.8 billion to US$4.497 billion;
- The Debt Conversion programme led to the redemption of US$32.5 million at the end of 1991. However, it constitutes almost an insignificant proportion of the total debt stock;
- The most significant positive impact of the debt management strategies is recorded in the debt service reliefs offered through rescheduling (CBN, 1991). This is reflected in table 2:

Table 2 : Nigeria's Debt Service Obligation Profile, 1983-1991

Year	Debt Service Obligation Due (US$ million)	Debt Service Paid Due to Rescheduling (US$ million)	Amount Saved (US$ million)
1983	2,184	1,984	200
1984	4,143	3,359	784
1985	4,784	4,029	755
1986	6,079	1,862	4,217
1987	6,420	1,602	4,818
1988	5,889	1,933	3,956
1989	5,889	1,909	3,980
1990	5,610	3,839	1,771
1991	7,542	3,565	3,977
Total	48,540	24,082	24,458



Source: Central Bank of Nigeria (1991)

Figure 2 : Nigeria's Debt Service Obligations Profile, 1983-1991

The data on the debt service obligation profile indicated that with the rescheduling, Nigeria paid only US$24,082 million which is 49.6% of US$48,540 it was supposed to pay; while the sum of US$24,458 million representing 50.4% was averted and saved because of the rescheduling. Besides the debt service relief and reduction in the rise of debt, there was also decline in the debt service ratio to the tune of 13.7% and 25.8% in

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

the period from 1986 to 1991 compared with a range of 54.6% and 81.3% if rescheduling had not been undertaken (CBN, 1996).

In all, although there were records of temporary reliefs between 1987 and 1991 mainly through refinancing, restructuring, and rescheduling, the total debt overhang hardly reduced significantly. Hence, even with the debt service relief and reduction which led to significant savings from 1983 to 1991 as presented in table 2, the total debt overhang kept on increasing though at reduced percentage rates. This was mainly due to the compounding of the principal and the interests in the consolidation period. Meanwhile, the debt crisis which continued to rise into the 21st century needs to be properly analysed to understand the trend of the debt profile and the effects of the debt relief that was eventually granted.

g) Nigeria's Debt Profile in the 21st Century, 2000-2014

Nigeria's debt profile which lingered from the 20th century continued to rise in the new millennium until 2004. In 2005, the negotiations for the foreign debt relief was eventually granted, leading to the significant drop in the total debt in 2006 as presented in table 3:

Table 3 : Nigeria's Debt Profile, 2000-2014

Year	Domestic Debt ($bn)	Foreign Debt ($bn)	Total
2000	13.65	28.3	41.95
2001	15.45	28.3	43.75
2002	17.25	29.8	47.05
2003	19.67	32.97	52.64
2004	23.68	35.94	59.62
2005	14.53	20.47	35.00
2006	13.8	3.54	17.34
2007	18.65	3.65	22.3
2008	17.67	3.72	21.39
2009	22.18	3.62	25.8
2010	35.52	4.58	40.1
2011	37.3	5.67	42.70
2012	41.97	6.53	48.5
2013	43.5	8.82	52.32
2014	48.00	15.51	63.51

Sources: The Guardian, Feb. 23, 2004, p.17; The Guardian April 28, 2004; p.; Onwuamaeze (2012); Debt Management Office(2012); Eke, A.O. (2009); Debt Management Office, (2014)

The debt profile in the 21st Century (2000-2014) is further presented in figure 3.

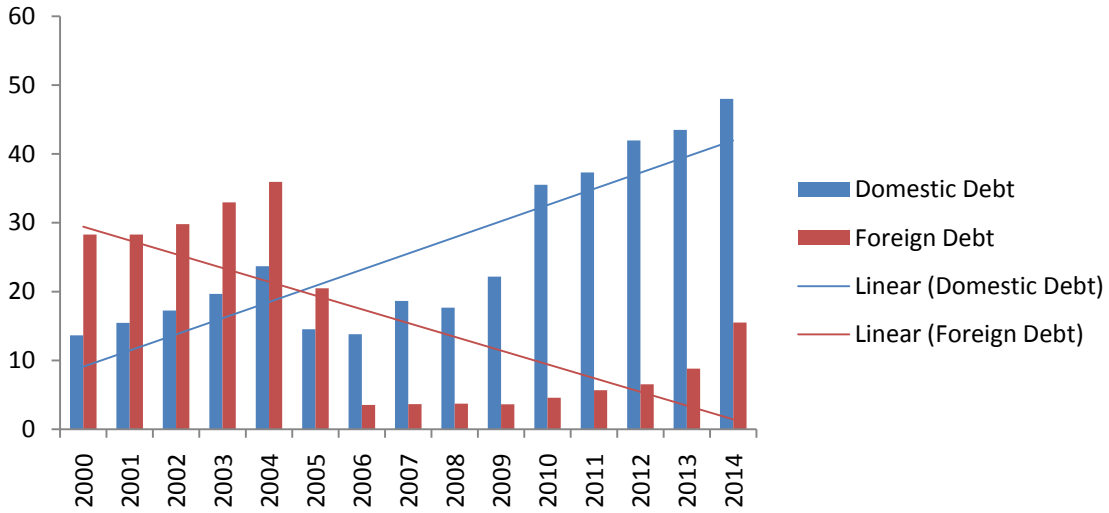


Figure 3 : Nigeria's Debt Profile, 2000-2014

The data presented indicated that from 2000 to 2005, foreign debt always exceeded domestic debt; but from 2006 (after the debt relief) to2014, domestic debt always exceeded foreign debt. This fact probably explained why the then Coordinating Minister of the Economy and Minister of Finance at the time, Okonjo-Iweala (2014), had not hidden her preference for foreign loans over domestic borrowings. Although she had championed attempts to exit the country from the Paris Club of Creditors during her first tenure as Finance

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Minister, Okonjo-Iweala (2014) had insisted that the ballooning domestic debt was not healthy for the economy. Nonetheless, the trends on both the domestic and foreign debt remained consistently on the increase with slight occasional but insignificant variation downwards. After the reduction in foreign debt from $20.47bn in 2005 to $3.54bn in 2006, there was some degree of financial debt stability in 2007 ($3.65bn), 2008 ($3.72bn), and 2009 ($3.62bn) though with fluctuations of $0.07bn (1.92%) increase between 2007 and 2008; while between 2008 and 2009, there was $0.1bn (2.69%) decrease. But from the following year, 2010, the foreign debt profile began to rise again (Yelwa, 2010). The domestic debt which had dropped from $23.68bn in 2004 to $14.53bn in 2005 and $13.8bn in 2006 began to shoot up again in 2007 ($18.65bn), decreased in 2008 ($17.67bn), rose to $22.18bn in 2009, $35.52bn in 2010, $37.3bn in 2011, and $41.97bn in 2012, $43.5bn in 2013, and $58.02bn in 2014 at the rates of $4.85bn (35.15%); $0.98bn (5.25%) decrease; $4.51bn(25.52%) increase in 2009; $13.34bn (60.14%) increase in 2010; $1.78bn (5.01%) in 2011; and $4.67bn (12.52%) in 2012; $2.29bn (35.07%) in 2013 and even $4.5bn (10.34%) in 2014. In all, the total debt has kept on rising as shown in figure 4:

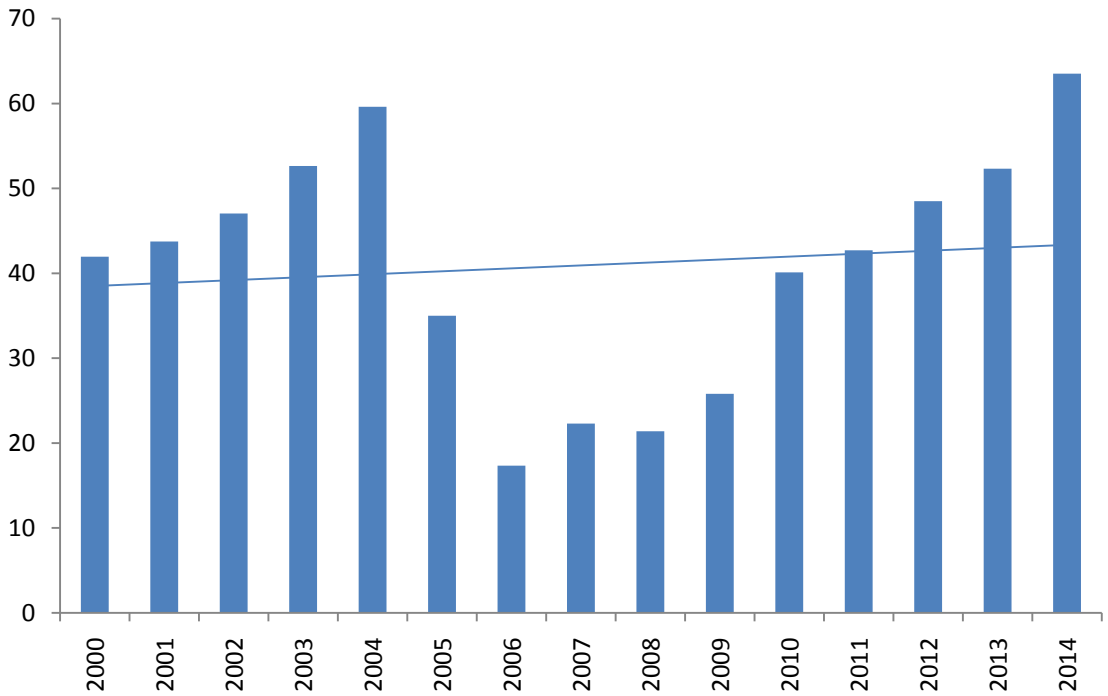


Figure 4 : Nigeria's Total Debt Profile, 2000-2014

The data in figure 4 showed that after reduction in Nigeria's debt in 2006 because of the debt relief, the debt profile still increased in 2007, decreased a little in 2008, and maintained a consistent increasing trend from 2009 to 2014 and even exceeded the earlier peak observed in 2004 (Abioye and Onuba, 2014).

It is even more pathetic that the problems arising from national debt of the Federal Government is compounded by the debts of the various state governments and the Federal Capital Territory. This submission is observed in table 4 containing debt statistics on States and Federal Government's External Debt Stock from 2007 to 2014.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Table 4: States and Federal Governments' External Debt Stock 2007-2014

STATES	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Abia	20,371,009.91	25,893,422.00	27,857,950.05	29,120,883.47	33,264,962.44	35,911,270.54	34,180,112.33	33,791,420.92
Adamawa	19,655,860.75	21,206,254.66	24,499,442.93	27,775,651.15	29,107,494.51	30,255,908.22	30,556,441.13	46,775,205.57
Akwa Ibom	60,059,019.31	60,364,679.74	58,742,126.55	61,581,054.86	62,648,075.21	61,664,855.43	61,841,809.85	58,886,640.86
Anambra	15,192,742.50	18,892,185.82	17,313,839.34	21,304,916.77	24,446,469.98	26,708,648.57	30,323,574.40	45,154,626.04
Bauchi	69,105,544.56	73,386,211.63	44,203,369.00	54,988,989.15	63,428,015.53	67,131,718.36	70,582,915.21	87,572,428.68
Bayelsa	22,292.252.93	25,788,797.44	25,053,461.98	26,370,754.04	27,447,347.48	28,002,261.72	28,662,160.25	34,832,195.13
Benue	16,781,480.20	21,487,668.97	24,256,920.84	24,317,295.87	26,580,524.86	28,420,603.49	30,722,987.68	33,074,189.47
Borno	13,567,690.30	15,077,862.30	14,811,779.77	13,550,693.68	12,957,250.22	14,154,525.62	15,585,332.20	23,067,549.16
Cross River	94,445,030.08	99,387,962.84	101,825,757.55	110,907,737.94	107,532,721.29	113,034,944.52	121,966,922.51	141,469,661.94
Delta	24,169,665.99	21,570,329.07	19,483,026.87	16,376,917.03	15,404,872.074	18,997,541.36	19,665,800.31	24,233,639.67
Ebonyi	23,217,583.94	30,088,193.24	32,037,171.66	34,333,745.82	41,193,845.86	41,581,279.81	43,314,886.43	45,410,518.38
Edo	33,312,069.85	31,679,524.18	42,048,370.54	41,187,862.95	42,514,650.66	42,741,838.97	44,292,718.14	123,128,295.53
Ekiti	32,757,980.68	33,856,337.62	32,739,701.85	33,112,142.40	34,399,021.50	36,165,995.25	37,237,967.18	46,452,932.15
Enugu	23,898,266.09	26,620,622.64	33,388,531.97	37,296,208.24	44,895,364.74	50,074,700.40	53,166,642.89	68,928,599.36
Gbome	14,272,330.85	17,528,514.37	21,256,361.36	26,054,925.98	28,372,666.88	31,727,020.11	33,652,015.79	39,545,598.76
Imo	43,929,283.48	45,165,416.15	49,462,457.69	49,768,366,.96	50,277,216.07	51,973,693.20	52,712,924.49	52,949,585.74
Jigawa	15,802,628.15	16,889,226.34	18,253,299.11	21,912,012.01	27,752,300.12	33,669,099.54	35,846,252.03	35,717,805.70
Kaduna	93,154,607.10	109,102,333.29	135,805,842.68	157,357,908.32	182,261,250.47	215,683,732.56	241,309,864.17	234,416,052.15
Kano	39,798,039.80	39,824,177.00	44,090,119.25	53,799,176.40	59,777,794.58	61,792,864.24	63,897,44.17	59,796,931.03
Kastina	69,641,757.08	77,700,535.30	78,780,729.27	81,136,389.00	74,138,585.89	74,694,206.56	73,725,662.92	78,925,362.41
Kebbi	42,646,140.30	45,310,617.91	46,825,132.94	47,764,918.39	48,308,816.94	47,821,220.02	46,855,525.42	43,786,053.64
Kogi	30,880,873.54	30,352,870.57	32,349,783.86	400,592,623.89	34,303,342.09	33,838,688.46	33,960,974.29	35,787,836.35
Kwara	24,524,710.30	24,972,143.08	30,082,078.97	43,398,071.39	43,989,319.83	45,551,435.19	45,871,785.31	52,722,198.82
Lagos	234,283,449.01	270,840,818.98	347,933,278.16	400,592,623.89	491,847,295.53	611,253,157.43	938,135,517.81	1,169,712,848.65
Nassarawa	24,756,398.00	23,278,453.38	28,537,836.62	32,944,61,.75	37,026,758.79	36,978,600.93	47,648,079.92	49,942,696.58
Niger	27,680,878.61	27,634,748.90	25,806,350.14	27,950,961.36	28,142,518.99	29,777,330.83	31,750,345.66	44,750,48.25
Ogun	38,902,315.82	54,868,136.63	67,900,418.77	81,644,567.61	94,575,129.92	102,064,668.63	116,802,098.95	109,154,553.08
Ondo	40,343,968.06	41,874,347.84	46,648,532.94	54,181,822.95	50,022,174.54	51,851,443.85	52,134,726.59	52,688,524.40
Osun	53,173,678.75	57,663,946.01	64,110,849.45	61,981,193.67	61,489,569.10	62,760,653.21	61,838,048,.10	74,053,294.39
Oyo	108,924,820.05	106,716,971.10	100,284,746.67	87,431,628.55	78,085,379.91	76,683,670.85	80,201,551.16	72,350,590.32
Plateau	34,480,976.05	29,255,196.92	29,229,988.15	24,429,249.85	20,433,976.30	21,934,123.31	22,674,216.60	30,947,579.75
Rivers	30,986,282.13	32,338,802.05	33,729,035.78	35,508,206.25	33,859,588.21	36,644,822.93	42,690,633.60	44,725,095.71
Sokoto	32,691.825.73	33,974,354.62	36,020,506.17	38,320,925.19	40,093,825.62	41,544,869.22	44,111,989.86	44,864,819.46
Taraba	18,860,044.01	19,642,836.94	19,908,684..98	20,203,471.79	20,396,408.40	23,028,584.73	23,554,326.97	22,780,063.89
Yobe	18,151,992.23	18,787,421.83	27,222,982.98	28,454,914.24	31,188,905.45	31,274,682.79	33,033,729.59	31,237,619.25
Zamfara	13,620,367.35	17,233,048.36	23,788,244.40	24,816,275.91	26,305,193.25	27,937,077.70	32,292,716.69	35,547,562.30
FCT	12,203,219.03	14,243,206.63	29,347,468.73	35,493,774.84	36,842,710.88	38,867,309.41	39,218,578.39	36,636,548.58
Sub-Total	**1,541,536,782.50**	**1,660,498,176.35**	**1,835,636,181.96**	**2,000,704,815.97**	**2,165,347,282.09**	**2,384,179,007.97**	**2,816,019,271.99**	**3,265,817,562.07**
FGN	**2,112,672,341.20**	**2,059,862,223.65**	**2,126,584,804.23**	**2,578,064,841.63**	**3,501,232,617.91**	**4,142,895,989.23**	**6,005,796,877.91**	**6,445,631,547.93**
TOTAL	**3,654,209,123.70**	**3,720,360,400.00**	**3,947,297,536.36**	**4,578,769,657.60**	**5,666,579,900.00**	**6,527,074,997.20**	**8,821,816,149.90**	**9,711,449,110.00**

Source: Debt Management Office, 2014

The statistical data on the federal and state government debt is further presented in figure 5 to show in comparative terms, the variations in the various years.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

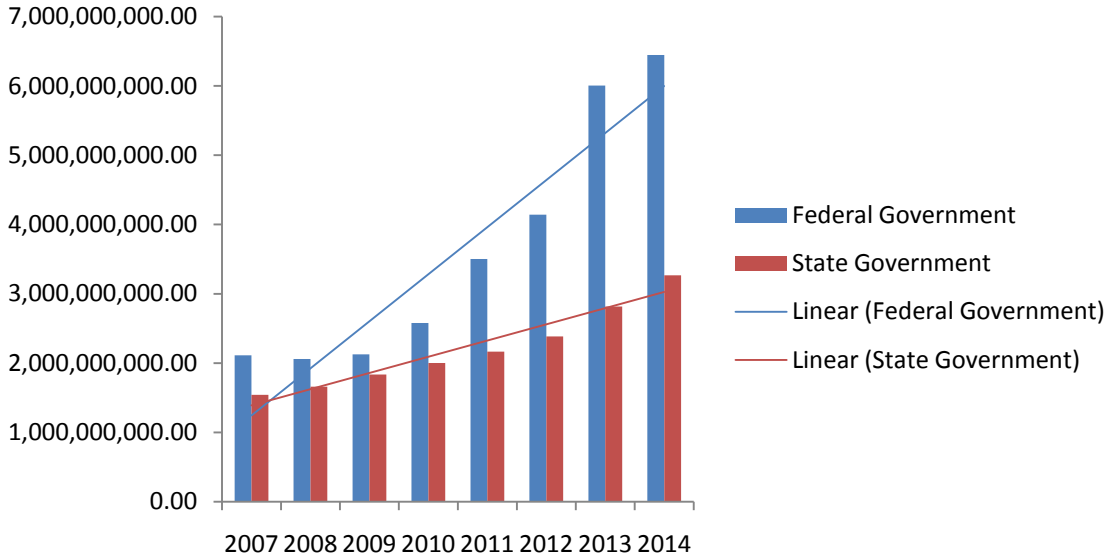


Figure 5 : States and Federal Governments' External Debt Stock 2007-2014

It can be observed that despite the debt relief obtained in 2005 from international financial organisations, the nation's debt stock kept on increasing. This therefore implies that debt relief has not actually brought about the much needed relief (DMO, 2014). It has rather continued to pile up both in the state and federal governments and has largely affected some vital economic indicators like unemployment rate, inflation rate, poverty level, and foreign direct investment as presented in table 5.

Table 5 : External Debt Stock, Service Cost and Economic Indicators

Year	Debt Stock (US $b)	Service Cost (US $b)	Unemployment Rate %	Inflation Rate	Incidence of Poverty %	FDI (US. $m)
2000	28,273	1.71	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2001	28,347	2.12	13.6	18.9	52.9	3,125
2002	30,991	1.16	11.2	12.9	56.4	3,478
2003	32,916	1.50	11.0	14.0	55.8	5,298
2004	35,944	1.75	12.6	15.0	54.4	N/A
2005	30,477	8.94	11.9	17.9	58.2	6,326
2006	3,544	6.72	13.7	16.2	56.0	7,842
2007	3,654	1.02	14.6	15.3	55.2	6,348
2008	3,720	0.460	14.9	11.6	54.0	6,812
2009	3,947	0.428	19.7	12.5	54.0	8,649
2010	4,578	0.354	21.4	13.7	69.0	6,098
2011	5,666	0.351	23.9	10.8	71.5	8,914
2012	6,527	0.298	25.7	12.2	72.0	7,316

Source: Debt Management Office (2013); International Monetary Fund (2012)

Apart from occasional fluctuation, observations from table 5 show that while debt stock increased, unemployment rate, inflation rate, and poverty level increased. This suggests higher debt stock negatively affected employment, inflation, and poverty level. But on the other hand, foreign direct investment decreased while debt stock increased, and increased while debt stock decreased with some occasional fluctuations. Hence, the correlation between debt stock and unemployment rate suggests that the loans obtained are not usually invested in employment generating ventures or that there was no proper monitoring; this has spilled over to affect the poverty level negatively which could have been reduced if the loans had been invested in employment generating enterprises. Furthermore, the inflation rate had increasing trends both before and after the debt relief with little fluctuations probably because the loan went into circulation without adequate currency regulation policies.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

h) Nigeria's Debt Management Strategies and Sustainability Analysis

The debt management strategies adopted by Nigeria were meant to address the three main factors blamed for the geometric increases in the debt profile which have been identified as (i) accumulation of debt service arrears due to worsening inability to meet maturing obligations; (ii) the escalation of market interest rate; (iii) recapitalisation of accumulated interests which also began to attract interests at higher rates.

i) Debt Rescheduling

Nigeria has made three rescheduling arrangements with the Paris Club in 1986, 1989, and 1991. But the arrears continued to mount and further aggravated the debt problem (Onuoha, 2008). Following the second round of negotiation, Nigeria reached agreement with the Paris Club to reschedule a debt of about $21.4bn over an 18-20 year period (Onuoha, 2008). But after four debts rescheduling with the Paris Club since 1986, Nigeria's external debt burden did not get lighter thereby making the strategy a "debt enhancing" rather than "debt reducing" option. For debt rescheduling to be meaningful, it has to be "interest-free" else the debt burden will keep compounding (Onuoha, 2008). For instance, in the year 2000, Nigeria paid $1.086 due to Moratorium interest arrears resulting from rescheduling; this significantly compounded the debt burden.

Evidently, the Paris Club Debt rescheduling has been more problematic to the debtor nations for four main reasons: (a) their *multilateral decision approach* which requires the debtor country to negotiate with the creditor within the generally agreed principles and guidelines thereby emasculating bilateral negotiation for resolution of debt burden (Onuoha, 2008); (b) the *equal treatment clause* which requires each creditor to delay concluding its own agreement so as to take a cue from other creditors agreement terms; (c) insistence on *minimum debt service policy* based on projected export revenue from the debtors which may not be guaranteed due to fluctuations in the international market especially for a country like Nigeria that largely depends on crude oil revenue; (d) the *relative dynamic incongruence* between debt burden and available resources from which the debt could be paid. This raises the need to incorporate *oil price volatility* into any realistic decision on what Nigeria can reasonably afford to provide for debt servicing.

j) Debt Servicing

Nigeria has spent a lot of money servicing debts. From 1965 to 2002, Nigeria spent a total of $44.273bn in debt servicing (Eke, 2009; Debt Management Office, 2013). This trend still continued as presented in table 6 and figure 6.

Table 6 : Nigeria's Debt Servicing in US$m, 2004-2008

Type	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
External Debt Service	1,754.76	8,940.93	6,729.20	1,022.04	464.63
Domestic Debt Service	1,534.94	1,166.28	1,313.70	2,162.91	3,590.67
Total Debt Service	3,289.70	10,107.21	8,042.90	3,184.95	4,055.30
Total Debt Service as a % of Total Public Debt	7.11%	31.28%	46.35%	14.32%	18.95%

Source: Yelwa (2010); Debt Management Office (2013)

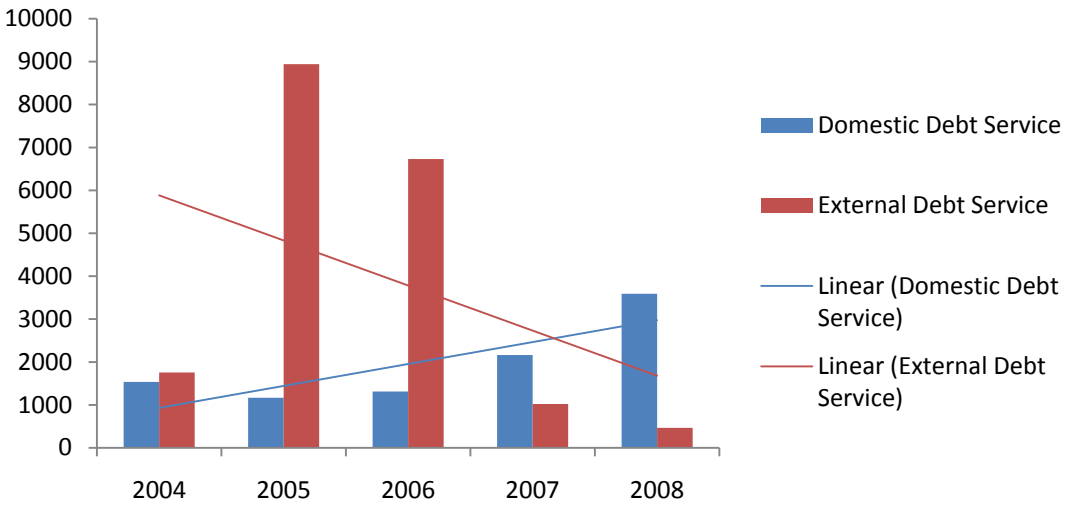


Figure 6 : Nigeria's Debt Service, 2004-2008

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

The data contained in table 6 and figure 6 indicated that the cost of debt servicing as a ratio of the debt increased at a disturbing rate from the 2003 level by 7.11% in 2004; this increased to 31.28% in 2005 and 46.35% in 2006 (Debt Management Office, 2013). At this juncture, the government intervened to pay off the Paris Club debt and it dropped to 14.32% in 2007, only to rise again to 18.95% in 2008 (Debt Management Office, 2013).With further increase in the debt service cost from $4,055.30m to $3.564 billion in 2012, the fluctuations and surges seem not to indicate the presence of fiscal responsibility during the period reviewed as to ensure sustainability. This was evident in the fact that the growth of the total debt service fluctuated. It rose by 107.23% from 2004 to 2005 and fell drastically to -20.42% in 2006; it fell further to -60.40% in 2007 but surged geometrically by 87.73% to 27.33% in 2008; while the amount skyrocketed from $21,398.91 million in 2008 to $3.564 billion in 2012 (Okwe, 2013).

k) Debt Relief Debates

Debates over the rationale behind Nigeria's interests in debt relief mainly revolved around the effects on the national economy especially given the conditions spelt out by the creditors. The conditions for the debt relief included:

- That Nigeria would clear the arrears of about $6 billion;
- That the Paris Club has agreed to recognise Nigeria's implementation of its home-grown reform programme under the International Monetary Fund intensified surveillance as a legitimate instrument that fulfils the requirements for debt relief;
- That Nigeria will continue to implement its home-grown reform programme (NEEDS) on which the policy support instrument (PSD) of the IMF will be based;
- That Nigeria would make an upfront payment of $12 billion to secure the debt relief.

These conditions had some financial consequences and policy implications. First was that the economy had to be stressed further to cough out $18 billion to clear the stated arrears and make the upfront payment; second, was that Nigeria's development policies has to be externally subjected to neo-colonial controls through the International Monetary Fund. Meanwhile, though it was believed that the credit facilities would help the country realise its quest for national development, the stringent conditions of high interest rates, naira devaluation, and interest recapitalisation etc. associated with the loan stunted the development essence (Eke, 2009). Evidently, Nigeria's external debt has not been justified given that only $1 billion was borrowed initially but compounded to the peak of $35.94 billion in 2004 with huge sum of money expended on debt servicing (Eke, 2009); yet, the purpose for which the loan was taken has not been adequately addressed for over 40 years. Importantly, the drastic reduction in the nation's foreign debt profile from 2006 was as a result of the diplomatic efforts of the then President Olusegun Obasanjo and minister of finance, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala for debt relief after the payment of $6 billion arrears and upfront payment of $12 billion (Okonjo-Iweala, 2005; Onwuamaeze, 2012). When Nigeria accepted the conditions, the debt relief was granted accordingly as stated in the table 7:

Table 7 : Nigeria's Debt Relief, 2006

Creditor	Debt Relief
Paris Club	$18 billion
Germany	$3 billion
Japan	$3.4 billion
Total	**$24.4 billion**

Sources: Eke (2009)

But as at May 2012, the debt seems to return to an increasing trend thus:

Table 8 : Increasing Trends in Nigeria's Debt Profile as at May, 2012

Creditor	Amount Owed	
External Sources		Multilateral Institutions
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	$6.31m	83.28%
International Development Association	$4.29bn	
International Fund for Agricultural Development	$70.25m	
African Development Bank	$43.55m	
African Development Fund	$387.23m	
European Development Fund	$110.08m	Non-Paris Clubs
Islamic Development Fund	$14.56m	8.26%
Bilateral loans	$433.84m	
International Capital Market in 2011	$500m	8.26%
TOTAL	$5.91bn (N919.44bn)	
Internal Sources		
FGN bonds accounted for	N3.67tn	61.44%
Nigerian Treasury Bills	N1.95tn	32.63%
Treasury bonds	N353.73m	5.93%
TOTAL	N5.97tn $38(8.37bn),	100%

Sources: Eke (2009); Debt Management Office (2013).

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Meanwhile, the debt relief seems not to have had the desired effects because not only that the debt profile still continuedto increase, the federal government still obtained loans from the Multilateral Institutions ($3.826bn) and bilateral sources like the China Exim Bank and Eurobund ($2.537bn) etc (Omoh and Ujah, 2014). Continued borrowing was without doubt expected to return the country to the foreign debt burden status. After the said debt relief, Nigeria's external debt has been persistently on the increase as shown in tables 3 and 4; as well as figures 3, 4, and 5.

IV. Summary of Findings

a) The debt management strategies adopted by the Nigerian government have not been sufficiently effective given that they only offered temporary reliefs from the debt crisis: refinancing was limited to "trade arrears" as it could not effectively address other forms of debt owed; restructuring was defective due to the associated "high debt service obligations"; though rescheduling made some significant contribution in debt service reliefs from 1983 to 1991, the benefits were stunted with hard terms and conditions.

b) The "debt relief" granted to Nigeria in 2006 only offered temporary relief to the country because of the hard terms and conditions applied. This submission manifested in the increasing trend recorded in Nigeria's debt profile not quite long after the debt relief.

c) Given the rising trends in Nigeria's debt profile, the debt relief granted to Nigeria in 2006 does not seem to be sustainable. Invariably, the said "debt relief" does not seem to be different from the previous debt management strategies applied earlier which were more or less "debt enhancing" rather than "debt reducing" strategies especially in the long-run.

V. Conclusion

Nigeria's debt crisis has become a perennial torn in the flesh of the Country's economy and the debt management strategies applied so far have proved ineffective because of the hard terms and conditions attached. Given that it is difficult for a debtor to negotiate with the creditor without the later dictating terms for the former, Nigeria is left with the option of strict adherence to fiscal responsibility policies to fully utilize the loans obtained as to be able to pay back from the gains. Hence, attention should be shifted from begging for "debt relief" to "profit maximization" through capital investments with the loans obtained.

References Références Referencias

1. Abioye, O. and Onuba, I. (2014), "Nigeria's External Debt Rises…", in *The Punch* 20th August; online:http://-www.punchng.com/retrieved:5.9.2014.
2. Debt Management Office (2012), "Expectations from the Nigerian Diaspora", online:http://www.-nigeriastat.gov.ng/retrieved:10.7.2012.
3. Debt Management Office (2013).
4. Debt Management Office (2014).
5. Eke, A. O. (2009). *Globalisation Challenges and Nigerian Foreign Policy.* Abakaliki: WillyRose and AppleSeed Publishing Coy.
6. Enebeli-Uzor, S. (2012), "Nigeria's Public Debt Profile: Current Trends and Concerns"; in ZenithEconomic Quarterly. Abuja: Zenith Bank Plc.
7. Karen, M. (1999). *Essentials of International Relations.* p. 60-107; New York: London: W.W. Norton and Company Inc.
8. Offiong, D.A. (1980). Imperialism and Dependency. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
9. Okonjo-Iweala, N. (2014), "Clarifying Nigeria's Debt Position", online:http://www.fmf..gov.ng/-retrieved: 10.11.2014.
10. Okwe, M. (2013), "Fiscal Commission Raises Alarm Over States' Recklessness", in *The Guardian,* September 6, 2013.
11. Onuoha, J. (2008). *Beyond Diplomacy: Contemporary Issues in International Relations.* Nsukka: Great A.P. Publishers Ltd.
12. Onwuamaeze, D. (2012). Back in the Debt Trap. *NewsWatch*, June 11, p. 12.
13. Robertson, D. (1984). Dictionary of Politics. England: Penguin Books.
14. The Guardian, April 28, 2004.
15. The Guardian, February 23, 2004; p.17.
16. Central Bank of Nigeria (1991), "Management of External Debt: Nigeria's Experience". Lagos: Debt Management Department.
17. Central Bank of Nigeria (1996), The Foreign Exchange Market and Its Management in Nigeria. Research Department, Series No. 96/06.
18. Okonjo-Iweala, N. (2005), "Why Nigeria Deserves Debt Relief". Abuja: Office of the Minister of Finance.
19. Omoh, G. and Ujah, E. (2014), "Nigeria Sinks Deeper into External Debt"; in *The Vanguard,* August 20, online:http://www.vanguardngr.com/retrieved:-sept., 5th 2014.
20. Yelwa, A.J. (2013), "Debt Management in Nigeria: Fiscal Responsibility and Public Debt"; A Paper Presented at a Workshop on "The Process and Procedure for Obtaining Foreign Loans by Federal and State Governments"; Organised by the House of Representatives Ad-Hoc Committee on Investigation into Foreign Loans Obtained by Both the Federal and State Governments, in Abuja on 8 June, 2010.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Multi-Dimensional Impacts of Insurgency and Armed Conflicts on Nigeria

By Mike Omilusi
Ekiti State University

Abstract- The failure of the state to contain the proliferation of foreign extremist groups and their links with domestic religious groups exacerbates the incidence of extremism and violence in the country. It has been noted that the costs of crime are tangible and intangible, economic or social, direct or indirect, physical or psychological, individual or community. In this essay, the effects of insurgency are discussed under four headings, namely: national security, socio-economic impact, collapse of infrastructure/humanitarian crisis and diplomatic relations.

Keywords: insurgency, armed conflict, extremist groups, multi-dimensional impacts.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 360199

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Mike Omilusi. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The Multi-Dimensional Impacts of Insurgency and Armed Conflicts on Nigeria

Mike Omilusi

Abstract- The failure of the state to contain the proliferation of foreign extremist groups and their links with domestic religious groups exacerbates the incidence of extremism and violence in the country. It has been noted that the costs of crime are tangible and intangible, economic or social, direct or indirect, physical or psychological, individual or community. In this essay, the effects of insurgency are discussed under four headings, namely: national security, socio-economic impact, collapse of infrastructure/humanitarian crisis and diplomatic relations.

Keywords: insurgency, armed conflict, extremist groups, multi-dimensional impacts.

I. Introduction

Insurgency has become a threat to global peace and security in the 21st century due to the fact that it constitutes the highest contributor to humanitarian crises in the form of rise in human casualties, internally displaced persons, refugee debacles, food insecurity and the spread of various diseases (van Creveld, 1996: 58). Stewart (2004:4) avers that some development costs are obvious. People who join the fighting forces, who are killed or flee, can no longer work productively; schools, power stations and/or roads that are destroyed reduce the productive capacity of the economy. There are also more complex interactions between events associated directly with war (fighting, movement of people, deaths, physical destruction, international embargoes, and military expenditures) and developments in the macro and micro economy which mostly lead to adverse changes in individual entitlements, both economic and social.

It has been noted that the costs of crime are tangible and intangible, economic or social, direct or indirect, physical or psychological, individual or community. In fact, it is from the cost that the consequences of crime are derived. The cost of crime can be incurred as a result of actual experience of criminal activities, when there is physical injury, when properties are stolen, damaged or destroyed. As a consequence of the prevalence of crime in society, the demographic composition may be altered through mass movement of people from crime-prone areas to areas perceived to be relatively crime-free. This can also lead to brain-drain and other socio-economic problems (Adebayo, 2014:483).

Author: PhD, Department of Political Science, Ekiti State University.
e-mail: watermike2003@yahoo.co.uk

For Nigeria, its current history is a combustible mix of violent extremism, and thriving home-grown insurgencies. The fabric of Nigeria's unity appears to be ripped by violent extremism (Babalola, 2013:5). A country once well respected for its role in restoring stability in some conflict-torn states in West Africa, is now in need of the international community's assistance to guarantee peace and security in her own territory. The growing campaign of violence the *Boko Haram* insurgency, not only poses a serious threat to internal security in Nigeria, but may threaten regional stability in West Africa as a whole (Onuoha, 2014:1). Mohammed (2014:81) opines that the failure of the state to contain this extremism, proliferation of foreign extremist groups and their links with domestic religious groups exacerbates the incidence of extremism and violence in the country. In this essay, the effects of insurgency are discussed under four headings, namely: national security, socio-economic impact, collapse of infrastructure/humanitarian crisis and diplomatic relations.

II. National Security

It is a fundamental fact that Boko Haram has stepped up assaults in the northeast of Nigeria since it rejected government claims of a ceasefire, showing it remains the biggest security threat to Africa's biggest economy and top oil producer (Reuters, November 25, 2014). The series of deadly attacks across many states in the zone have made the Boko Haram rebellion the most widespread in Nigeria's post-independence history (Onuoha, 2014:1).In fact, as noted in the *Guardian Editorial* (Nov 12,2014), the worry is not just about the debilitation the insurgency is steadily causing the country and its law-abiding citizens; it is even more so about the demystification of the Nigeria Army that before now has an enviable international reputation for valiance and war-time discipline. Certainly the army has been overstretched by the militancy, to the extent that its morale, collectively, has been seriously battered. According to Amaraegbu (2013:72):

> It may be a truism that Nigeria is no stranger to violent sectarian uprisings. However, the particular distinction of Boko Haram does not lie simply in the fact that the group has humbled Nigeria's security and intelligence community. Its criminal genius lie in two areas: an open contempt for Nigeria and its

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

constitution and, it covertly exposes vulnerable youths to extremist influences, recruits and deploys them as an essential part of the group's terror machine.

The preponderance of militia and violent groups with international linkages has constituted potent threats to national security and economy, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state and its citizens (Adams et al, 2014:25). In other words, this act of terrorism has threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria and has become a prominent source of concern for the hapless citizens, the government, and indeed the international community (Ogunboyede, 2014:35). Since July 2009 when it provoked a short-lived anti-government uprising in northern Nigeria, the sect has mounted serial attacks that have placed it in media spotlight, both locally and internationally. The sect is now feared for its ability to mount both 'low-scale' and audacious attacks in Nigeria (CLEEN Foundation, 2014: viii).The sect's operatives undoubtedly are imbued with the mind-set that it can defeat the Nigerian state notwithstanding the sophistication and quantity of weapons at the latter's disposal. Successful attacks on security formations across the north tend to bolster this feeling (Alozieuwa, *2012*).

With the increased numbers of cadres, improved and sophisticated weaponry, suicide bombings and well-organised guerrilla tactics, Boko Haram's challenge to the Nigerian state now also stretches across the entire 36 states of Nigeria, thus affecting its economic and social-political growth (Liolio, 2013).The escalating level of violence in Nigeria fits the description of a failed state, and the central authority's lack of control to quell the wave of bombings and indiscriminate killings by Boko Haram strongly confirms the underlying hypotheses of a failed state (Babalola, 2013:18). In fact, Nigerians are beginning to lose faith in the ability of security agents to stop Boko Haram and other militant groups in the country. But the government has continued to assure the populace that it will win the war against terror.

The Islamic extremist group held, for some months, a couple of cities and towns along Nigeria's northeast border where it declared an Islamic caliphate. Pul (2014) argues that the Boko Haram phenomenon surpasses the Biafra secession civil war; multiple military coup d'états; militia uprisings in the Niger Delta; and the numerous interethnic and communal conflicts in threatening the integrity of the State. As noted by Ikerionwu (2014), the very foundation and unity of Nigeria as a political entity has become threatened by the menace of Boko Haram. According to him, the match to nationhood which began since amalgamation in 1914 has become jeopardized and elusive with the threat of Boko Haram insurgency. Existing inter-ethnic and inter-regional relations between the North-eastern part of Nigeria and the rest of the country has been negatively affected. The result of this is the splintering of Nigeria along the contingent lines of mini-factional principalities, making the much desired national integration difficult, if not unachievable.

a) Socio-Economic Impact

There is a strong association between armed violence and deteriorating public services. As a result, people have to spend their own resources to compensate for the lack of public services, reducing the investment capacities of the country (SAS 2003 cited in OECD, 2005). Armed violence, or even just the threat of armed violence, can lead to reduced foreign direct investment. This is particularly true where violence is politically motivated. Armed violence has a particularly important impact on tourism, whether it is political violence or criminality. According to one study, over the long run, tourism is reduced by 25% when there are substantial increases in political violence, and in countries with small tourism industries the reduction tends to be substantially greater (Neumayer, 2004 cited in OECD, 2005). For instance, Boko Haram violence has led to the destruction of health facilities in the North eastern states of Nigeria, forcing health workers to either flee or shut down clinics. This in turn has compelled residents to seek medical attention in Cameroon, Chad and Niger, thereby adding to the pressure on limited health facilities in the host communities (Onuoha, 2014:8).

Education is a panacea for national development across the world. There is no society that does not give adequate attention to her educational growth and development. Apart from the paltry budgetary allocation by the government, the Boko Haram insurgency has been an obstacle to educational development in Nigeria (Awortu, 2015:218). The Islamic militants have serially attacked students and facilities in educational institutions in different northern states of the country. Over time, a lot of schools have shut down their academic programmes. This has drastically impacted the teaming number of students seeking admission into academic institutions at all levels.

Also, a survey shows that a lot of students have vowed never to participate in the compulsory one year National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) programme if posted to the northern part of the country. Those who were inadvertently posted to the north redeployed immediately after three weeks of mandatory camping. This development therefore defeats the core mandate of setting up the Act of NYSC in 1973 (see:http://www.myfinancialintelligence.com/professional-ser-vices/cost-and-effect-insecurity-nigeria). In a region in short of personnel in the education sector, many teachers have lost their lives to the insurgency. According to Olukoya (Quoted in *The Nation*, October 8, 2015), "it is on record that over 600 teachers lost their

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

lives to the terror attacks. These include 308 in Borno, 75 in Adamawa, 18 in Yobe, 25 in Kaduna, 120 in Plateau, 63 in Kano ad 2 in Gombe. This is in addition to 19,000 teachers displaced".

Beyond the Boko Haram attacks that sow fear and terror amongst the local population, girls' education is already facing many social and economic constraints in northern Nigeria, resulting in low attendance and high dropout rates. Overall, the number of children out of school in north-eastern Nigeria is 30 times higher than in the country's south-east. With the frequent attacks on schools by Boko Haram and this case of abduction of female pupils, there are rising fears of further deterioration of the already dire state of girls' education in the region (Barna, 2014:16). In a country that is struggling with educational infrastructure and qualitative manpower to improve on the standard and quality of education, the Boko Haram insurgency is further compounding its challenges. Certainly, this is affecting adversely the present and future development of this country.

Indeed, terrorism and other forms of militia activities can impose costs on a targeted country through a number of avenues (Joshua and Chidozie, 2014:359). As noted in *The Punch* (2012:13) editorial:

> Investors are wary of coming to a country where their lives and investments are not safe: Nigeria has been on a steady decline in the Global Peace Index. Out of 158 countries surveyed, the country was 117th in 2007, 129th in 2008 and 2009, 137th in 2010, 142nd in 2011 and 146th in 2012. Even a country like Chad is more peaceful than Nigeria. We are only better than such countries as Syria, Pakistan, North Korea, Iraq, Sudan, Congo Democratic Republic, Afghanistan, Libya, Israel, Russia and Somalia-pariah states or nations on war footing.

A recurrent issue in the Boko Haram literature is the extent of relative poverty and inequality in the north which has led some analysts to argue that underdevelopment is the main reason why extremist groups like Boko Haram rebel (Agbiboa, 2014). Today the north of Nigeria is undoubtedly poorer than the south in almost every conceivable measure. Combined with limited resources and deteriorating environmental factors, such as a rapidly shrinking Lake Chad, parts of northern Nigeria are economically destitute environments. Poor leadership and corruption have contributed to the socio-economic situation, and generate an environment lacking viable job prospects for large numbers of youth (Mahmood, 2013:5).

The impact of terrorism on internal security in Nigeria cannot be over emphasized as citizens now live in fear of impending but unknown attacks (Venda, n.d). Security matters to the poor and other vulnerable groups, especially women and children, because bad policing, weak justice and penal systems and corrupt militaries mean that they suffer disproportionately from crime, insecurity and fear. They are consequently less likely to be able to access government services, invest in improving their own futures, and escape from poverty. The huge governance deficit in the country has been one that people do not see as part of the state building project, under leadership that is unwilling to transform society and guarantee security for the people. Rather, emphasis is often placed on appropriation of power and regime security at the expense of good governance and human security *(Kwaja, 2013)*. Indeed, as noted in International Crisis Group's report (2014:3):

> Poverty is a product of bad governance, including a bloated administration. A bulging percentage of federal and state budgets is allocated to salaries, allowances, pocket money, foreign trips and temporary duty tours constraining capital and development projects. The federal government has been borrowing for recurrent consumption, not to invest in development. For many the name of the game has been spending, importing and looting.

Terrorist incidents have economic consequences by diverting foreign direct investment (FDI), destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security, or limiting trade. If a targeted country loses enough FDI, which is an important source of savings, then it may also experience reduced economic growth (Joshua and Chidozie, 2014:359.) In terms of finance and investment, though direct and indirect loses are unquantifiable, a World Investment Report (WIR) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), estimated that the domestic economy lost a whopping N1.33 trillion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), owing to the activities of insurgents going by the name' Boko Haram'. And, these conditions create fears making investment chances for Investors narrow (Eme and Ibietan, 2012). UNCTAD report indicates that, FDI flows to Nigeria fell to $6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, a decline of about 29 percent from the $8.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) realized in 2009 fiscal year.

It is observed by Hilker et al (2010) that states often fail to provide adequate security for citizens or undermine democratic governance through acts committed in the name of security calls into question top-down approaches to reducing violence. This ugly development has some implications. Governance in times of insurgency presents a challenge to economic progress where development is arrested because of the absence of peace (Dasuki, 2013). The cost of insecurity in Nigeria could also be seen on the percentage of annual budget allocated to security agencies on a yearly basis. Infrastructure and human capital development are almost foregone alternatives; hence, capital expenditure is struggling from the rear. As observed by Kantiok (2014:23):

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Many governments justify excessive expenditures on security as intent to secure the homeland. Many governors, particularly in the northern part Nigeria have justified their nonperformance and lack of development of their states to the fact that they are fighting terrorism in their various states. Huge sums of monies are designated security votes and have been embezzled by these governors while failing to secure their various states. More often than not, they justify the expenditure on equipping the police and the manning the various checkpoints in their states. The same thing can be said of the federal government in its huge expenditure on defense, yet not fully equipping the security forces with the needed equipment. That the insurgency sometimes outguns the security agents tells on the dilapidated equipment that they use in trying to contain the terrorism.

Also, the food industry in the north is under great strain over a number of reasons, with the main issue being human mobility. With the increase of Boko Haram attacks, those employed in the industry have decreased their movement outside protected areas over fears of attacks carried out by the insurgents. Many farmers in the states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe now fear being attacked while many local processing companies have lost workers after families opted to leave the conflict area. Traders have also limited their movements as Boko Haram militants have increasingly targeted major markets across the region. The agricultural sector has effectively developed into a target for those militants in need of supplies, with many stealing food, equipment and money. The heightened attacks across northeastern Nigeria have also made transportation of food riskier and more expensive, which in turn has placed greater pressure on the economic output*(http://www.msrisk.com/nigeria/boko-harams-threat-northeast-nigeria-addressing-five-year-crisis/)*.

b) Collapse of Infrastructure/ Humanitarian Crisis

Apart from the economic and monetary costs associated with terrorism, there are also social and psychological costs. Terrorism erodes inter-communal trust and destroys the reservoir of social capital that is so vital to building harmonious societies and pooling together community energies for national development. The attendant proliferation of small arms and the militarization of society results in a vicious cycle of violence which hampers national cohesion and stability. The long-term impact of such violence on cities and regions is best exemplified by the impoverishment that has affected Kaduna and Jos. Kaduna used to be one of the most prosperous cities in Nigeria. It was in many ways the industrial hub of the North, a cosmopolitan city with over a dozen textile firms and prosperous trading companies. The Kaduna of today is a tragically divided city in which Muslims live predominantly in the North and Christians predominantly in the South. All the textiles companies have shut down and most investors have packed up their businesses.

Inter-communal violence, which has plagued the Middle Belt states of Plateau and Kaduna for years, has also extended to other states in northern Nigeria, including Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba, Katsina, and Zamfara. Recurring violence in these states since 2010 has resulted in the death of more than 4,000 people and the displacement of more than 120,000 residents. The failure of federal and state authorities to investigate and prosecute crimes committed by all sides, including ethnic and economic groups in these five states, exacerbated the struggle for political power between ethnic groups and failed to resolve contested access to grazing land by both sedentary farmers and nomadic herdsmen (HRW, 2015).

The Jos Plateau is following a similar trend, as it loses its cosmopolitanism and local economies are destroyed. The tragedy is that the collapse of local economies and the erosion of social capital reinforce a downward spiral of further impoverishment, which in itself sows the seeds of further conflict. For most of the north, the ongoing insurgency has had a significant negative impact on the regional economy. Lebanese and Indian expatriates who have established businesses in Kano going back decades have relocated to Abuja and the south. A good number have left the country altogether. Hotels, banks and other business sectors have witnessed significant reductions in their activities (Adebayo, 2014:484).

The pace and intensity of Boko Haram's attacks, especially against civilian targets, dramatically increased after the federal government imposed a state of emergency in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe states in mid-2013. Since then, and even more intensely since January 2014, the group has perpetrated almost-daily attacks on villages and towns, and laid siege to highways. In the attacks, Boko Haram has killed civilians, pillaged property, and destroyed schools, homes, and businesses, which were often razed to the ground (Premium Times, February 2, 2014). Added to this is the problem of worsening food insecurity caused by the destruction of livelihoods and social support systems, bombing of infrastructures, displacement of farmers and pillaging of livestock and foodstuff. Owing to worsening insecurity, farmers are no longer able to cultivate their lands or harvest their products for fear of being attacked by Boko Haram members. Also cattle herders and households have lost their livestock to Boko Haram pillaging, further compounding the situation of severe food insecurity (Onuoha, 2014:8).

Civilians in northern Nigeria are increasingly caught between two terrible alternatives: an abusive government incapable of protecting its citizens and an extortive insurgency with no governing institutions beyond those that sustain the group. These alternatives

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

mirror each other. In the end, for the majority of the region's civilians, the real threat is not the creation of a new Islamic state but the persistence of abuses that resemble the old secular ones (Solomon, 2014).

Boko Haram insurgency has also created a refugee and internal displacement crisis. Nigerians are increasingly forced to seek refuge in neighbouring states to avoid Boko Haram attacks and military campaigns against these insurgents, which in-turn places added strain on the economies and humanitarian services of neighbouring states.

Operations by the Nigerian military in areas such as Gwoza and the Sambisa Forest reveal a humanitarian catastrophe for women, girls and children abducted by JAS. The military intervention that is isolating those who are rescued from the public, including humanitarian actors and the international community, adds additional complexity to their recovery and reintegration as independent verification of the information cannot be made. Also, the humanitarian situation in IDP camps worsens with reported abandonment of IDP camps by the government (NSRP, 2015).

The psychological impact of terrorism on the people in terms of displacement cannot be undermined. People living in areas affected by domestic terrorism are migrating to other relatively safe areas in the region. the activities of the Boko Haram sect, has increased the displacement of people from Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states in the form of internally displaced persons(IDP's) fleeing to safer havens within the nation and refugees fleeing into neighbouring nations like Niger, Chad and Cameroun. It has been noted that majority of these persons constitute women and children (International Regional Information Networks, 14 March 2014).

Bamidele (2015:132) observes that the North-East has seen the largest internal displacement and migration since the beginning of Boko Haram insurgence in 2009. This influx of people into new areas and their rehabilitation and provision is an economic burden for federal and state governments. Unemployment is already prevalent, and now the need to provide employment and productive engagement to these migrants has also become a serious concern. This displaced portion of population is contributing little or nothing worthwhile to the national economy, yet they have to be provided for from it.

Not only has Boko Haram wreaked havoc on Nigeria's northeast quadrant and parts of Niger, Chad, and Cameroon, but the group's attacks have also precipitated a veritable humanitarian crisis spanning the region. Between victims of raids by the militants and those killed by its campaign of terrorist bombings, more than 10,000 people lost their lives in 2014 to violence connected to Boko Haram, according the widely-respected Nigeria Security Tracker maintained by the Council on Foreign Relations (Pham, 2015).

According to United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA cited in Imasuen, 2015: 288) 2014 report, there have been steady rise in internally displaced persons from Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states. From 2009 to 2010 IDP's rose to 100,000 and from 2010 to 2011 it increased to 130,000. From 2011 to 2012, the number of IDP's rose to 200, 000. From 2012 to 2013 IDP's grew to 290,000 and from May 2013 to March 2014 it decreased slightly to 250,000. From May-June 2014, it rose again to 436,608 and from August to December IDP's drastically rose to over 600,000 persons (UN OCHA, 2014 cited in Imasuen, 2015:289). By 2015, in northern Nigeria alone, UNICEF (September 18, 2015) reports that 1.2 million children, more than half of them younger than 5, were forced to flee their homes, while an additional 265,000 were uprooted in Cameroon, Chad and Niger.

The increased activities of the Boko Haram sect have increased the influx of Nigerian refugees into neighbouring nations over the years. It has been estimated that there are over 30,000 Nigerian refugees in Northern Cameroun, 1,000 Nigerian refugees in Chad (on Lake Chads Choua Island) and more than 50,000 Nigerian refugees in the Diffa region of South East Niger (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, March 2014). Citing Nigeria's National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) describes the ripple effect of Boko Haram's violence in a recent briefing in which it has identified three emerging patterns of displacement:

> The first is of internally displaced people (IDPs) fleeing to the south of the country in the footsteps of economic migrants. The second is of people fleeing from rural to urban areas within their states, and the third is of the secondary displacement of both IDPs and host communities who move once again when their resources have been depleted.

From another reports, the total number of Nigerians who have been removed from their homes or those referred to as internally displaced persons, IDP, has risen to three million. The Nigerians affected are mainly from Borno, Adamawa, Yobe, Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba State as a result of insurgency and farmers versus herdsmen clashes. This finding came from a group called Internally Displacement Monitoring Centre, IDMC, which made public its research findings recently. The IDMC is part of the Norwegian Refugees Council launched into Global Overview at the United Nations at Geneva (Nigerian Pilot, 2015). For a country like Nigeria that is struggling to build a virile democratic and socio-economic foundation, this development raises grave concerns. It is a signpost to chaos for three million citizens to be rendered homeless, hungry, oppressed and denied their fundamental human rights in terms of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

social security in their country, driven away from their ancestral homes.

As the National Commission for Refugees has found, the Nigerian government has made few attempts to resettle IDPs or to respond in any way. The commission has identified the key constraints to resettlements: lack of experience in dealing with IDP issues, inadequate funding, and competing mandates between institutions. Also, government agencies have only been able to support IDPs in the emergency phase of a crisis but have not had the resources for their long-term reintegration.

The vast majority of the IDPs live with host families and friends while other stay in camps and camp-like sites. There is one official camp in Gombe state, eleven camps in Adamawa state and nine camps in Taraba state. Within these camps major social problems have emerged. First, there is the challenge of proper documentation of IDPs. This challenge has led to the difficulty of ascertaining who is displaced and who is not, causing diversion of relief materials. People who are not necessarily IDPs come to the camps on daily basis to take humanitarian aid. Second, IDPs live in appalling conditions within the camps. The increasing number of IDPs arriving the camps everyday indicates that more camps need to be created. The existing camps have no facilities and structures such as rooms, toilets and beddings (Global Initiative Analysis, 2015). The displacement highlights the level of destruction suffered by social institutions like schools, hospitals and care centers for children and the aged. The destruction of over 900 schools as well as some hospitals since 2011 also led to the exodus of teachers, medical doctors and other health personnel (ibid).

c) Diplomatic Relations

Some of the most troublesome features of societal conflicts in the modern, globalizing world are their systemic effects. We can no longer afford to think of societal conflicts as localized and isolated problems requiring negotiated settlements by the leaders of the warring parties; we must see them as "nested" problems that substantially affect and, in turn, are significantly affected by their surrounding environment (Marshall and Gurr, 2005:14). For instance, prior to the onset of Boko Haram, many foreign partners of Nigeria were mainly interested in governance issues, as it relates to corruption, followed by concern about the conduct of free, fair and credible elections. However, currently, the pressure on Nigeria and the main focus of foreign intervention, especially from foreign governments is how to tackle insurgency. Assistance from donor countries is slowly shifting from economic issues to security issues which necessitates that the relationship between Nigeria and many countries, including her neighbors, which used to be dominated by trade and technical cooperation have been replaced by security considerations (Dasuki, 2014).

The insurgency of Boko Haram has negatively affected the relationship between Nigeria and other nations of the world because of bombing, kidnapping and hostage taking of foreigners. The United States of America and other European countries regularly warn their citizens to stay clear of volatile zones in Nigeria. UN also black listed and later delisted Nigeria as a terrorist country (Omankihalen and Babajide, 2012 cited in Awortu, 2015:218). The insurgency has re-shaped and redefined the classification of Nigeria in many peoples' minds all over the world. The country's name is now being mentioned along with those of other countries that have had long standing terrorism challenges. Ordinary Nigerians have also redefined their views of the security situation in the country. Issues that used to agitate the minds of the people, in the immediate past, such as armed robbery and kidnapping have been downgraded given the scale of destruction and devastation caused by Boko Haram's indiscriminate targeting of civilians. Taking a wider perspective, Persson (2014:45) opines that:

> The unrest in Mali and the crises in the Central African Republic (CAR) and South Sudan, together with the ongoing violence in Northern Nigeria, all have implications for the broader sub-Saharan region. Chad, Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Niger and Cameroon, all of which are already worried about the spread of Islamist militancy from North East Nigeria, are among the countries affected by the larger patterns of conflict and insecurity. With its powerful position, large economy and leading role in regional organisations, Nigeria plays a key part in the security challenges in West and Central Africa. This role is further accentuated by the centrality of Nigeria to tackle the challenge of piracy and maritime insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea. The ability of Nigeria to manage its security threats will thus have a great impact on the entire region and will also set the conditions for more effective regional measures.

The bulk of Boko Haram's membership, the indiscriminate and cruel characteristic of its attacks, the complexity of the Nigerian religious and ethnic context, the sheer weight of the Nigerian state in an instable neighborhood – Cameroun, Niger, Chad, Mali – and its proximity to the jihadist battle front in the Sahel convert it into an immediate and infectious regional threat (Karmon, 2014). However, the biggest concern to the international community is the large number of violations of human rights and international law that the military has perpetrated in its fight against Boko Haram and which have largely been denied. The military is accused of massive retaliations and brutality, including burning down villages and conducting extrajudicial killings. In the

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

case of the 2014 attack on the Maiduguri barracks, Amnesty International reported over 600 detainees killed. Due to the lack of intelligence, the military tends to enter hide-outs 'all guns blazing', killing civilians in crossfire. Other allegations include torture, extortion and corruption (Barna, 2014:13).

III. Conclusion

The ability of Boko Haram to defy the power of the Nigerian state and survive to prosecute its war sets up a model that may repeat itself in countries with enclaved religious populations that have a collective sense of marginalization and victimhood (Pul, 2014:13). While Boko Haram's mode of assertion of its voice and views in the public space has turned extremely violent, it nonetheless reflects the failure of the state to be more accommodative, attentive, and responsive to the issues it purported to have represented from its initiation. That failure means that the State of Nigeria lost the opportunity to create the needed platform for constructive engagement with the voice of faith in matters of public interest. Replication of this failure in other settings can only reproduce the Boko Haram model to perpetuate Africa's image as the continent of interminable violent conflicts.

References Références Referencias

1. Adebayo, A.A (2014) Implications of 'Boko Haram' Terrorism on National Development in Nigeria: A Critical Review, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, MCSER Publishing, Rome-Italy, Vol5, No 16.
2. Agbiboa, Daniel and Maiangwa, Benjamin (2014) Nigeria United in Grief; Divided in Response: Religious Terrorism, Boko Haram, and the Dynamics of State Response, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Volume 14, Number 1, 2014.
3. Alozieuwa, Simeon (2012) Contending Theories on Nigeria's Security Challenge in the Era of Boko Haram Insurgency, *The Peace and Conflict Review*, Volume 7, Issue 1.
4. Amaraegbu, Declan A (2013) Failure of Human Intelligence, Boko Haram and Terrorism in Nigeria, *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Volume 15, No.4, 2013.
5. Awortu, B.E (2015) Boko Haram Insurgency and the Underdevelopment of Nigeria, *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences,* Vol.5, No.6, 2015.
6. Adams, David et al (2014) Ethnic and Regional Violence in Nigeria: Implications for National Security, *Journal of Politics and Law*; Vol. 7, No. 3.
7. Babalola, Oluwatosin (2013) Combating Violent Extremism and Insurgency in Nigeria: A Case Study of the Boko Haram Scourge, Center for Global and International Studies (CGIS) FMSO, Available at: http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/Collaboration/universities/Boko-Haram-Scourge.pdf
8. Bamidele, Oluwaseun (2015) Seized by Sleaze: The Siege of Domestic Terrorism in the North-East Region of Nigeria and the Search for a Workable Solution, *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 10:1, 121-146, DOI: 10.1080/19361610.2015.972289
9. Barna, Judit (2014) Insecurity in Context: The Rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria, European Union, Directorate-General for External Policies Policy Department, DG EXPO/B/PolDep/Note/2014_113
10. CLEEN Foundation (2014) Youths, Radicalisation and Affiliation with Insurgent Groups in Northern Nigeria, CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series, No 20.
11. Dasuki, M Sambo (2014) Challenges of Governance in the Era of Insurgency, A Paper Presented by *Mr.* Mohammed Dasuki Sambo, the National Security Adviser to the Nigerian Presidency at the Nigeria Security Summit, at Harvard University, Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts, USA.
12. Eme, O.I and Ibietan, J (2012).The Cost of Boko Haram Activities in Nigeria, *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 2(2).
13. Hilker, L., Nicholas Benequista and Gregory Barrett (2010), 'Broadening Spaces for Citizens in Violent Contexts', *Citizenship DRC Policy Briefing.*
14. Human Rights Watch (2015) World Report 2015: Nigeria, Events of 2014, Available at: https://-www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/-nigeria
15. Ikerionwu, Ikechukwu Daniel (2014) The Global Islamic Resurgence and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, Abstract of a Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Peace and Conflict Studies Program in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts University of Massachusetts Lowell.
16. International Crisis Group (2014) Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency, *ICG Africa Report* N°216, 3 April 2014.
17. Joshua, Segun and Chidozie, Felix (2014) Terrorism in Nigeria, in Nigeria, in Ajayi and Fashagba (eds) Understanding Government and Politics in Nigeria, The Department of Political Science and International Relations, Landmark University, Omu-Aran, Nigeria.
18. Karmon, Ely (2014) Boko Haram's International Reach, *Terrorism Research Initiative*, Vol.8 No 1.
19. Kantiok, James B (2014) Boko Haram, the Government and Peace Negotiation, Centre for Democracy and Development Monograph: CDDM/01/2014 July 2014.
20. Kwaja, Chris (2013) Rethinking Insurgencies and State Failure in Nigeria | SSR | Sep 30, Available at: http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/2013/09/30/rethinking-insurgencies-and-state-failure-in-nigeria/
21. Mahmood, Omar S. (2013) Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria: No Easy Fix, HSPI Issue Brief 18, April 03.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

22. Mohammed, Mustapha (2014) "Kano State" in Youths, Radicalisation and Affiliation with Insurgent Groups in Northern Nigeria, Monograph Series, No 20, CLEEN Foundation.
23. Nigerian Pilot (2015) Insurgency and humanitarian crisis in Nigeria, April 25.
24. Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (2015) Conflict Briefing Notes, *Conflict Briefing* No. 24, May 2015.
25. Onuoha, F.C (2014) A Danger not to Nigeria Alone – Boko Haram's Transnational Reach and Regional Responses, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, December 10, 2014.
26. Onuoha, F.C (2014) Why Do Youth Join Boko Haram, United States Institute of Peace Special Report, http://www.usip.org
27. Onuoha, F.C (2014) "Background" in Youths, Radicalisation and Affiliation with Insurgent Groups in Northern Nigeria, Monograph Series, No 20, CLEEN Foundation.
28. Ogunboyede, Kolawole (2014) Terrorism and Democratic Governance in Nigeria, *International Journal of Innovation and Scientific Research*, Vol. 10 No. 1 Oct. 2014, pp. 35-39.
29. Pearson, Elizabeth (2014) Do Nigeria's female suicide attackers point to desperation or high ambition for Boko Haram? Available at:http://-africanarguments.org/2014/11/20/do-nigerias-fema-le-suicide-attackers-point-to-desperation-or-high-ambition-for-boko-haram-by-elizabeth-pearson/
30. Pearson, Elizabeth (2014) Nigeria's Female Suicide Bombers: A Show of Strength, Available at: http://warontherocks.com/2014/10/nigerias-female -suicide-bombers-a-show-of-strength/
31. Pham, Peter (2015) "Nigeria on the Brink?" Prepared Statement Presented before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations, Tuesday, January 27, 2015.
32. Pul, Hippolyt (2014) Boko Haram – Terrorists Or Pioneers For The Redefinition Of The Public Space In Africa, ISTR Africa, Conference Working Papers Series, Available at:http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/-www.istr.org/resource/resmgr/africaregional2014wp/boko_haram_terrorists_pionee.pdf
33. Reuters (2014) Female suicide bombers kill at least 21 in Nigeria's northeast, Tuesday 25 November 2014 18:04 http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/e1ea4b-0046559988bf40ff226832f392/Female-suicide-bom-bers-kill-at-least-21-in-Nigerias-northeast-20142511
34. Solomon, Daniel (2014) Boko Haram's Predatory State within a Predatory State, Available at: *http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2014/9/boko -haram-nigeriacorruptionislamicgovernance.html*
35. Stewart, Frances (2004) Development and Security, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE, Working Paper 3.
36. Van Creveld, Martin (1996) "In Wake of Terrorism, Modern Armies Prove to be Dinosaurs of Defense, *New Perspectives Quarterly* 13, No 4.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: f
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Labour Dispute Resolution in Botswana: Mapping a Boundary between Labour Courts and Collective Judicial Responsibility

By Emmanuel Kodzo-Bediaku Ntumy

University of Botswana

Introduction- It is a fact that the introduction of labour courts in some developing African countries was a case of need. Others subjectively concentrate on issues of jurisdiction and status which is why they define the labour court as an ad hoc tribunal or an administrative agency and so should be restricted to that status, as an outgrowth of the Executive. The major culprit is the senior courts of law and record. Historically, this may be because at establishment, the labour courts were not provided for as senior courts of record in the constitutions. A simple explanation is that at independence, the post-colonial governments retained much of the constitution around which independence was negotiated. During those early days, there was no industrialisation and mass formal employment and therefore no serious labour disputes that might have threatened the stability of the state.

The proponents of exclusion of Labour Courts (LC) or Industrial Courts (IC) contend that

"By "courts" is meant the courts of civil judicature and by "tribunal" is meant those bodies of men who are appointed to resolve controversies arising from certain special laws----Certain special matters go before tribunals and the residue goes to the ordinary courts of civil judicature.

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 160699p*

LABOURDISPUTERESOLUTIONINBOTSWANAMAPPINGABOUNDARYBETWEENLABOURCOURTSANDCOLLECTIVEJUDICIALRESPONSIBILITY

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Emmanuel Kodzo-Bediaku Ntumy. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Labour Dispute Resolution in Botswana: Mapping a Boundary between Labour Courts and Collective Judicial Responsibility

Emmanuel Kodzo-Bediaku Ntumy

I. Introduction

It is a fact that the introduction of labour courts in some developing African countries was a case of need. Others subjectively concentrate on issues of jurisdiction and status which is why they define the labour court as an ad hoc tribunal or an administrative agency and so should be restricted to that status, as an outgrowth of the Executive. The major culprit is the senior courts of law and record. Historically, this may be because at establishment, the labour courts were not provided for as senior courts of record in the constitutions. A simple explanation is that at independence, the post-colonial governments retained much of the constitution around which independence was negotiated. During those early days, there was no industrialisation and mass formal employment and therefore no serious labour disputes that might have threatened the stability of the state.

The proponents of exclusion of Labour Courts (LC) or Industrial Courts (IC) contend that

"By "courts" is meant the courts of civil judicature and by "tribunal" is meant those bodies of men who are appointed to resolve controversies arising from certain special laws----Certain special matters go before tribunals and the residue goes to the ordinary courts of civil judicature. Though tribunals may have the trappings of a court, they are not courts in the strict sense of the word." They go further by stating that "the tribunal is also not a court just because it gives decisions affecting the rights of subjects. Further, the fact that its decisions can be appealed at the High Court or the Court of Appeal or because the civil courts can remit cases to it do not also confer the status of a "court"

It is not quite clear whether the concern is with the source, the title or the functions as arrogated. Immediately, one wonders why the judiciary would want to flog the issue of jurisdiction. The judiciary, in pursuance of whatever its objectives may be, overtly appears to conclude that a tribunal cannot metamorphose into a court of law. This is because whether a tribunal or specialised agency gives a final decision or hears evidence on oath should not make it a court. They contend further that, such a tribunal also cannot be a court of law because two or more contending parties appear before it between whom it has to decide.

The paper suggests that the notion of status is central to the arguments of the civil judicature. This is, because status means the legal authority, standing or capacity as an institution, its freedom, origin and credibility. It would also be an index to legal rights, duties, powers and disabilities relative to the ability to deliver justice equitably, firmly and timely with credibility. In this context, status cannot be the exclusive right of the civil courts as the labour courts can also lay claim to the same status.

Therefore, the motive behind the crusade by the Judiciary is self-seeking because their status and authority are also conferred and so can be withdrawn. The paper undertakes a brief survey of the recent history of the relationship between the civil courts and the labour courts in parts of Africa. This should prepare the foundation for examining the Botswana situation in some detail.

II. Judiciary Engineered Conflict: An Overview

This section deals with the realities of what the paper terms a family feud engineered by the Civil Courts against the Labour Courts. From a lay perspective, it is unclear what there is to lose in terms of national interest in establishing specialised courts instead of those manned by the learned generalists. In fact, at the commencement of the practice of judicial case management, the key reason provided to alleviate the pressure on the civil courts in terms of timely dispensation of justice. Much as the labour courts were to ease the pressure by taking on labour civil cases, one would have expected some improvement. The facts below tell a different story.

For example, the figures below and dates show the volume of cases registered by the Industrial Court (IC) of Botswana. First it must be noted that resolving or settling these cases is not an issue of general familiarity with the common law. It requires mastery of the municipal labour law framework which includes the

Author: University of Botswana, Department of Law, C/o Faculty of Engineering and Technology, Gaborone. e-mail: ntumy@mopipi.ub.bw

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Employment Act [Cap 47:01], the Trade Unions and Employers Organizations Act [Cap 48:01], the Trade Disputes Act [Cap48:02], the Workers Compensation Act [Cap 47:03] and the Public Service Act {Cap 26:01} among others.

In 2008, 10,137dispute cases were reported. In2009, there were10,137, 13,500 in 2010 and 129,11 in 2011.

Perhaps in wishing the Labour Courts away, the civil courts were asserting their capacity to handle these workloads together with their civil and criminal cases. The paper asserts that, the late arrival of Labour Courts as statutory creatures and not directly provided for by most constitutions does not render them inferior, subordinate and therefore appendages in addition to their historical disadvantage.

In Namibia for example, the Labour Court was consciously created by the Labour Act outside the constitution. The 2004 preamble talked about the intention to "consolidate and amend the labour law to establish a comprehensive Labour Law for all employers and employees, to entrench fundamental labour rights and protection --------to establish the Labour Advisory Council, the Labour Court -------." There is no mention of any constitutional provisions. In Tanzania, the Labour Court is considered a Division of the High Court. In this case, there seems a reflection of a subordinate or secondary role as compared to the High Court. Zimbabwe appears to have prevented the development of such poor relationship between the courts. The Labour Act of 2002 dictates the composition of the court as follows; all appointees of the court, referred to as Presidents must satisfy the following criteria;

a) Must either be a former judge of the Supreme Court or High Court or
b) Qualified to be a judge of the High Court or
c) Has been a magistrate in Zimbabwe for not less than seven years.

It is suggested that in this instance, those in the formal courts could not have any argument against the composition and its competence. Furthermore, the Labour Court is provided for in s. 92 of the Constitution which also stipulates that the Senior President shall craft the rules albeit in consultation with the responsible minister.

In South Africa, the Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) is not a court like the Labour Court where appeals go. It is an administrative tribunal intended to implement, interpret and apply the Labour Relations Act (LRA) and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) It constitutes the first forum in the line of labour dispute resolution. Then come the Labour Courts and finally the Labour Appeal Court whose only superior is the Constitutional Court. The CCMA has never claimed to be a court of law as its structure and functions are very clear.

As Mathiba says, a key complicating factor was the existence of forum shopping, which has a negative impact on the independence and standing of the Labour Court and all other institutions created in terms of the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 (The LRA).In 2012, the pending Superior Courts Bill had proposed the abolition of the Labour Court and Labour Appeal Court. It is submitted that the judiciary in this case was challenging both the Labour Court system and the Legislation. According to the Bill, labour matters could continue to be decided by the High Court whilst labour appeals will be attended to by the Supreme Court of Appeal Such a collective decision did not take into account efficiency, justice and effectiveness.

According to the Judiciary, holding a judicial office should be seen as more than the discharge of mere judicial functions. It is said to mean holding a position of responsibility which is primarily judicial. The assumption of such a position is not by ministerial appointment but subject to a Judicial Service Commission recommendation. The fact that rules of evidence are sacred to the civilcourts should not 8invite the negative comments about the relaxed approach in the Labour Courts.

The preoccupation with seniority seems paramount to the civil courts. As said, "A Court's jurisdiction flows from the constitution or legislation or both. Thus a court of law can only exercise jurisdiction as conferred by the constitution or other written law. It cannot arrogate jurisdiction beyond that which is conferred upon it by law. Where the constitution exhaustively provides for the jurisdiction of a court of law, the court must operate within the constitutional limits. It cannot expand its jurisdiction through judicial craft or innovation."

In Kenya, the Industrial Court has been defined in terms of its functions. These are;

"To facilitate social dialogue. Social dialogue includes all types of negotiation, consultation, exchange of information and collective bargaining. The Industrial Court facilitates social dialogue by defining and adjudicating the rights and obligations of the tripartite players-government, employers and employees."

If this is aimed at isolating the Industrial Court, it is indicative of a misunderstanding and a demonstration of the manipulation of the law by the Judiciary regarding any statutory jurisdiction vested in the IC so far. This is because including social dialogue creation and nurturing in addition to the IC's defined duties and powers will make the argument of jurisdiction untenable. In essence, the perception is that the judges of the civil court wish to protect their exclusivity and privileges because of an assumption of a demonstrated competence for which the constitution bestows jurisdiction. The question is whether the descriptive name "court" of the IC dilutes that of the High Court.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Factually, both the "senior" and the "inferior" courts are manned by judges of same qualification.

Lesotho offers a more direct example of this unwillingness to accommodate others from the fraternity of the learned. There was much uncertainty towards the Labour Court when it was first established. The Court of Appeal offered its initial opinion of Labour Courts. It held that the Labour Code Order was "decreed" by the Military regime. As such, the Labour Court must not be seen as a court of law because as constituted, it lacked the essential attributes of a court of law despite the fact that its jurisdiction was final and exclusive regarding labour matters.

There had earlier on been a suggestion that the formal Appeal Court should hear appeals from the Labour Appeal Court (LAC). Given this confusion, the Labour Code was amended to effect a parallel system of adjudication where both Appeal Courts would function as the final forum for redress. Still some learned parties believed the Labour Appeal court was a nullity. The Court of Appeal in attempting to clarify the situation, confused it even more. With reference to the LAC the court said;

"(The Labour Court) is, in my view, a tribunal discharging a judicial function within the contemplation of s 118(1) (d) and s.127. It follows that Parliament did have the power to establish it" (as a tribunal). "Parliament then only had the power to create the Labour Appeal Court if it is a tribunal within the contemplation of ss 118 (IX) (d) and d 127 (A). of the Constitution" It is doubtful whether the jurisdiction of that court extended to challenging the Legislature for doing what the Constitution established it for which is the enactment of appropriate legislation.

The case of Nigeria provides its own lessons. The National Industrial Court (NIC) was established in 1976. It had vast jurisdiction. In 1992, the Trade Dispute Act (1976) was amended by Decree. The amendment elevated the NIC to a superior court of record with exclusive jurisdiction. This turn of events brought about the question of the precise place of the NIC in the judicial hierarchy.

In the case of National Union of Electricity Employees (NUEE) v Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE). Briefly, BPE sought an order from the High Court to interdict the NUEE and its members from going on strike. The NUEE by notice of preliminary objection questioned the jurisdiction of the High Court. The matter ended at the Court of Appeal. The court held that the High Court had jurisdiction. In his ruling, the Court President had this to say;

"Again, it is trite law that the jurisdiction of the State High Court, as conferred by the Constitution can only be curtailed or abridged by or even eroded by the Constitution itself and not by an Act or law respectively of the National Assembly, meaning that where there is conflict, in that regard, between the provisions of the Constitution and the provisions of any other Act or law of the National Assembly or House of Assembly respectively the Constitution shall prevail ifI may emphasise excepting as I have observed above by clear and direct provision of the constitution"

In line with such pronouncement, the Supreme Court ruled further that Decree (No. 47 of 1992) can only create a tribunal which automatically becomes subordinated to the High Court. With due respect, the learned judge was wrong. The constitution is inanimate and is not intended to fetter socio-economic development. Not only has the Nigerian Constitution itself been amended several times by Parliament. Sometimes this was in response to such jurisdictional questions so as to elevate the status of the National Industrial Court. This was achieved in 2011 and put paid to the concerted effort of the Judiciary to either prevent the establishment of the NIC or failing that, to subordinate the NIC or as preferred, the tribunal to itself as the senior and more authoritative.

In any case, the same constitution vests power in the Legislature to enact laws as deemed necessary and valid. At another level, the learned judge demonstrated the need to examine labour jurisprudence more intricately. In this instance, the decision that concerns over job losses in view of an impending privatisation cannot be one of the grounds for a strike because it was not an issue relating to workers' welfare was flawed.

Reference is made to the case of Swaziland Governmentv SFTU & SFLU in connection with the then intended purchase of a private jet for the Swazi King at a time when the economy was reeling and employment becoming scarce. The court held that the issue falls within the domain of the socio- economic welfare of workers and the citizenry at large. The next section deals with Botswana. The examination of Botswana adopts an integrated approach which blends the jurisdiction debate and the other issues that come up for discussion.

III. The Industrial Court in Botswana

As indicated elsewhere, in 1966, Botswana was a fledgling republic and the Constitution was largely hybrid, structured together by the colonial government. In 1966, the burning issues were independence, sustenance and survival, not labour dispute resolution. However, by 1991, the employees of the state, majority of whom were categorised as "manual workers" having been allowed to unionise, organised a massive, unprecedented industrial action.

It became clear that labour relations were maturing albeit in a radical way. In 1992, the Trade Disputes Act was amended to allow for the establishment of the Industrial Court (IC). The

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

constitution provided extensively for only two courts; the High Court and the Court of Appeal. It was only in 2005 that the IC was acknowledged as a superior court together with the High Court, the Court of Appeal and Court Martial (not tribunals, administrative or otherwise).

There was no furore about this turn of affairs as was the case in both Lesotho and Nigeria. This is not to say there were no reservations and more importantly warning as to the potential effects on the IC. The Court was established as a court of law and equity under the political oversight of the responsible minister. The judges are appointed by the President from those eligible for appointment as judges of the High Court. It must be noted that the High Court is described in the Constitution as a superior court of record which shall have all the powers of such a court. It also has the jurisdiction to supervise any civil or criminal proceedings before any subordinate court or any court martial.

In other words, the High Court is vested with original jurisdiction in respect of these functions. What could not have been included at that time was the IC, which could therefore have been specifically exempted. This over sight is having its own unintended consequences on the IC. The reason could be one of association since the court martial is also supposed to be a superior court yet subject to the High Court. The problem then is the actual meaning of "seniority or superiority' since in investing the IC with seniority, it was left at the mercy of subjective interpretation. Nowhere has the Court been clothed with exclusive jurisdiction in labour matters unlike in Lesotho or Nigeria. This is apparent in section 18 (TDA) which hides behind all matters 'properly brought' before the court.

The situation is exacerbated by the absence of a Labour Court of Appeal. Which could have resulted in a well- defined, parallel structure which could have robustly advocated greater autonomy and recognition. It would also have defined more sharply, the appropriate fora for labour matters. In default, there appears to be a presumption that no IC can be more adept at its so-called specialised functions than a generalist High Court. If that is so, appeals should not be routed to the Court of Appeal as the most superior court. It also implies that the High Court can assume power of review and involve itself in both matters of common and labour law as is presently the case.

In terms of its jurisdiction, the duties imposed on the ICinclude settling of trade disputes, securing and maintaining good industrial relations Included also are interdiction of unlawful strikes, hearing appeals from alternative dispute resolution agencies and referring matters to the Commissioner among others. Such specific restrictions create a grey area for an ambitious High Court. As an overview of the problem, what follows is an examination of the practical dimensions that best describe the uncertain status of the IC in Botswana. The dilemma confronting the IC is whether it is an unwelcome appendage to the judicature or a specialised court that is subject to the political supervision of a minister. At one end is an undefined status and at the other the possibility of political interference.

a) The Industrial Court in Botswana

In a sense, the open debate in Lesotho, Nigeria and South Africa regarding the many implications of a Labour Court among others resulted in a commonly agreed modus operandi. It brought the labour court system into open debate as to the benefits, jurisdiction and related issues. In the case of Botswana, not much was debated in the public domain. As a result, according to Mpho, the lack of clarity regarding the role of the ICcoupled with obtuse comments by some judges in both the High Court and Appeal Court pertaining to labour jurisprudence from the IChave led to poor public and disrespect for the Court.

Section 15 of the Trade Disputes Act (TDA) does not explicitly confer exclusive jurisdiction but stipulates that as a court of law and equity, it shall exercise all the powers and rights conferred on it by the Act and any law. The question of equity should have been a distinguishing characteristic of the IC. Taken to its logical conclusion, International Labour Conventions, treaties and international benchmarks ought to have been emphatically projected as key elements in the jurisprudence of labour law and its adjudicating organ.

Though exclusive jurisdiction is provided in section 18, it is subject to matters that are properly brought before the IC. There ought to be a simpler, clearer way of stating the same otherwise, "properly brought" by whom and for whose assessment remains inexplicable. It cannot therefore be inferred as the High Court shares concurrent jurisdiction with the IC in all civil matters including labour issues. If for no other reason, this avenue to forum shopping should have been firmly closed. As a statutory creation, the IC cannot go beyond the confines of the Act. Practically therefore, it finds its decisions being appealed against at both the High Court and the Court of Appeal.

While it may issue orders including that of appearance, it can only impose a fine as stipulated. It also does not impose costs except in special cases. Witnesses may decline to answer questions or present documentation such as may prejudice them elsewhere. The paper now examines the presumption that the turn of events in Botswana has created a simmering discontent and uncertainty. The ingredients are job security, distortion of labour law jurisprudence, In essence, the situation creates two major problems. The first is whether the IC is prepared to lead the way in creating an internationally credible labour law jurisprudence through robust teleological leadership or allow the High Court to fill in the void and marginalise the IC as it has been doing. The likely consequence of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

the first is a possible confrontation with the state should the IC demonstrate the intention to relocate labour issues in the arena of public debate. Secondly, the IC could become a pliant tool for legitimizing the state's perspectives on labour policy and attendant legislation.

IV. Contextualising the Dilemma

Section 86 of the Botswana Constitution empowers the Legislature to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Botswana. This being the case, laws can be made to repeal, amend or supplement any law duly enacted. Having elevated the IC to a superior court in section 127, this act should have been publicised and in the process clarify the relationship of the IC with other courts. Particularly with regard to the jurisdiction of the High Court. These missed opportunities create the latter conflicts resulting in questionable identity and status.

Pragmatically, judges appointed to the IC whose sessions involve a Judge President and two assessors cannot, comparatively, be seen as being at par with the other two civil courts provided for in the Constitution. It makes sense therefore for the IC to endure the current situation. Paradoxically, such compliance will imply acceptance of the status quo. Tactically, any clamouring for recognition by a few functionaries would not attract the envisaged attention.

The paper illustrates the dilemma with a few practical examples. The first case is Botswana Power Corporation Workers Union v Botswana Power Corporation. This was an appeal by the union from the decision of the IC in connection with whether the definition of "member of management" as defined by the Trade Unions and Employers Organisations Act (section 61) could be amended for the purposes of enabling more employees to join the employees union. The IC had ruled that the provision did not conflict with the provisions of the Constitution regarding Freedom of Association. The union then appealed. In making its decision, the Court of Appeal ruled that since the definition formed part of the Act, neither the employer nor workers can change or amend the provision. The Court did not question whether tactically, promoting employees into management in order to curb membership of the union was a form of discrimination. Secondly, it did not consider that ultimately, the definition in reality can literally convert every supervisor into a manager.

The Court saw nothing wrong with the provision within the context of freedom to form or join a union of one's choice. It also did not visualize the debilitating effect on the union's viability if all the better educated, informed and more vocal employees are elevated beyond the reach of the union. By implication, such statutory provisions should not be subject to criticism or any observation and such must not be seen as originating from either the IC or the Court of Appeal.

In contrast, the case of Swaziland Hotel and Catering Workers Union v Swaziland SPA Holdings Ltd indicates how far a court could go in redefining and humanizing municipal workplace law within the context of international labour law. The Judge had been asked to rule on the grading of workers into "management"\ which, as alleged by the union, simply allocated deceptive job titles transforming such functions into management responsibility. The Judge called for all the existing job titles and the functions attached to each. On the basis of this, he was able to determine which of the workers actually had management roles. The rest were then declared free to join the union.

In his ruling, Judge Hassanali (JA) quoted as follows;

"The modern claim to freedom of association presents itself as essentially a claim of the individual to be permitted to establish relations with others of his own choosing, for the purpose of obtaining for the whole group, some special strength or advantage in the pursuit of a common end"

In effect, the judge felt it his duty to examine and determine the purpose and relevance of some aspects of domestic labour law in pursuance of justice and equity.

In Botswana Land Boards and Local Authorities Workers Union and Others v Director of Public Service Management and Another the union had challenged the decision of the DPSM to take disciplinary action against striking public sector workers after they had been advised to desist from the unlawful strike. The DPSM had approached the IC to interdict the striking works on the grounds that they were essential service employees and being such their strike was unprotected. Subsequently, the interdiction order was executed. The Union noted an appeal to the Court of Appeal. Despite the notification, the DPSM on grounds of urgency, returned to the IC to seek to execute the judgement.

The concern of this paper hinges around the attitude of the IC in the matter. Suffice it to say that the IC declared itself as having the discretion to await the appeal or grant the execution of the order declaring the strike unlawful. Given the fact that there were several issues arising from the fundamental principles of labour law, the IC overlooked them. Among these are an examination of the groups of employees that have been covered under essential services from the public sector in the Schedule forming part of the Trade Disputes Act. Secondly, whether there had been any additions and whether the changes were lawful and procedurally valid. In addition whether the requirements for a protected strike by those legally categorised as essential services and whether the Act made adequate provisions for this.

If none of these issues have been satisfactorily addressed, then the IC failed to execute its mandate. In effect, the IC would have failed in asserting its independence and commitment to the advancement of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

labour law. It shall have failed also in advancing the course of equity and justice. This fatal flaw necessitated the appeal heard by the High Court. The High Court raised this very issues and dealt with them comprehensively in relation to both domestic and international laws.

Tin the appeal, the applicants were seeking orders as follows;

That section 49 being the Schedule to the TDA be declared invalid having been amended unlawfully by Statutory Instrument (SI 57) of 2011 which widened the scope of essential services to include teachers and others. Further, as a signatory to ILO Conventions and international treaties, Botswana must be seen to uphold these, in particular the fundamental freedom to associate, organise and go on strike if need be. The High Court ordered that the TDA (No. 15 of 2004) was incompatible with the Constitution of Botswana and that the TDA (Amendment of Schedule) Order 2011 contained in SI 57 of 2011 was invalid and of no force or effect.

This judgement was well reasoned and demonstrated a thorough grasp of labour law juris prudence. It makes sense therefore if the IC lacks recognition as it appears reluctant to take a decisive position on issues of importance to the generality of employees. In effect, either by acts of omission or commission, the IC appears to have abdicated its responsibilities as a specialised institution.

The next case is an appeal against the High Court ruling. Its significance is that it made pronouncements which subsequent events confirmed. Even before the Trade Disputes Bill prohibiting industrial action by essential services, the Judge President had declared that all categories of workers in any essential service such as public health are all essential and there shall be no freedom to strike as a bargaining tool. According to him, employees in essential services means every worker. In line with this position adopted, he then proceeded to redefine essential services.

"All employees in the health services for example were covered. Neither the PSA (Public Service Act) nor the TDA provides for exception either. In our view, all the employees in an essential service play an important role individually toward ensuring the effectiveness of the team delivering the essential service in question. Along with doctors, nurses and other specialists, the support staff, caterers, grounds men, cooks and others ensure a hygienic, safe environment conducive to the effective delivery of the service and the health and swift recovery of patients"

Granted that the Court unanimously agreed with the Judge President, it can be concluded that the Appeal court sees itself as the custodian of state labour policy and legislation. Having acknowledged the ILO in passing, the court could have looked at the constituents of an essential service as communicated to the Government of Botswana. By the Committee of Experts. In the near future, the amended TDA will contain an increased number of professions categorised as essential services who are to be prohibited from any form of industrial action. The decision could therefore be indicative of endorsement of the state's labour policy and legislation whether these comply with international norms and best practices.

V. Conclusion

It is apparent from the evidence above that civil court judges in general do not wish to share the status of "court" with Labour or Industrial courts whom they generally refer to as "tribunals." In doing so, the civil courts appear willing to sacrifice their role as engineers of justice. It cannot be said that they do not understand the apportionment of judicial responsibilities in the interest of efficiency and effectiveness. Neither can they claim to be more competent than the Judge Presidents of Labour courts. These Labour courts are currently presided over by practicing judges who are co-opted. It follows then that if the Labour courts are considered incompetent, it is because having been redeployed to preside over labour dispute adjudication, they have been unable to pick up the nuances of labour law in action. It is therefore possible to conclude that they are not the most suitable for the Labour courts. Paradoxically, this could be due to their generalist background.

If one agrees with the deductions above, the issue then is whether judges in general need specific reorientation if they wish to monopolise the justice system as a whole including labour matters. Assuming they see labour matters as part of the Judiciary's collective responsibility, they will still need occasional workshops and such other methods that can bring them closer to what labour law and jurisprudence practically requires.

As observed above, courts in all the countries mentioned are plagued with serious backlog of undecided cases, computerised case management notwithstanding. It is precisely because of this that references to the constitution and jurisdiction as grounds for demeaning the Labour Court are not out of sincerity but amisguided discomfort with creatures of statute which might become autonomous.

Looking back at the Botswana situation, the only High Court appeal the paper dealt with was handled by a judge who was trained at the highest level in labour law for academic purposes. The depth of his competence manifested itself in the broad tapestry of labour law articulated prior to the ruling. Such calibre of judge is what the IC needs. On the other hand, the Appeal Court decision to set aside all the orders of the High Court and the performance of the IC in these cases suggest some degree of loyalty to the state.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

It would be praiseworthy if all the judges can accept collective responsibility for labour disputes. Having done so, those with an inclination towards labour matters among them can be identified and an on - the - job programme for subsequent specialisation in the area drawn up. With regard to Botswana, the Industrial Court has been elevated to a superior court, Its presiding judge draws the same emolument as those in the civil courts. The Judiciary as a collective can then convince the state to release the Industrial Court from the supervision and political control of a Minister and bring it under the Judicature. The paper acknowledges that in practical terms this is not as easy as it might appear.

A more desirable alternative could be the creation of a parallel structure distinct from the civil courts. The first act in pursuance of this goal will be the creation of a Labour Appeal Court. Pragmatically, this will also exclude forum shopping as all labour matters will flow from the Commissioner of Labour through the Labour Court to the Labour Appeal Court as the final arbiter. This approach has been adopted in Lesotho, South Africa and other places. It will also close the debate over "courts" and "tribunals" thus focussing attention on the objectives of equity and justice.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Hyper Democracy and Discombobulation: The United Kingdom Brexit: It's Implication for Capitalism

By Uhembe Ahar Clement
Federal University Lafia

Abstract- The paper is devoted to detail analysis of United Kingdom's pull out of European Union economy called Brexist; the aim is to look at the implication with an objective of preventing such political earthquake in further. By way of qualitative analysis of relevant secondary source predicated on the Marxian assumption of the political economy; the paper posits the dynamic of the politics of international economic relation as it is manifest between European Union (EU) and United Kingdom (UK). The paper argues that economic and political destiny of people should not be determined in such formulaic manner. However, political leaders who don't want sad outcomes only have to provide good leadership and meet the peoples expectation before referendumism take place. The paper recommend that British in the final analysis is yet to come to terms with certain of modern realities, Nigeria can also be caught between nostalgia and their future. Referendum should be a great lesson for Nigeria but it is highly recommended.

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 169999p*

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Uhembe Ahar Clement. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Hyper Democracy and Discombobulation: The United Kingdom Brexit: It's Implication for Capitalism

Uhembe Ahar Clement

Abstract- The paper is devoted to detail analysis of United Kingdom's pull out of European Union economy called Brexist; the aim is to look at the implication with an objective of preventing such political earthquake in further. By way of qualitative analysis of relevant secondary source predicated on the Marxian assumption of the political economy; the paper posits the dynamic of the politics of international economic relation as it is manifest between European Union (EU) and United Kingdom (UK). The paper argues that economic and political destiny of people should not be determined in such formulaic manner. However, political leaders who don't want sad outcomes only have to provide good leadership and meet the peoples expectation before referendumism take place. The paper recommend that British in the final analysis is yet to come to terms with certain of modern realities, Nigeria can also be caught between nostalgia and their future. Referendum should be a great lesson for Nigeria but it is highly recommended.

I. Introduction

The political earthquake of a geo-political entity that covers a large portion of the European continent called EU is about to invite people to attend its funeral service through an instrument, this paper calls Hyper Democracy and discombobulation. The EU is largely a product of numerous treaties and has undergone through expansion, growth and development that have taken it from 6 member state (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg and Netherland) to 28, as a majority of the states in Europe.

Outside the doctrine and principles of federalism, confederation or customs union, the original development of the EU was based on a super national foundation that is intended to make war unthinkable and materially impossible and reinforce democracy amongst its members as laid out by Robert Schuman and other leaders in the Schuman Declaration (1950) and the Europe declaration (1951). This principle was at the heart of the European Coals and Steel Community (ECSC 1951) the treaty of Paris (1951), and later the Treaty of Rome (1958). In essence it was the historical dialectics of 1958 that established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC).

The paper empirically narrates that both the ECSC and EEC were later incorporated into EU while the EAEC maintains a distinct legal identity despite sharing members and institution. The event of World War II from 1939 to1945 saw a human and economic catastrophe which hit Europe the most. It demonstrated the horrors of war, and also of extremism through the Holocaust and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is of material essence to us in this paper is drawing inspiration that once again, there was a desire particularly with the war giving the world nuclear weapons. However, the exception was the USSR, which became a super power after World War II and maintained the status for 45 years.

Britain has been a member of EU for 43 years, however, the event of June 23, 2016 through a referendum mark the turning point for Britain and EU. This day and event mark the beginning of the peripherialization of European unity and union. It is the point at which EU lost its capacity to manage its internal affairs. It is also the point at which Britain and British public showed that their mind has been driven in recent years by loud, perpetual carping about too much control from Brussels, and the need to project Britain first. Brussels is the headquarter of EU- a place where the mighty meet and take decision on political, economic and social or military issues concerning them and the rest of the world. However, the ultra-nationalists (UK) nursed fears about their great country becoming a colony within an EU empire. They chose this day June 23, 2016 through a referendum to tell the world that they are uncomfortable with the apparent globalization of British demographics turning Britain into a country of many racial colours with the influx of so many immigrants who are empowered by EU laws to be free citizens of a united Europe.

The idea of countries trading together is suggestive that such countries may not go to war. This being the doctrine of European Union often known as EU, it has since given to become a "single market" allowing goods and people to move around, basically as if the member states were one country. It has its own currency, the Euro (€), which is used by the 19 of member countries, its own Parliament and it now self-rules in a wide range of areas including on the environment, transport, consumer rights and even things such as mobile phone charges.

Author: Department of Political Science, Federal University Lafia, Lafia, Nasarawa State, Nigeria. e-mail: clemkange@gmail.com

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

a) Conceptual Frame of Reference

For the sake of shared understanding and conceptual operationalization, it is germane to consider the basic concepts that constitute the thrust of the subject matter in this discourse. Highlighted in the following sub section are the operational meanings and nuances described to these concepts in the context of the paper.

i. *Single Market*

The single market is seen by it advocates as the EU's biggest achievement and one of the main reason it was set up in the first place. Britain was a member of a free trade area in Europe before it joined in 1973 what was then known as the common market. In a free trade area, communities can trade with each other without paying tariffs but is not a single market because the member states do not have to merge their economy together.

ii. *Brexit*

Brexit is an abbreviation of "British exit", which refers to the June 23, 2016 referendum by British voters to exit the European Union. The referendum roiled global markets, including currencies, causing the British pound to fall to its lowest level in decades. Prime Minister David Cameron, who supported the UK remaining in the EU announced he would step down in October.

b) Theoretical Framework: The Marxian Political Economy

The theory this work used is the Marxian political Economy, at its core, the Marxian political economy probes the organic character and dialectical relations among social phenomenon from the standpoint of econo-centricism ---what critics refer to as economic determinism (CF Momoh and Hundayin 1999; Uhembe, 2014, Okoli, 2014). This is in a conscious attempt to understand the society as well as it is relevant in understanding the politics of international economic relation (Uhembe, 2016), Ake, 1981 see it more from the working and dynamic historically, holistically, comprehensively and concretely.

The Marxian political economy is a critique of the established knowledge in social thinking and praxis. Influenced by the pioneer works of Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, the communist manifesto (1848), the theoretical tradition is predicated on a number of principles and assumptions, prominent among which are;

- That the Primary and Paramount of economic/material conditions in determining the general complexion and direction of society.
- That society and history are in constant dynamics and dialectics of transformation, occasioned and propelled by the interplay of forces inherent on the societal model of production,
- That every social order pertinently reflects the existential imperative of its economic base;
- That the realm of matters (existential conditions ordained by the societal system of production) is superior and precedential to the realm of spirit (ideas, consciousness, beliefs, values, knowledge);
- That the contradiction essence of matter is the reason for the dialectical dynamic of societal transformation change, (Ake; 1981; Ake, 1985; Uhembe, 2015, Okoli, 2007; Mclean and Macmillan, 2003).

Applicable to the argument is the subject matter of this paper, the uncomfortability of UK with the apparent globalization of British demographics, turning in base for the influx of so many immigrants who put pressure on the UK economy and by extension their very existence. The lake over of job by these migrants which is at the heart of economic determination, while the relation of production has remain queer and yet appears to be providing a ladder that will act as a tactic for socio economic empowerment and build power mallory, 2007, Uhembe (2014). The concept of "ladder" in (OLT) signifies untoward pattern of social mobility.

c) Member Countries of the EU (Year of Entry)

The European Union has 28 member countries:

Table 1.1

SN	Country	Year of Entry
1.	Austria	1995
2.	Belgium	1958
3.	Bulgaria	2007
4.	Croatia	2013
5.	Cyprus	2004
6.	Czech Republic	2004
7.	Denmark	1973
8.	Estonia	2004
9.	Finland	1995
10	France	1958
11.	Germany	1958
12.	Greece	1981
13.	Hungary	2004
14.	Ireland	1973
15.	Italy	1958
16.	Latvia	2004
17.	Lithuania	2004
18.	Luxembourg	1958
19.	Malta	2004
20.	Netherlands	1958
21.	Poland	2004
22.	Portugal	1986
23.	Romania	2007
24.	Slovakia	2004
25.	Slovenia	2004
26.	Spain	1986
27.	Sweden	1995
28.	United Kingdom	1973

Source: Authors compilation

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Table 1.1 is arranged alphabetically and does not necessarily respect the year of entry hence the year of entry goes with the name of the country and it's alphabetically location without regards to time of entry into membership of EU.

d) Historical Overview of Membership Referendum

No nation state has ever left the EU. But Greenland, one of Denmark's overseas territories, held a referendum in 1982, after gaining a greater degree of self-government and voted 52 to 48% to leave, which it dully did after a period of negation. Another dimension to this historical review is the faith like Northern Ireland and Scotland. Scotland's first minister Nicola Sturgeon said in the wake of the leave result that it is democratically unacceptable that Scotland faces being taken out of the EU when it voted to remain. Another implication is that a second independent referendum for the country is now highly likely. For Northern Ireland, the Deputy first Minister Martin McGuiness said the impact in Northern Ireland would be "very profound" and that the whole island of Ireland should now be able to vote on reunification. But Northern Ireland Secretary Theresa Villie, has ruled out the call from a border poll, saying the circumstance in which one would be called did not exist.

e) Political Implication for the Conservative Party in UK

The conservative party to which David Cameron the Prime Minister (PM) comes from has put in motion the need for a replacement of David Cameron who was for Remain but lost out through this referendum via a conservative party conference on October 2016. Nomination for a replacement leader will come from conservative members of the House of Commons, if one nomination is received; the new leader is declared elected. If two nominations are made, both names go forward for the members of the party across the UK to vote on by post.

In the event that three or more MPs are nominated for leader, a ballot of the conservative MPs is held. Briefly these are the current implications the UK Brexit has put pressure on the political system.

f) Implication for Capitalism

What is mind bugling following the event of 23rd June, 2016 called Brexit is that capitalism had argued that its system reward hardwork and work done should be the only bases for which ones material condition can be accommodated. The world believe this doctrine but when migrants from other parts of the world migrated into Europe and were given weavers in the reward of their material condition, the claims of capitalism went for accuracy, the paper found out that this claims were laden with illogic. Hypothetically therefore this research work raises this question: is capitalism changing it goal post in the middle of its very own match? Could this also be the new laws and argument of EU which UK considered offensive?

The doctrinary error, if an error it must be call is suggestive that it has some implication for the survival of capitalism. The paper found these contradictions capable of a threat to EU and by extension capitalism are its compradors

g) The Legal Instrument for Separation

For the UK to leave the EU, it has to invoke an agreement called Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. This article provides that the President or PM of UK or any leaving country needs to decide when to invoke this article, when that is done it will move the formal legal process of withdrawing from the EU, and giving the UK two years to negotiate its withdrawal.

This article has only been in force since late 2009 and it hasn't been tasted yet, so no one really knows how the Brexit process will work. However, the implication of this situation is that EU law still stands in the UK until it ceases being a member and that process could take some time. The UK will continue to abide by EU treaties and laws, but not take part in decision making, as it negotiate a withdrawal agreement and the terms of its relationship with non 27 nation bloc. However, at the exact time of this Draft paper (29/06/2016 10:25am Nigerian Time) Mr Cameron was reported by the Television Media as being absent at breakfast table of the 1st meeting of 27 nation instead of 28. Other legal related issues which are not very clear are what happen to UK citizens working in the EU, will UK citizens need a visa to travel to the EU. While there could be limitations on British nationals, ability to live and work on EU countries, it seems unlikely they would want to deter tourist. There are many countries outside the EEA that British citizens can visit for up to 90 days without needing a visa and it is possible that such arrangement could be negotiated with European countries.

II. Findings and Discussions

The European single market which was completed in 1992, allows the free movement of goods, services if it was a single country. It is possible to set up a business or take a job anywhere within it. The idea was to boost trade, create jobs and lower prices. But it requires common law making it to ensure that products are made to the same technical standard and imposes other rules to ensure "level playing field" critics say it generates too many petty regulations and rob members of control over their own affairs. Mass migration from poorer to richer countries has also raised questions about the free movement rules. UK stands high amongst countries that are faced with immigration problem particularly in the doctrines of assimilation as oppose to association as in other part of the world. This paper finds the argument alien because in the colonial era British believed in the doctrine and principle of association but overtime EU appear to have violated this

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

doctrine and the immigrants are been assimilated into Britain and made to be treated as citizens under the canopy of EU laws and controls.

The UK independence party, which won the last European election and received nearly four million votes that represented 13 % of those cast in May's general election, wanted and campaigned for Britain exist from the EU. The findings of this research work showed clearly that about half of the conservative MPs including five cabinet Ministers and several Labour MPs were also in favour of leaving. Their arguments were very clear. They argued that Britain was being held back by the EU, which they said imposed too many rules on businesses and charged billions of pounds a year in membership fee for little in return. They also said that Britain shall take back full control of it border and reduce the number of persons coming to UK to live and work. The cost of maintenance of calaieturner for migrants who normally go through it from Spain to UK was creating high financial burden on UK economy. There was very little they could do in handling the situation with the presence of EU rules and regulations.

One of the main principles and doctrine of EU membership is "free movement" which means you don't need to get a visa to go and live in another EU country. The leave campaign also objected to the idea of 'ever closer union' and what they see as move towards the creation of United States of Europe. These arguments traded the streets of UK and made the home coming on23rd June 2016 through a referendum. Some social scientists have argued that the British exit theory (Brexit) is more about the rise of xenophobia, bigotry and isolationism. These scholars may not be far from the truth hence most of their claims went for accuracy and are laden with logic. Britain has always looked backward and in – out in the course of its membership of the EU, oscillating between its commitment to a greater Europe and the need to preserve British identity and sovereignty.

What is very evident from our research work in this paper is that the British Public mind has been driven in recent years by loud perpetual carping about too much control from Brussels, and the need to project Britain first. An anatomy of our discussion in this paper shows that the proponent of the stay or remain group were PM David Cameron. Part of the efforts put together by him was that he sought an agreement with other European Union member leaders to change the terms of Britain's membership. In his argument the deal would give Britain "special" status and help sort out some of the things British people said they didn't like about the EU, things like high levels of immigration. However, critical observers said that the deal would amount to delaying the civil days. Six members of the PMs Cabinet also backed staying. The conservative party pledged to be neutral in the campaign.

The United States of America President Barack Obama also wanted Britain to remain in the EU, as did other EU nations such as France and Germany. Barack Obama was however very diplomatic when the out of June 23rd, 2016 favoured a walk away. He said, 'I respect the opinion of British people'.

The argument of getting bug boost from membership of EU, selling things to other countries easer, the flow of immigrants, most of whom are young and keen to work, fuels economic growth and help pay for public services could not stand the triumph of right wing populism.

Hyper democracy remains relevant in our analysis in this paper. Democracy is by far the most popular form of government in the world today. There is hardly any leader who does not wish to be seen as a democrat or regime that does not seek to be described as democratic. However, referendumism which is rooted in mass organisation participation can be dangerous. Enemuo (1999) argues that "the collapse of the Soviet union and the communist regime of eastern Europe all of which were based on Marxist ideology have greatly undermined the argument of Marxist democracy as feasible alternative to liberal democracy". However, advocates of the foremost liberal democratic model often draw from the element of direct democracy and the argument of the Marxian Tradition. The Marxist tradition argues that democracy may not produce rational outcomes in so far as it awards triumph on the basis of percentage. Very central to Marx is that social science cannot be subjected to yes or no as the only determinate because the dynamic of social relation in production is by far more than product or outcome. In Brexit, the difference was just 4%, 52- 48% but the rule of the game is that majority carries the day and as in most cases, the winner takes it all. Democracy in that fashion is a play field of emotions not fact. It is the same scenario that made Bernid Sander's so popular in the recent Presidential nomination process in the United States; and also led to the emergence of Donald Trump as the presumptive Republican Presidential candidate. Political leader who don't want sad outcome only have to provide good leadership and meet the peoples expectations.

a) Hypothetical Questions

Should the economic and political destiny of a people be determined in such formulaic manner? Has Brexit left the UK in a more divided shape than it was before the referendum; How sweet is the taste of change can UK survive on a single market economy; What is the faith of European Union, will more members pull out; How germane is the fear by UK becoming a colony within a EU empire What is the state of rise of xenophobia, bigotry and isolationism; Is capitalism under threat by it political gladiators?

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

b) EU and UK Brexit: Implication for Nigeria

Nigeria has a lot of lesson from Brexit. Nigeria has remained one nation state that dominates in fear amongst its leaders and followers. These fears have promoted corruption, bad governance and misrule. To juxtapose this assertion, Nigeria failed to get independence in the London conference of 1958 because the Northern leaders could not trust the east and the south. They took ambush in the fact that they were not prepared until 1960.

Few years after independence, (about 6 years) the military took over on account of the same fear and corruption successful, military coup, were all based on the same fear and corruption. Lack of continuity in polity adaptation and implementation was also based on fear and complain. Over the years, the country returned to democracy renewing the same fear corruption and bad governance.

Nigeria was amalgamated into a single political community in 1914 for economic, not political reason. The essence essentially was to enable the British government balance their books of account. For administrative convenience in the same direction and purpose, regional autonomy was reinforced with the division of the country into three regions. The impact of this development was that very strong ethno-regional character was introduced into Nigeria politics. Osaghae, E.A. (2002).

The situation created grounds for Nigeria elites who sought to exploit it for their political ends. Looking at the disunited and disarticulated manner of the amalgamation, at every point with when the political classes felt their interest were at stake, they have not hesitated to play the trump card of secession. Okhaide, I. P. (2012)

The regional background that saw the emergence of virtually all Nigeria parties from such associational regional development explains a lot.

- Action Group (AG) in the west evolved from Yoruba cultural association – EgbeOmooduduwa led by Chief ObafemiAwolowo.
- The Northern People Congress (NPC) emerging from the Northern cultural association, Jamiyyar Mutanen, Drewa, led by TafawaBalewa.
- The National Congress of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) which started as a national party but later narrowed its social base to cultural association, called the Igbo State Union from all the above, locates the character of Nigerian federalism.

From this point onward, you can recall that Sardauna of Sokoto, he it was, who first referred to Nigeria as a 'mistake of 1914' way back in the early 1950's. closely followed was a statement credited to chief ObafemiAwolowo that Nigerian was a mere geographical expression and then the later event by Zik brother to secession.

The mutual suspicion has always been the fear to date of domination of one zone over the other, that replacing European domination with Southern domination. By 1950s witness the Ibadan constitutional conference to review the Richards constitution, a representational ratio of 45 for the North, 33 for the west, 33 for the east. Northern politicians felt threatened by this arrangement and the then Emir of Zaria articulated their position clearly – the North have 50% of the seats or secede from the country. In May 1953, when the Northern politicians lost out in the political equation for opposing the AG motion for self-government in 1956, the Northern House of Assembly and the Northern House of Chiefs met and passed an Eight resolution that amounted to a call for confederation and separation.

With these development of self rather than the Nigerian State, in 1954, it was the turn of AG to demand that a secession clause be inserted in the Constitution, that was at the Lagos Constitutional conference. The move was opposed by the other two regions, the NPC and NCNC. The 1964, census and election crisis, where tree and cows in the North were accessed to have been counted to increase the figure of North, Michael Okpara, premier of the Eastern Region, directly threatened in December 1964 that the east would secede. It was at this level that Okpara went ahead to establish a committee under his attorney general to work out the modalities for a declaration of secession by Eastern Nigeria. This however did not happened until three years later by Ojukwu on a final note in 1967 to 1970 with loss of over One Million lives.

On 23rd February 1966, Isaac Boro decided that he was not ready to live in a Nigeria that was ruled by Igbo just the same way the Igbo's felt that the country was dominated by Hausa. NPC declared the secession of the Niger Delta People Republic. The domination of the Eastern minorities by Isaac Boro started way back in his days a student activist at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

The Niger Delta Republic lasted for only 12 days and it took the police round up his ragtag arm of 159 volunteers. He and his colleagues were charged for treason in March and condemned to death in June 1966. When the civil war broke up in 1967.Boro Isaac was eventually released when he joined the Federal side and was killed in battle in 1968, fighting for the liberation of Rivers State from the Igbo, on the platform of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

By 1993 came another problem of June 12th and it annulment. The Nigeria problem modified into what may appear as new formation but very original in their content – geographical groupings North-West, North east, Middle Belt, South West, East Central and Southern minority, these were called the six geographical zones. Even at these regrouping out of the three original regions where the North had contested

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

50%, the same political equation played out with the original North with 3 zones while the east and west increased only one leaving the North with 2 additional zones to make up three out of the six geographical zones. The formation of this arrangement in Law was dropped in the transition from the 1995 to 1999 constitution.

Several conferences were held to address these fears and corruption practices that produce these bad governance to no avail have being made in most quarter for a referendum. We have adjusted the constitution many times in a manner that suggests we are moving goal post in the middle a match. Uhembe, (2015)

With UK, EU Brexit we have seen plays card like "Biafrexit". Another lesson is that Brexit vote in UK was not about disintegration. But today, Scotland is insisting on its independence right to be part of the EU. Could the above narration of the Nigeria situation result to a referendum that could lead to a breakup?

III. Conclusion and Recommendation

The call for a referendum on this subject matter has now given the Brexitters, who just want the country to be left alone by outsider, the opportunity they have always wanted. PM Cameron apparently underestimated the resolve just the way Nigeria leaders have always underestimated Nigerian masses. The leave EU activist campaigned more vigorously and destroyed every possible means including blackmail and sentiments. They had the vibrant support of many political leaders including former London mayor Boris Johnson, Michael Gove and functioning UKIP leader, Niger Farage and the event of an intense campaign that divided the mainstreaming of xenophobia and bigotry. Labour MP Jo Cox who was murdered by an irate eurosceptic for her symbol of how a straightforward for or against political debate turned into hate campaign and a national referendum became an act of terror. Nigeria stands a good chance to learn her lesson about the kind of leaders it produces and bad governance.

References Références Referencias

1. African Leadership Forum (2000) Farm House Dialogue- Political Parties and Good Governance in Nigeria. Dialogue 34, 7-9 April, 2000.
2. Albert, I.O (2005) Explaining 'Godfatherism' in Nigerian Politics. African Sociological Review.9 (2), 2005. pp. 79-105.
3. Aleyomi, M. B. (2013) Intra-party Politics in Nigeria: The Case Study of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa (Vol.15, No. 4, 2013).
4. Ake, C., (1991), "Why is Africa not Developing? In Ihonvbere (ed). The Ake. JAD, Lagos, pp.49-52.
5. Osaghae, E.A. (2002) Nigeria since Independence: Crippled Giant. Ibadan: Jon Archers (Publishers) Limited Political Economy of Crisis and Underdevelopment; Selected Works of Claude.
6. Okhaide, I. P. (2012) Quest for Internal Party Democracy in Nigeria: Amendment of Electoral Act 2010 as an Albatross. International Journal Peace and Development Studies Vol. 3 (3) pp. 55-75.
7. Uhembe, C. A & Okoli, A.C. (2014) Of Cult and Power: A Political Phenology Ombatse Cult in Nasarawa State, Nigeria. International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science Vol. 2 No 7.
8. Uhembe, C. A. & Nimbong (2012) The Rule of Law and Democratic Governance in Nigerian: International Journal of Arts and Social Science Education Vol. 7.
9. *Brexit: What is Brexit, http://www.investopedia.com/-terms/b/brexit.asp*
10. *Brexit poll tracker: http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm*
11. *Member countries of the EU (year of entry): http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/index_en.htm*
12. *The UK's EU referendum: All you need to know: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887*
13. *What is Brexit and what is going to happen now that Britain has voted to LEAVE the EU? http://www.-express.co.uk/news/politics/645667/Brexit-EU-European-Union-Referendum-David-Cameron-Economic-Impact-UK-EU-exit-leave*
14. *The history of the European Union: 1945 – 1959: http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/1945-1959/-index-x_en.htm*

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

State Elites' Policies towards-Balochistan (1947-70). Its Dynamics and Impacts

By S. Fakharuddin Shah
Government College D. I. Khan

Abstract- The British administration made an announcement of the partition plan for India and Pakistan on June 3, 1947. Shahi Jirga was formed as an electoral college to decide about the future of British Baluchistan. It finally announced its decision in favour of Pakistan. Afterwards, the state elites seemed bound and determined to include the Kalat state as its part because it geo-strategic and geo-economic significance. They changed their mindset and expressed the intention of unconditional accession of the Kalat state to Pakistan. The Khan finally signed an instrument of accession realising the precarious conditions in and around the Khanate. The Baloch nationalists challenged the validity of instrument of accession and verdict of Shahi Jirga. There were further developments subsequent to it, the Advisory Council was made in June 1949 to ensure people's participation in the governance of British Baluchistan.

Keywords: ustama gall, advisory council, wrore pashtun, reform committee, baluchistan states union, y, one unit plan, brahavi and baloch, pakistan national party, khodai khidmatgar, sind hari committee, national awami party, khanate of katat, baloch nationalism, mengal, marri and bugti tribes, jhalawan, mazulm party.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 369999

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. S. Fakharuddin Shah. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

State Elites' Policies towards-Balochistan (1947-70). Its Dynamics and Impacts

S. Fakharuddin Shah

Abstract- The British administration made an announcement of the partition plan for India and Pakistan on June 3, 1947. Shahi Jirga was formed as an electoral college to decide about the future of British Baluchistan. It finally announced its decision in favour of Pakistan. Afterwards, the state elites seemed bound and determined to include the Kalat state as its part because it geo-strategic and geo-economic significance. They changed their mindset and expressed the intention of unconditional accession of the Kalat state to Pakistan. The Khan finally signed an instrument of accession realising the precarious conditions in and around the Khanate. The Baloch nationalists challenged the validity of instrument of accession and verdict of Shahi Jirga. There were further developments subsequent to it, the Advisory Council was made in June 1949 to ensure people's participation in the governance of British Baluchistan. Another initiative taken in this direction was the appointment of the Reform Committee in October 1958. The state elites decided to combine four states of Kalat, Mekran, Kharan and Las Bela into Balochistan States Union. Prince Abdul Kareem Khan did not resign himself to the changed status of the Khanate but his rebellion was suppressed by the Pakistani armed forces. The second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Subsequently adopted the most contentious plan of one-unit by totally ignoring the sensitivities of the smaller provinces. It was the brainchild of the central state players who wanted to defeat the political alliance between East Pakistan and provincial regional players of West Pakistan. It turned out to be counter-productive. The ethnic and regional actors of Balochistan became sceptical and apprehensive about the policies of central state actors. One Unit Plan was made a part of 1956 Constitution. It was a fateful attack on the federal parliamentary set-up. The central elites believed in unity through conformity, not through diversity. The unification plan further compounded the feelings of neglect and deprivation in Balochistan. The NAP and the Khan vehemently opposed it and demanded its dismantling. The highly centralized structure gave rise to the centrifugal tendencies in Balochistan. There was a popular perception that Baloch people had been denied an adequate share in the state affairs. The state of Pakistan was challenged by Sardar Nauroz Khan. He gave up armed insurrection as a result of a general amnesty announced by the state authorities. The pledge was not honoured and Nauroz Khan was arrested and his sons were given capital punishment. The new phase of the Baloch insurgency sparked off after the Nauroz Khan's life imprisonment and execution of his sons and companions. The guerrilla's war fare continued in Jhalawan and Marri-Bugti area during Ayub's regime. Iron-fisted tactics of the regime further inflamed the centrifugal forces in Balochistan.

Author: Government College D. I. Khan, Dikhan.
e-mail: sfshah_ap@yahoo.com

Keywords: *ustama gall, advisory council, wrore pashtun, reform committee, baluchistan states union, y, one unit plan, brahavi and baloch, pakistan national party, khodai khidmatgar, sind hari committee, national awami party, khanate of katat, baloch nationalism, mengal, marri and bugti tribes, jhalawan, mazulm party.*

I. Introduction

The rise of ethno- national movements as a global phenomena has been capturing significant attention from social thinkers. Post-1947 Pakistan represents an excellent case study to examine state elites policies, their dynamics and impacts about these movements. This study focuses on what are the causes and its consequences of the centralist state actors' political policies towards Baluchistan imbroglio. (1947-1970). The state elites, since the birth of the country in 1947, have been grappling with the Baloch-ethnic movement. Their "state building policies" turned out to be counter-productive as the Baloch-ethnic movement has led to upsurge and separatist course. The four mini wars were broke out between the insurgents and the state of Pakistan. The impacts of their policies have been contributively to the rise of Baloch-ethnic movement and disruptive of national unity.

II. First Baloch Insurgency

a) The Acccession Arrangement with State elites

Pakistan took control of the Khanate on 15 April, 1948 in accordance with 3rd June plan after the Khan had inked an agreement of accession with Pakistani authorities (Rana, 2008). Tahir Amin, a well known political analyst and writer is of the opinion that Khan of Kalat entered in the accession arrangement with state elites unwillingly. He was left disappointed to get help from India and Russia. Secondly, he was threatened with the of use of force against his state by the government of Pakistan (Amin, 1998).

b) Prince Abdul Karim Never Reconciled to the Changed Poition of the Khante

Prince Abdul Karim, younger brother of the Khan, never reconciled to the changed position of the Khanate after its accession to Pakistan. (Dashti, 2012). He, along with his companions, decided to take up arms against the state of Pakistan (Ahmad, 1988). He entered Afghanistan with a hope of getting assistance for

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

liberation movement. The Baloch freedom fighters tried to get help and sympathies of the Baloch Sardars for their cause. The Russian and Afghanistan governments were also approached in this regard (Baloch, 1987). They also spared no efforts in creating chaos and unrest like situation in Balochistan (Awan, 1985). Muhammad Hussain. Anka, Malik Saeed Dehwar, Abdul Wahid Kurd, Qadir Bakhsh (Baloch Nationalists) backed the armed resistance movement. (Titus, l996), However, it was not favoured by Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Gul Khan and Abdul Aziz Kurd because they were not certain about internal and external support (Dehewar,1994). Afghanistan could not be supportive of the cause of Baloch movement because it was in conflict with its own demand of "Pashtunistan" spreading from Chitral to Balochistan in the Arabian sea. (Baloch, 1987). Afghanistan supported movement for the Pushtunistan both militarily and financially across the Durand Line (Titus, Paul, Swidler, Nina. Feb., 2000)). Thus, due to lack of internal unity and external support it failed (Baloch, 1987). Realising the failure to materialize the liberation struggle, Abdul Karim returned back on 8th July and was arrested. His trial began on 27 November, 1948 by special Jirga in Mach Jail. He was awarded ten years rigorous imprisonment and was fined Rs 5000. His other companions were also sentenced and fined (Nasir, 1982).

c) Ustamam Gall or the Peoples Party

Upon his release, Abdul Karim Khan formed an new political party (Ustamam Gall) or the people's party. It focused on the formation of Baloch province. The Wrore Pashtun led by Achakzai was also working on the same lines in Pushtun dominated areas of Balochistan (Awan, 1985). The Khan's dream of making it all embracing Baloch Political Party never materialized because it received cold response from Makran, Kharan and Lasbela (Awan, 1985).

III. Initial Insiatives by the Sate Elites toards Baluchistan

a) Formation of Advisory Council

Jinnah had a desire to change the statuesquo in Balochistan. To fulfil his pledge he established Governor General's Advisory Council in Balochistan (Khan, 2009). It was made to sure public's participation in the governance of their province (Axmann, 2008) It was nominated body of the areas of British Balochistan. The announcement was a big step forward for the province. According to Axmannn, it was established on 11 June, 1949 (Axmann, 2008). However, it did not come up to the expectations of the people because it was only a recommending body. It consisted of two members with nominal powers. It was devoid of composite representative enlarged body of all areas forming British Balochistan. All hopes were dashed to pieces regarding people's representatives' participation in the governance of the province. The real powers were with the AGG to whom the Advisory Council merely referred any matter in the form of proposal for consideration. Eventually, it met its death on 1st September, 1951. The council was formed as a body so that it may have check on the decision and administrative planning of the AGG but its original position and capacity was not as it envisioned. (Ahmad, 1992).

b) Report of the Reform Committee

Another step taken by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to bring constitutional and administrative change in Balochistan was the appointment of a Reform Committee on 4 October, 1950. It was composed of five members. It visited each and every corner of the British Balochistan. Its report was a remarkable step in the constitutional and political history of British Balochistan. The report of the committee proposed provincial autonomy and raising it to the status of Governor's province. It also stressed upon the introduction of adult franchise and enlarged powers to the provinces. The creation of local bodies institutions were also regarded as inevitable (Axmann, 2008). The topmost central administration opposed the report of the committee and was not given practical shape in the post-colonial Balochistan. The arguments given in this regard were far from convincing like weak financial position and under population of the post-colonial Balochistan. Jinnah had earlier set aside the arguments by saying that centre would share the financial difficulties of the province for the sake of progress and welfare of people (Axmann, 2008).

c) Balochistan States Union (BSU)

The state authorities decided to integrate four states of Kalat, Mekran, Kharan and Lasbela into 'Balochistan States Union' (BSU). All four states agreed to the idea in March 1952. (Awan, 1985). It had common executive, legislature and its administration was to be headed by the Prime Minister. The permission of the government of Pakistan was needed in the removal or nomination of the Prime Minister. However, Council of Rulers had the powers to appoint or remove him. The Council of Rulers, comprising four rulers of the states, headed by a President was to be selected among the rulers in rotation. Accordingly, the Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, was chosen as the President of the council. BSU had its own cabinet to be chosen from the Assemblies. They could not be appointed or dismissed without the prior approval of the government. The agreement provided for a legislative council of 28 elected and 12 nominated members. Aga Abdul Hamid, a civil servant, was appointed as the Prime Minister of the Union (Awan, 1985). Awan also maintained that Ahmad Yar Khan took it as a chance to emerge as the future leader of the post-colonial Balochistan. He also urged the Marri and Bugti tribes to demand for their

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

joining in BSU. He further writes that BSU was a 'a trap' to lure Khan before demolishing him (Awan, 1985). Where as, Dehwar views that topmost central authorities did not like the institution of BSU and they had some other foolish and dubious designs like one unit at the back of their mind (Dehewar, 1994). The later events also witnessed that the idea of BSU was originated with the aim of merging it with the province of Balochistan. The government finally gave this region a special status (Ahmad, 1992). Special areas were to be part of the province. These areas would not have any representation in the provincial legislature. Provincial Executive, Chief Commissioner or Governor, would control these areas.

d) Dissolution of First Constituent Assembly

In the meantime, the dispute between the Constituent Assembly and the then Governor General, Ghulam Muhammad was moving towards its climax. The Constituent Assembly's two hasty enactments led to its dissolution by Governor General on 24 October, 1954. Governor General was annoyed with the Constituent Assembly when it asserted its powers. Firstly, it repealed 'PRODA' (Public and Representative Offices Disqualification Act, 1949). (Rizvi.1886). It was made during Liaquat's period to check the mal-administration, mismanagement, and corruption in the society. The prestige of the Constituent Assembly was greatly lowered due to this step (Khan, 2006). Secondly; it amended the Government of India Act, 1947 by divesting the powers of Governor General to remove the ministries. It was, indeed, a step forward in the growth of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan (Sayeed, 1965). The Constituent Assembly kept the Governor General uniformed on this account. He reacted sharply and dissolved the Constituent Assembly (Ziring, 2006). The Governor General's action could not be justified because it was about to complete its work in regard to the framing of the constitution. If the Governor General had dissolved it when it lost its credibility after the election of 1954 in East Pakistan, his action would have been defended. He did it only to protect his vested interests rather than to protect democratic principle (Khan, 2006).

After dissolving the first Constituent Assembly, civil and military bureaucracy fully asserted and made solo flight in deciding the future of the constitution making history of Pakistan. The formal agreement regarding the integration of the BSU in to Balochistan was signed between the Khan and the Government of Pakistan on 1st January, 1955. Ahmad Yar and other rulers consented to dissolve the BSU and thereby sanctioned the abolition of the states. By raising their annual allowances the government of Pakistan easily succeeded in doing away with Kalat, Karan, Lasbela and Mekran as independent princely states (Axmann, 2008).

IV. Politics of One Unit in West Pakistan

a) The Formation of One Unit Plan

The most controversial step taken by the second Constituent Assembly was the formation of One Unit Plan (1955) (Rizvi,1896) It was basically the brain child of central state actors, who regarded welding all areas and provinces in to one unit as pre-condition to bring 'the linguistic and cultural homogeneity'. They viewed it that it would eliminate the feelings of provincialism and prejudice. It would also be necessary for viable political and economic system. Defence requirements could also be met. Ayub Khan backed one unit scheme in these words.

Strategically and economically, West Pakistan was destined to stand or fall as a whole lying as it does in the basin of the Indus River and its tributaries, its future economic development must be considered as a whole to achieve the maximum result. West Pakistan, in order to develop properly and prove a bulwark of defence from north and south must be welded in to one unit and all provincial artificial boundaries removed regardless of any prejudices to the contrary, which are more the creation of politicians than real. (Khan, 1967).

Balochistan, instead of achieving a full fledged provincial status, was included in West Pakistan it was actually planned by the central state elites to counter the numerical majority of East Pakistan (Samad,1995) and to foil the political alliances and cooperation between Bengal and smaller provinces (Axmann, 2008). The politics of one unit in west wing further made the smaller provinces and nationalists forces more organized and sensitive about the cultural peculiarities and idenlities (Harison,1981).

b) Political Manoeuvring to get One Unit Plan Imlemented

No doubt, the central state actors used all kinds of political manoeuvrings to get One Unit Plan implemented. They succeeded in obtaining Provincial Assemblies' approval for their one unit scheme. Sindh Assembly did not toe the line of civil-military elites and had to pay the price. Pirzada's ministry was dislodged because of its disapproval of one unit. "The major political parties of West Pakistan, Muslim League and the Republican Party were ambiguous, non-committal and opportunistic in their attitude towards one unit." (Afzal, 1976). One unit scheme which was incorporated in the Constitution of 1956 led to the death of federal principle in west Pakistan (Yusuf, 1998), Provincialism could only be lowered by a big change in outlook and policies of the civil-military establishment.

c) Opposition by Regioalists

The regionalists in Balochistan were against the One Unit Plan as envisaged by the centralist state actors. They wanted independent status or at least

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

complete political and economic autonomy for their province. The ethnic actors were sceptical and developed a lot of apprehensions against central state actors' policies. They considered their policies as an invasion on their regional cultures.

d) Idea of Baloch Homogeniety

Baloch nationalists even laid stress on homogeneity within Baluchistan rather than language differences between Baloch and Brahavi. They believed Baloch and Brahavi belong to the same origin (Baloch, 1975). They are the branches of the earlier Baloch. (Marri, 1985). A reputed reasearcher, Tariq Rehman opines that the Khans of Kalat, who were Brahavi rulers, promoted the idea of common origin between Brahavi and Baloch to get help to consolidate their rule (Rehman, 1997).

The Khanate parliament declared on 14 December, 1947 that Baloch would be its national and official language. In practice, however most of the work of Kalat was carried out in Urdu, while correspondence with outsiders was in English. Not withstanding administrative necessities, it was significant that Balochi nationalism was expressed through Balochi during 227 days of the independence of the Kalat State. (Rehman, 1997).

e) Concept of Unity through Conformity by the State Elites

Whereas the Pakistan State elites believed in one nation, one language and one culture (Amin, 1998). They wanted to make Urdu the only national language country. They emphasized a strong centre and used Islam to gain legitimacy. Ethnic identities and cultural diversities were considered as dangerous ideas to the concept of one nation. Ethnic elites were dubbed as "anti-state and anti-Islam". The state elites showed zero tolerance towards regional languages. They believed in unity through conformity (Amin, 1998).

f) Pakistan-Natioanl Patry (PNP)

A significant development occurred on 30 November, 1956 when like minded political parties in West-Pakistan formed the political organization by the name of Pakistan-National Party (PNP). The like-minded political groups were Azad Pakistan Party headed by Mian Iftikharuddin, G.M Syed's Awami Party, Wror Pashtun of Abdus Samad Achakzai, Khodai Khidmatgar of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Ustamam Gall (Peoples Party) from Balochistan and Sindh Hari Committee of Hyder Bakhsh Khan Jatoi. All these political forces looked upon the unification plan as usurpation of regional, constitutional, economic and political rights of the small provinces.

g) Policies of the Ethnic Elites

The regionalists and separatists forces vehemently opposed the welding of the West-Pakistan in to one unit and demanded its demolition with greater provincial autonomy to the smaller provinces. Maulana Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani joined it in 1957. It was renamed National Awami Party (NAP). Abdul Ghaffar Khan was elected its first President. (Awan, 1985). The party manifesto included the following main points. It vowed to defend the territorial integrity of the state. It laid stress upon the independent and non-aligned foreign policy. It demanded the creation of provinces on linguistic lines. Adult franchise should be introduced. It demanded the ending of usurpation and exploitation of the people belonging to different regions. The NAP started to act as opposition front. It also provided a platform to the leftist groups to express their viewpoint on the country politics (Baloch, 2004).

h) Khan Joined Hands with Nap

After return from abroad, The Khan found his state of Kalat being a part of one unit, West-Pakistan. He took anti one unit stand and joined hands with NAP in its opposition and abolishing one unit. He again tried to restore his state and creation of an independent homeland for the Baloch. He sought the help of the former Sardars in this regard. He vigorously demonstrated against unification plan. (Awan, 1985).

i) The Historic Meeting of Baloch Sardars

The Khan chaired the historic meeting of Baloch Sardars held at the Palace Hotel in Karachi in 1957. It was attended by Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, Nawab Ghous Bakhsh Raisani, Mir Jamal Khan Jamali and Nawab Akbar Bugti. The historic demand of the meeting was the dismantling of one-unit and creation of Balochistan province on the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and historical basis (Mazari.1999). When Khan's real determination of the creation of the Khanate of Kalat was exposed to the participants of the meeting most of them opposed it and walked out in protest. (Mazari.1999), Having lost trust of the Sardars, Khan's political future was in jeopardy.

V. Severe Political Crisis in Pakistan

Meanwhile, Pakistan was confronting severe political crises. It was mostly created due to weak federal parliamentary system. The political parties were not well-organized and well-established. (Choudhury, 2011). They lacked political tradition and norms. The political culture of West-Pakistan was dominated by powerful land and tribal elites. The Muslim League had very short history of organized political struggle. The early death of Jinnah created vacuum. Moreover, the political and constitutional problems were further compounded by federal character of Pakistani society. The West-Wing had dominance in military and bureaucracy. It was also politically dominant. It created a sense of deprivation and alienation among the people of East-Pakistan. (Choudhury, 2011). In the western wing, small provinces were raising head against Punjabi

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

dominance in the polity. The one unit scheme further promoted apprehensions and reservation of the small provinces, Inter-wings and intra-west-wing conflicts caused a great delay in the constitution making process.

The ambitious civil-military bureaucracy manipulated the circumstances taking advantage of the institution imbalance. It took its benefits and asserted its role in polity. After the dismissal of Nazimuddin' ministry in 1953 and dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly in 1954, the civil-military bureaucracy increased its role in politics and emerged as a key factor in determining the state's policies. President Sikandar Mirza proclaimed Martial Law in the early hours of October 8, 1958. The constitution was abrogated and central and provincial assemblies were dismissed. Political parties were banned and general elections were postponed for an indefinite period. Ayub Khan was appointed as a Supreme-Commander of the Armed Forces of Pakistan.

As earlier discussed, the feeling of neglect and deprivation were compounded in Balochistan over the issue of one unit. The NAP and the Khan opposed and demanded its dismantling. The ruling elites were anxiously waiting to take the Khan's designs as a pretext to arrest him on the charges of high treason. He was allegedly blamed for conspiracy to merge Kalat with Iran ((Axmann, 2008). He was also accused of reeling Afghanistan's. support for proposed Balochistan rebellion. (Harison, 1981). The Khan, while addressing the workers of the Baloch Academy at Quetta on 26th August, asked for the breaking up of one unit and creation of new province on linguistic basis. (Awan, 1985).

VI. Baloch Armed Insurrection of 1958

a) The Arrest of the Khan

On the Khan's refusal to meet the President and the Prime Minister to explain his alleged involvement in anti-state activities, the government of Pakistan finally decided to arrest him at the end of September, 1958. (Awan, 1985). Martin Axmannn opined that the allegations against the Khan were levelled to pave the way for imposing Martial Law in the country. Awan and Iqbal Ahmed differ with the Axmannn's views. They did not see any link between the two-events. The Khan was detained in Kalat allegedly on the blame for starting full-scale Baloch insurgency with the help of 80,000 tribesmen. Pakistani armed forces entered on October, 6 in Kalat finding no such reported numbers of insurgents. As a result of the clashes, a number of tribesmen were killed (Axmann, 2008). The khan was deprived of all distinctions and privileges by the order of President, Sikandar Mirza. Agha Daud Jan was appointed as his successor. (Axmann, 2008).

Most Baloch considered army's attack on Khanate in 1958 as unprovoked and aggressive. There was also strong resentment among tribesmen against authorities' demand of turning in their weapons at local police station. (Axmann, 2008). The arrest of the Khan also caused a wave of anger to sweep throughout Balochistan.

b) Sardar Nauroz Khan Challenged the Authority of the State

Sardar Nauroz Khan Zarakazai, an old man of ninety, decided to challenge the authority of the state of Pakistan. He led the major Baloch armed insurrection in support of the Khan. Nauroz Khan was perceived as a notorious fire brand during British times. (Harison, 1981). The chief demand of Nauroz Khan was release of the Khan and breaking up of one unit. He also urged upon the protection of Baloch customs and traditions (Awan, 1985). He, along with his gathered guerrilla force of 1000 men, went to the Mulla Pass. The army launched bombing on the guerrilla hideouts in mountains.

c) An Agreement Reached between State Elites and Nauroz Khan

Baloch nationalists opine that an agreement was reached as result of discussion between Pakistani authorities and Nauroz Khan. According to it, tribesman gave up their armed resistance movement in response to general amnesty and safe conduct. Abolishment of one unit was also promised. Sardar Doda Khan Zehri took an oath on the Koran, the Muslims' holy book, assuring the insurgents that authorities had met all their demands. (Axmann, 2008).

According to nationalists' accounts, the authorities dishonoured the pledge by arresting Nauroz Khan and his sons. However, the military government officials declined to accept the authenticity of such agreement. (Axmann, 2008). Nauroz Khan and seven of his followers, including Batay Khan and his sons, were given capital punishment by a special military court held at Mach Jail. Nauroz Khan's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment due to this old age and his six supporters were executed, (Titus, Paul, Swidler, Nina. Feb., 2000)).

The early two military actions were taken in post-colonial Balochistan against the Khan. First, to compel him to accede to Pakistan in 1948 and second, on the pretext of his 'anti-state activities' in 1958. That ended and rebels were forced to give in (Cohen, 2009). The next conflict erupted in 1962 after the military operation and the military court' punishment to the leader of second armed rebellion, Nauroz Khan and his followers. Besides repeated military actions in post-colonial Balochistan and persisted incarceration of Baloch leaders. (Chandio, 2013). The other factors which caused alienation and disillusionment among the people of Balochistan were the formation of one unit in 1955 and Ayub Khan's Martial Law in 1958.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

VII. Discussion

The adopted policies of Ayub's regime, in political, cultural and economic spheres were totally unitary in characteristics. He sustained One Unit Plan and introduced. "Controlled democracy" based on "Basic democracy" (Rizvi, 2003). The civil military elites during Ayub's period believed in using force to suppress the opposition. The government intensified the military operation in Balochistan to crush the insurgency sparked off after the life imprisonment of Nauroz Khan and his companions' execution. In July, 1960 Army's action caused a wave of indignation among the political activists. Ayub Khan paid visit to Quetta in August 1962. Baloch leaders organized a political meeting on his arrival. They condemned military operation as solution of the Balochistan problem. (Harison, 1981).

The dictator was angry with their warning and threatened them with "extinction" if they persisted with their resistance (Amin, 1998). The regionalists in Balochistan strongly opposed the state elites' policies. The Bugties, the Marris and the Mengal tribes continued their resistance under the leadership of respective tribal chievs like Khair Bakhsh Marri, Akbar Bugti and Atta Ullah Mengal (Forign policy Centre, 2006).

It must be noted that the Baloch were greatly under represented in state power structure during Ayub' period. The next wave of uprising was launched by the Mengals and it spread to the Marri-Bugti areas. It carried on till the declaration of amnesty in 1967. The Mengals were annoyed with government's demand of surrendering of weapons. Tribesmen were greatly perturbed over the government's decision to replace the traditional Sardar's with that of the government's nominees.

The guerrilla warfare continued in Jhalawan and Marri areas during Ayub's regime. Skirmishes between the hostiles and the government forces took place during 1956-66. The government in order to control the rebellious activities decided to replace hostile Sardars like Attaullah Mengal, Nawab Akbar Bugti and Sardar Khair Bakhsh Marri with that of government supporters. The government's initiative in this regard was totally failed. All of the government's nominees were killed by their tribesmen.

Ali Muhammad Mengal started armed resistance after the arrest of Atta Ullah Mengal and made the following demands: First, to release Atta Ullah Mengal, second, to stop the campaign to collect weapons, third, closure of police stations. The clashes broke out between tribesmen and security forces that lasted till the end of 1966. (Forign policy Centre, 2006) The government arrested Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Mari on charges of supporting armed uprising. They were time and again detained and set free on different charges.[65] They were blamed for backing and extending assistance to the Baloch resistance against the government of Pakistan. Sher Muhammad Marri stood distinguished in raising the flag of guerrilla rebellion.[67] He was also famous as General Sherof. He had joined politics in 1945 and established "Mazlum Party" in the tribal areas of the Sulaiman Mountains. He also founded the Parari movement. (Suddiqi, 2012) Both commands were under his control. He himself led the northern command of the Marri-Bugti area.69 The southern command of Jhalawan district was under the supervision of Ali Muhammad Mengal. It was believed that Sher Muhammad had organized 22 base campus in Marri-Bugti and Mengal areas by July 1963. The army headed by Major General Tikka Khan took on the "Pararis". They put up stiff resistance (Suddiqi, 2012). The government authority was greatly undermined by the killing of all the new Sardars replacing the traditional ones. The Baloch became more united and die-hard due to the military operation. Amazingly, even the British avoided to replace the Sardars in such a manner as Pakistan government did under Ayub. Sher Muhammad expressed the objectives of this rebellious struggle with the News International. According to him, the key goal of the armed struggle was to break up the one unit. The rebels had close political affiliation with the NAP, which was struggling for provincial autonomy. The government failed to control the situation and it deteriorated with the passage of time. The government felt the failure and futility of its strategies towards the Balochistan crisis. There was a shift in government's attitude towards the problem after the appointment of General Muhammad Musa Khan as a Governor. Amnesty was announced and the Baloch leaders were released as a gesture of goodwill. The authorities also reinstated the deposed tribal chiefs. They were further assured that their political demands would also be met. The area returned to normalcy after calling the rebellion off in 1967.[76] After brief interval, the situation again became tense due to lack of trust between the central state actors and ethnic lords. Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti, Gul Khan Naseer, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai were re-arrested. Trouble again sparked off in Easter Balochistan and Pat-Feeder area. Meanwhile, the political condition of the country worsened. There was wide spread agitation against the government.

Ayub Khan's experiment of "Controlled Democracy" based on Basic Democracy ended on a note of disillusionment and failure (Ziring, 2006). Basic democratic institutions increased the influence of bureaucractic elites and marginalised tne politically informed section of the society (Jalal, 1991) Highly authoritarian and centralized political system promised little to the Baloch grievances. They were excluded from a share in the political authority within Western-Pakistan. It contributed to the rise of the movement for regional autonomy and Baloch nationalism.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Ayub Khan's rule stopped the growth of democracy in Pakistan. There was no space for the growth of genuine political system. The whole system was circling around Ayub Khan's authoritative personality and his created political party (Rizvi, 2003) It crumbled to dust after his departure from Presidency. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman, passionate supporter of provincial autonomy, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, advocate of populist program, moved in to the political vaccum.[79] Baloch nationalists stopped their hostilities against the regime because their major demands were fulfilled. However, they sustained their "Command Headquarter" and guerrilla formation.

The Constitution of 1962 was more centralized and the central grip over the units increased manifold.(Ali,1966). Ayub Khan considered a strong centre inevitable for achieving unity and economic progress of the country. (Rizvi, 3003). He ruled like an autocrat and concentrated all powers in his own office. The institutions of Basic democrats were established to enhance the influence of the bureaucratic elites The regionalists were totally opposed to his views. Regionalism reached it peak during Ayub Khan's rule because of the extensive powers of the President, centralized so called federal structure and the subdued position of the indirectly elected National Assembly. (Talbot, 1990). The centralist elites regarded the ethnic actors as Indian agent working against the integrity of Pakistan. (Haqqani, 2005).

The situation had gone beyond his control and he realized his grip losing over the country's affairs. Ayub Khan resigned his office on 25th March, 1969 and handed over the reigns of the government to General Yahya Khan, Commander in chief of the army. Yahya Khan imposed Martial Law and abrogated the Constitution of 1962. The political parties were banned. Yahya Khan introduced two-major changes in the future political structure. One unit was dissolved and the former provinces were restored.

Second, Balochistan was made a full-fledged Governor's province. Yahya's regime also released Baloch nationalists. It was the undemocratic rule of the Ayub's regime which deprived Balochistan of an effective voice in the nation and state-building task.

The movement of maximum provincial autonomy gained currency in the Eastern-wing. The situation also worsened in Western-wing. The ethnic elites in Balochistan resented the one unit. Instead of following the strategies of pacification, the ruling elites tried to suppress the Baloch regionalists. Troops were deployed in the province to put down the insurgencies. A number of Baloch regional leaders were arrested. The strategy of suppression further inflamed the centrifugal forces in the provinces. The Ayub government under-estimated the forces working for restoration of democracy and provincial autonomy. Eventually, the regionalists and supporters of democracy started movement against the authoritarian regime, which brought about the downfall of his rule in March 1969. [1i]

VIII. Conclusion

The early two military actions were taken in post-colonial Baluchistan by the state authorities against the Khan. First, to compel him to accede to Pakistan and second, on the pretext of his 'anti-state activities' The next conflict erupted after the military operation and the military court' punishment to the leader of second armed rebellion, Nauroz Khan and his followers. Besides repeated military actions in post-colonial Balochistan and persisted incarceration of Baloch leaders. The other factors which caused alienation and disillusionment among the people of Balochistan were the formation of one unit in 1955 and Ayub Khan's Martial Law in 1958. The centralizers' attitude had always been that they knew the best what is good for an area and its people and what they do, had to be accepted without any questioning. The Baloch were not prepared to accept their perception, with the result that military operation were launched and their top leadership remained imprisoned for long periods. Top most military-civilian elites' policies towards Balochistan created feelings of mistrust and deprivation among the people of Balochistan. Since Khan's arrest, the wave of violence and counter violence erupted and continued even to the present time. Decentralization along with democratization should have been the response to the fissiparous tendencies instead of a greatly centralized governmental set-up.

References Références Referencias

1. Afzal, M. Rafiq. (1998). *Political Parties in Pakistan,* 3 vols, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical & Culture Research.
2. Ahmad, Syed Iqbal. (1992.) *Balochistan: Its Strategic Importance.* Karachi: Royal Book Company.
3. Ahmed, Aziz uddin. (1988) Kia Hum Kathi reh sakti hen, Pakistan men Quom Masali ka Tajzia, Maktabi Fikar –o-= Danish Lahore.
4. Ali, Mehrunnisa. (1966.) *Politics of Federalism in Pakistan.* Karachi: Royal Book Company.
5. Amin, Tahir. (1998.). *Ethno -National Movements of Pakistan.* Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.
6. Awan, Ayub Bukhsh (1995). *Baluchistan: HLstorical and Political Processes.* London: New Century Publisher.
7. Axmann, Martin. (2008). *Back to the Future: Khanate of Kalat and the Genesis of Baloch Nationalism* 1915-1955. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
8. Aziz, K.K. (1967). *Making of Pakistan: A study in Nationalism.* 3rd *edn.* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

9. Baloch, Inayatullah. (1987). *The Problem of Greater Balochistan. A Study of Baloch Nationalism.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlg.
10. Baloch, Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bijarani Marri. (1985.) *Search light on Baloch and Balochistan.* Quetta: Nisa Traders.
11. Baloch, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan. (1975.) *Inside Baluchistan.* Karachi: Royal Book Company.
12. Baloch, Mohammad Sardar Khan, (1958), *History of Baloch Race and Balochistan,* ript. Qta: Nisa Trader.
13. Breseeg, Taj Muhammad. 2004. *Baloch Nationalism: Its Origin and Development.* Karachi: Royal Book Company.
14. Chandio, Amir Ali. (2013). *Baloch National Movement 2003- 2012: An Analysis. Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Resarch in Busniess VOL 4, NO 10.*
15. Choudhury, G.W. (2011) Constitutional Development in Pakistan. Lahore: Bhatti Sons Publishers.
16. Cohen, Stephen Philip. (2009). The Idea of Pakistan. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
17. Dashti, Naseer. *Baloch and Balochistan. A Histirical Account from the Beginning to the Fall of Baloch State.* USA, 2012.
18. Dehewar, Malik Mohammad Saeed. (1994.) *Contemporary History of Balochistan.* Quetta: Third World Publication.
19. Forign policy Centre (2006) *Balochis of Pakistan on the Margin of History.* London:
20. Harison, Selig. (1981) *In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baloch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations.* Washington: Carneigie Endowment for International Peace.
21. Janmanhmand, (1989) *Essay on Baluch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence, Dimentions, Repercussion.* Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab.
22. Jalal, Aysia. (1991) The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan' Political Economy of Defence, Lahore; Vanguard.
23. Haqqani, Hussain. (2005). Pakistan between Mossque and Military. Lahore: Vanguard Books.
24. Khan, Hamid. (2006). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan,* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition p.81.
25. Khan, Muhammad Ayub. (1967), *Friends Not Masters* London: Oxford University Press.
26. Khan, Mohammad Usman (1997) *Tribal Politics in Baluchistan 1947-1990.* PhD thesis, University of Karachi.
27. Nasir, Gul Khan. (1982) Tarik Baluchistan, Quetta: Nisa Traders.
28. Rehman, Tariq (1997). *Language and Politics in Pakistan.* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 4th Edition.
29. Rizvi, Hassan Askari (1986). *Military and Politics in Pakistan. 1947-86.* Lahore: Progressive Publishers.
30. _____(2003). *Military, State and Society in Pakistan,* Lahore Sang-Meel Publishications.
31. Rana Muhammad Amir. And Bukhari, Mubasher. (eds.) (2008). *Balochistan: Conflicts and Players.* Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies Islamabad.
32. Sayeed, Khalid Bin. (1967.) *Pakistan the Formative Phase* Ontario: Queen's University. 1967.
33. _____(1980). *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change.* New York: Praeger.
34. Syed, Javed Haider. (2008) "Balochistan: The Origin and Development" *Journal of South Asian Studies,* Lahore, Vol. 23 NO 1.
35. Suddiqi, Farhan Hanif. (2012). *The Politics of ethnicity in Pakistan, The Baloch, Sindi and Mohjir Movements.* USA: Routledge.
36. Samad, Yunas (1995). *A Nation in Turmoil: Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan,* 1937-1958, New Delhi: Sage.
37. Titus, Paul, Swidler, Nina. (Feb., 2000), Knights, Not Pawns: Ethno-Nationalism and Regional.
38. Dynamics in Post-Colonial Balochistan *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* Vol. 32, No. 1.
39. Titus, Paul, (1996), *Marginality and Modernity: Ethnicity and Change in Post-Colonial.*
40. *Balochistan,* ed. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
41. Talbot, Ian. (1990), *Provincial Politics and Pakistan Movement* Karachi: Oxford University.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: f
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Globalization and Non – Governmental Organizations in Africa (NGOs). Problems and Prospects

By Eze Akani, Christian
Ignatius Ajuru University of Education

Abstract- Globalization has compressed the world to what is now called a global village. The phenomenal increase in the production of goods and services, and the rapid movement of persons across national boundaries have reduced the exclusivity of national frontiers. Thus the growing interconnectivity has spawned what may be described as a global consciousness and culture. Therefore, the rise of NGOs is a precipitate of this global transformation. NGOs which were hitherto, an exclusive preserve of some regions, have come to assume a global character. It is now located in almost all the corners of the world. This paper seeks to examine the problems and prospects associated with this development in the Third World, particularly Africa. In looking at the problems, our data collection method was based on two sources. Primary and Secondary sources. The primary sources include personal interviews and discussions, while the secondary sources include literature review, examination of official bulletins, gazettes, newspapers and magazines.

Keywords: accountability, non-governmental organizations, globalization, global village and partnership.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Eze Akani, Christian. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Globalization and Non – Governmental Organizations in Africa (NGOs). Problems and Prospects

Eze Akani, Christian

Abstract- Globalization has compressed the world to what is now called a global village. The phenomenal increase in the production of goods and services, and the rapid movement of persons across national boundaries have reduced the exclusivity of national frontiers. Thus the growing interconnectivity has spawned what may be described as a global consciousness and culture. Therefore, the rise of NGOs is a precipitate of this global transformation. NGOs which were hitherto, an exclusive preserve of some regions, have come to assume a global character. It is now located in almost all the corners of the world. This paper seeks to examine the problems and prospects associated with this development in the Third World, particularly Africa. In looking at the problems, our data collection method was based on two sources. Primary and Secondary sources. The primary sources include personal interviews and discussions, while the secondary sources include literature review, examination of official bulletins, gazettes, newspapers and magazines. It was discovered that NGOs in Africa perform some vital functions in the continent because of its underdeveloped character. These functions were obviously neglected by the state and the local authorities. We, therefore, suggest that the state need not suffocate NGOs or be wary about of their emergence. Rather, they should have a synergistic relationship through networking and partnership based on best practices and standard of accountability.

Keywords: accountability, non-governmental organizations, globalization, global village and partnership.

I. Introduction

The end of the second world war (WWII) witnessed an era which was characterized by fascinating changes in international relations and social movements. These mutations overtime facilitated the rise of industrialization, enhanced the quality of life and increased human population. Correspondingly, there was an unprecedented rise of crises, diseases and human insecurity which created unforeseen challenges for the state and the international community. Interestingly, in-spite of the global improvement, some countries of the world still wallowed in underdevelopment and exist at the fringe of the global political economy while, some are living in munificence with the basic essentials of life. Africa is not immune from these global dialectical processes. It has appropriated the advantages of the global trend, yet it is made up of states with weak democratic institutions, presided over by a band treasury looters, and constrained by a phalanx of neo-colonial forces. The aftermath is that almost in all cases, African states do not posses the state building capacity legitimacy to command the loyalty of the populace, and often said to be at the limbo of the international system, existing at the outer limits of the planet… (Bayart, 2010:x). Despite the natural riches of the continent, it has not been able to rise beyond predatory rule, neo-patrimonialism and politics of the belly (Bayart, 2010). This is largely so because political power is a function of patrimonial power and not a representation of the sovereign will of the people (Taylor, 2009:9). It is against this background that we shall examine the process of globalization and NGOs in Africa. What problems and prospects do they portend?

Author: Political Science Department, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Rumuolumeni, Rivers State, Nigeria.
e-mail: christian.akani@yahoo.com

II. Conceptual Framework

Globalization has become a big idea and the cliché of our epoch. This is because of its complexity, versatility and multifaceted nature. In-fact, its clout can be experienced in an known disciplines. This has made it an irresistible and inescapable global phenomenon. As a process, it can be located in the womb of antiquity when interactions, exchange of goods and services commenced. By the twentieth century, there was a tremendous improvement in the means of communication. This was made possible because of the scientific revolution, especially in the discipline of communication technology. Instruments such as computer, fibre – optic cable, satellite television, Global System for Mobil communication (GSM) and internet have made communication among people of the world easier and less stressful. Globalization, therefore, is technology- driven. It can be defined as the transformation and intensification of global inter-connectedness because of improvement in the means of communication. Awonusi (2004:86), noted that globalization refers to the universalization of concepts, movements, technology markets etc… in the context of a compressed world. Globalization enhances the intensity of human interaction, opens the barriers of states and creates a united humanity. As Stiglitz (2012:4) put it globalization has reduced the sense of isolation felt in much of the developing countries access

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

to knowledge well beyond the reach of even the wealthiest in any country a century ago. It was this untrammelled access to information and unification of humanity that prompted Marshal Mcluhan in the 1980s to aver that the world is a global village.

Regrettably, the benefits derivable from globalization are not evenly spread. Only those who can command the latest information technology have such opportunity. Unfortunately, Africa does not have the wherewithal to subject globalization to its needs and desires. This is why the continent is at the mercy of the apostles of the process. Biakolo, et al (2011:26) noted that in 2009, the internet use throughout Africa stands only at 6.7% of the population leaving 93.3% on the wrong side of the divide. The internet is often trumpeted as the newest and best for increased democratic involvement and participation. (Biakolo, et al 2011:110), and through it, and the satellite there is a glut of news, and the unprecedented internationalization of information across the world. The implication is that the nature and content of information is conditioned by the command of those who control the technology. This is a situation of he who pays the piper must pick the tune. The uneven spread of the gains of globalization has created a world of inequality and the preponderance of a global culture and consciousness, sometimes antithetical to the aspiration and historical specificity of third world countries, as in Africa. This is the basis for the vilification of the global order. While it may be seen as just a media imperialism, others just condemn it as an ideological tool for creating epistemic disjuncture in the consciousness of citizens in the peripheral states (Biakolo, et al, 2011:25). Apart from creating a false world and consciousness in the minds of African youth, the mantra of globalization is nothing but an old and continuing process that is exhibiting its latest manifestations in areas of market forces, trade liberalization and democratic institutions... (Oni, et al 2004:21). As the developed countries siphon the resources of the world and force their principles on the weak countries, there is a growing world of poverty - stricken people in the third world. The United Nations (UN) revealed that despite the progress of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 863million people still live in extreme poverty of $1.25 per day (Business Day, July 8, 2015), just as Africa continue to lag behind development benchmarks. According to Kofi Annan former Secretary General of the UN, globalization is presented as a foreign invasion that will destroy local cultures, regional tastes, and national traditions (Annan, 2000:127). The rapid spread of Western mannerism and the logic of market fundamentalism has equated globalization to westernization and associated with accepting triumphant capitalism (Stiglitz, 2002:5). Ake (1995:22) summarized the politics and contradiction of globalization when he observed that:

> *It uniformalizes and diversifies, concentrates and decentres, it universalizes but also engenders particularities it complexifies and simplifies. Always it is mediated by historical specificities.*

a) NGOs

The exponential rise of NGOs can be described as a global associational revolution such that in the 21st century, they have become a household name with a portent force in the international political economy. Gradually, they have emerged from the backstage of events to global politics, development and inter-state relations. Through their activities, they have become an indispensible non-state actor in the formulation of global policy. Therefore, as an analytical category it is not easy to subject them to a simple definition because of their variation, structure, global reach and complexity. Nevertheless, the World Bank (WB) defines NGOs as:

> *private organizations that pursue activities to relieve the suffering, promote the interest of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development.*

They are non-profit making organizations that have chosen a specific issue that need urgent attention, but have been neglected and abandoned by the government. Pearce (2003:xi) defines it as a name given to those non-profit associations focused on social change in a political influence or to those providing social and humanitarian services in highly politicized crisis – national contexts. NGOs are issue based and action – oriented. They pick a specific matter and bring it to the attention of the government and society through consistent enlightenment and advocacy. Their activities are based on charity and voluntarism. Seldom do they receive government patronage. As Lewis (2009:3) put it, NGOs are self-governing, private, not for profit organizations that are geared to improving the quality of life for disadvantaged people. A look at the definitions would see some of their essentials which include an institutionalized structure, institutionally separated from government, non-profit making and some degree of voluntary participation in the conduct or management of the organization (Lewis, 2009:3). It is important to state that private organizations are the oldest organizations humanity has experienced. But they grew and became complex and sophisticated with the growing inability of the state to fulfil its social contract with the people. Today, NGOs have constituted a third force in the society and serving as the moral pulse and conscience of the exploited. They are known by different names such as Community Based Organizations (CBO), Voluntary organizations depending on convenience. The post WWII and the epoch of globalization saw the rise of NGOs mainly because of the urgent need to address some of the attendant problems associated with the war and the progress in communication and exchange of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

goods and services. In 1863, the International Red Cross was formed by Henry Dunant to deal with humanitarian issues arising from the Crimea war of 1859, January 15, 1936 Edsel Ford founded the Ford Foundation, Oxfam Britain in 1942, to address famine and relief, Cooperation for American Remittance to Europe later CARE was formed in 1945, showing solidarity with war – town Europe, Carnegie of Foundation in 1905 and Chartered in 1906 for the Advancement of Teaching and National Endowment for Democracy. In 1980 to assist democratic efforts in the Third World. From the 1970s to the late twentieth century, NGOs had a phenomenal growth, actively promoting their identities and proving to be indispensable in the state and international discourses.

Makoba, (2002) observed that the number of development-oriented NGOs registered in the countries of the industrialized North "grew from 1,600 in 1980 to 2,970 in1993". A WB document, Working with NGOs noted that "since the mid-1970s, the NGO sector in both developed and developing countries has experienced exponential growth… it is now estimated that over 15 per cent of total overseas development aid is channelled through NGO. That is roughly $8b dollars". http://www.globalissues.org/print/ article/25. Accessed on 14/06/15

Economists estimates that the number of international non-governmental organizations rose from 6,000 in 1990 to 26,000 in 1996. The 2002 UNDP Human Development Report noted that nearly one-fifth of the World's thirty seven thousand NGOs were formed in the 1990s. The independent sector, a non-profit organization that serves and track developments in the third sector of the society estimates that there are currently 1.5 million non-profit organizations in the United State (Meciam and Johnstone, 2006).

This scenario is not an eerie one because globalization during the 20th century gave rise to the importance of NGOs. (Wikipedia, 2006).Since NGOs operate within a contextual matrix derived from a historical specificity, they are not alien to Africa. Whether in the pre-colonial or colonial epoch, civil society organizations have made noticeable contributions to their constituency. They were prominent through participation in nationalist struggles and protest against colonial thraldom. The growing incidence of NGOs in the continent reflect its desire for development and the particular despair against the state. In Nigeria, there are about 221 registered NGOs, 500 in Kenya, 1,000 in Uganda, Zambia 128, Tanzania 130, Zimbabwe 300 and Namibia over 55 (Makoba, 2002). These groups are carrying out many policy oriented programmes, enlightenment, and awareness raising in their locations.

b) Functions

NGOs are not limited liability companies, but non-profit making institutions in the society. They are closer to the grassroots, most often seen as the preferred channel, and most efficient agent of guaranteeing the success of sustainable development. It is, therefore, not surprising that many NGOs are involved in care and welfare activities. In-fact, as triggers of change they assist the people to be part of social change, and foster a feeling of belongingness and sense of responsibility among the marginalized segments of the society. As catalyst for social transformation, and vehicles for empowerment, their demand for a people-centred development and democratization through protests and awareness programmes have the efficacy to propel government to be amenable to democratic etiquette. Recognizing the vital role of NGOs in development and democratization, the secretary general of the UN in 1985 averred that:

Non-governmental organizations are a basic element in the representation of the modern world. And their participation in international organizations is in a way a guarantee of the latter's political legitimacy. On all continents non-governmental organizations are today continually increasing in number. And this development is inseparable from the aspiration to freedom and democracy which today animates international society. From the standpoint of global democratization, we need the participation of international public opinion and the mobilizing powers of non-governmental organizations (Uwhejevwe-Togbolo, 2005).

That NGOs have become a basic element of development initiative in the modern world is mostly because of their efficient service delivery, cost – effectiveness, innovations and beyond the bureaucratic constrains of the state. Lewis (2009) argued that NGOs embodied a philosophy that recognises the centrality of people in development policies, and that this along with some other factors gave them a comparative advantage over government. This is because of their proximity to their members or clients, their flexibility and high degree of peoples strong commitment, appropriateness of solutions leads to acceptance of decisions implemented (Africa Recovery, 1999). In 1987, the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNDO) noted that NGOs have a comparative advantage in six areas viz, local accountability, independent assessment of issues and problems, expertise and advice, reaching important constituencies, provision and dissemination of information and awareness raising. Article 71 of the UN charter recognised NGOs is an integral part of global governance. It stated that:

the economic and social council may make suitable arrangement for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are conversant with matters within its competence. Such arrangements maybe made with internal organizations and, where appropriate with national organizations after

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

consultation with the member of the United Nations concerned.

With the collapse of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR) in the 1990s, the political relevance of supporting dictatorial regimes and war lords like Jonas Savimbi of the Union for the Total Liberation (UNITA) of Angola, Joseph Mobutu of Zaire and President Samuel Doe of Liberia as buffer against communist aggression was under scrutiny. The new era eclipsed the decade's long cold war, and ushered in the dawn of political liberalism. Makoba (2002) pointed out that for most western industrialized countries including the United States, the end of cold war has meant an end to using foreign aid to 'buy' allies in the third world to support it against former Soviet Union.

Hence, the strategic importance of development aid has diminished. Pursuant to Article 71 of the UN charter, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) granted consultative status to many NGOs. As allies of the UN, they became privy to most of the programmes, policies and even assist in the planning of some UN conferences such as the Stockholm Environment Conference in 1972 and the Rio Environment and Development Conference in 1992, Brazil. But when the pains of globalization became unbearable in the Third World, it was the NGOs that epitomised the feelings of the people by disrupting the 1999 Seattle Washington meeting of the WB and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Xenophobia Conference in 2003 South Africa. The end of the cold war and the ascending of liberal democracy, made western donors insist that NGOs must conform to the new reality couched in Washington consensus if they must benefit from Official Development Aid (ODA). This is the basis of the New Policy Agenda (NPA) enunciated in 1989. The NPA sees NGOs as part of the market based solutions to sustainable development and private sector development.

> *they are seen as vehicles for democratization as well as for providing goods and services in the third world countries where markets are inaccessible to the poor or where government lack the capacity or resources to reach them. In the eyes of the donor community, NGOs are both cost – effective in reaching the poor and are considered the preferred channel for service provision in deliberate substitution for the state (Makoba, 2002:2).*

In this regard, the State is confined to a minimalist role, only creating the enabling environment for the third sector to triumph. Bagei (2007) noted that the functions and services of NGOs could be expressing the complex needs of the society, motivating the individuals to act as citizens, promoting pluralism and diversity and creating an alternative to the centralized State. It is important to note that, despite the end of the cold, war, the focus on NGOs by international donors was precipitated by the apparent failure of African States in their development agenda. The manifest graft, exclusivist governance, warped electoral system and a leadership in limbo have combined to weaken states in Africa, thereby making it a visible log on the path of development.

These glaring limitations have made African states the inhibitors of social, economic and political development (Makoba, 2002:3), and bugged down by a confusion of agendas (Ake, 1996). Today, NGOs have become a counter-weight to state power especially in the promotion and protection of human rights and community development. The efficacy and efficiency with which they carry out their duties have convinced many people to believe that they have the magic bullet to strategically tackle the problem overlooked by an incompetent and weak state. Therefore, the rise of NGOs is not an accident, but a response to economic and political thinking in developed capitalist world. It is not strange, therefore, that NGOs received fabulous amount of aid in the late 1980s and the late twentieth century than the state. Between 1980 and 1993, total spending of NGOs rose from $2.8 billion to $5.7 billion:

> *In 1980 funding from international donor community allocated for less than 10% of NGO budgets (but) by the 1990s their share had risen to 35 per cent. NGOs in some African countries now provide or implement more than a fifth of total aid flows compared with less than one per cent fifteen years ago. Increasingly, a large number of NGOs in the third world are funded by small number donors such as World Bank, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The World Bank not only encourages member governments to work with NGOs on development projects, but also directly funds the NGO projects… From 1973 to 1988 NGOs were involved in about 15 World Bank projects a year. By 1990 that number had jumped to 89 or 40 per cent of all new projects approved. In 1997 approved World Bank projects in the third world countries involving NGOs were 84 per cent in South Asia, 61 per cent in African, and 60 per cent in Latin America and Caribbean. USAID is said to funnel 20 per cent of its funds through NGOs (Makoba, 2002:2).*

According to the WB, 12 per cent of foreign aid to developing countries was channelled through NGOs in 1994, and in 1996 the total amount was $7 billion worldwide. External aid to African NGOs rose from $1 billion in 1990 to $3.5 billion in 1999. This is in contrast to developing aid to states. Between 1993 and 1997, total aid to Africa declined by nearly 13 per cent from $21.5 billion to $18.7 billion, and Sub-Sahara Africa from $17.3 billion to $15.1 billion (Africa Recovery, 1999). The above scenario is in conformity with the policy of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

building a vibrant civil society with the capacity for private initiative. This is why Prudence Bushwell, former United States Ambassador to Kenya in his Declaration noted that the US government would channel most of her development aid to Africa estimated at $711.3 million in 1999 through NGOs, becomes instructive (Africa Recovery, 1999). With huge amount of money at their disposal, and their array of professional personnel, NGOs as international whistle blowers are demonstrating their vitality at every historical epoch.

> *the effectiveness of their efforts stunned the major multilateral institutions and governments worldwide and forced them to develop ways to engage and involve NGOs in their deliberation and decision making. Wikipedia, 2006*

III. Problems and Prospects

It is indubitable that NGOs in Africa are in the mainstream of social services and development in the continent. Nevertheless, they are saddled with myriad problems that have the capacity to eclipse their development-oriented efforts. One of their greatest vulnerability is the inability to match their vision with actions, and rise beyond the social impropriety of the society. There is an endemic crises of transparency and accountability. In most cases, these can be equated to what obtains in the State. Since they are not accountable to any authority, except their distant donors, it becomes easy to manipulate financial records. Sometime fake invoices and receipts are printed to satisfy the donors who do not have the time to scrutinize the records and claims of NGOs. It is not strange that Executive Directors of most NGOs use the money siphoned from the organization to establish chains of capitalist ventures, engage in real estate business and display mindboggling munificence. During the military era in Nigeria, NGOs were proliferated; most of them visionless and consequently some were embroiled in internal crisis traceable to distribution of revenue from funders and outright embezzlement of money meant for projects. Furthermore, with an untrammelled access to funds and global reach, it is possible that they can scorn and undermine state sovereignty. This is why some African states like Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa decided to apply some measures to checkmate their excesses. It is interesting to note that some of the NGOs do not have formal and recognisable locations. Hence, they are pejoratively addressed as Briefcase, Illegitimate and Pocket NGOs.

> *The Tanzania government condemns what it terms briefcase NGOs. It noted that it will not tolerate those set up to funnel public funds to private ends. President Daniel Arap Moi recently warned that any NGO in Kenya found dabbling into politics will be de-registered, and accused some NGO in the country of corruption and financial indiscipline. President Nelson Mandela of South Africa criticized what he called illegitimate NGOs trying to subvert government (Africa Recovery, 1999).*

In Nigeria, it has become mandatory for NGOs to register with the Corporate Affairs office (CA). This is to monitor their voluntary social activities. A worrisome problem plaguing NGOs in the 21st century is that they are vulnerable to infiltration by insurgents whose activities are inimical to national interest. The free flow of goods and services have made it possible for the movement of Small and Light Weapons (SALWs), and the emergence of terrorist groups like Boko Haram in Nigeria and Al shabaab in Somali and Mali. Arms supply to Africa by Western countries especially Sub-Sahara Africa stand the risk of being used for insurgent activities. In 2006, 22 of 48 countries in Africa were involved in conflicts whose impact was dehumanizing, to millions of Africans. These conflicts were sustained by insurgent groups buoyed up by their command of SALWs. According to the 2005 Human Security Report, 'by the turn of the 21st century Sub-Sahara Africa had become the world's most violent region, experiencing more battle – death than all other regions combined'. In West Africa, small arms are estimated at 7 – 8million with a minimum of 77,000 in the hands of insurgent groups. Guinea Bissau is estimated to have 25,000 weapons in circulation. In Nigeria, one could acquire a pistol for between $25-$28 depending on the type, and the Centre for Defence Information stated that 120,000 African children under the age of 18 were used as child soldiers in conflict perpetrated by the availability and use of small arms. Since NGOs are not under the ambit of states, it becomes a herculean task to monitor and supervise their activities. It is within this out of state reach that they can be used to import large cache of arms for sinister motives. The point is that there is the possibility that NGOs can be used for illegal trafficking in weapons and transnationalization of organized crime. Aware that NGOs can serve as conduits for the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), the Security Council(SC) of the UN in 2014 passed the resolution 1540. The Resolution Committee headed by Peter Brown of the Slovak Republic, has the onerous responsibility to advance awareness and compliance of the Resolution. According to Turpen:

> *the Resolution includes for states to adopt and enforce 'appropriate affective' laws which prohibit any non-state actor to manufacture, acquire, possess, develop, transport, transfer or use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons their means of delivery, develop and maintain effective physical protection measures, border controls and law enforcements, to address illicit trafficking and national export and transhipment.*
>
> *Wikipedia, 2015*

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

The Cooperative Non-Proliferation of programme at the Stimson Centre in 2006 launched the 100 project, also to sustain implementation of the UNSCR 1540. The United Kingdom based One World Trust has launched the Global Accountability Project geared towards checking the NGOs to conform to the tenets of accountability. The Centre for Global Counter Terrorism has joined to give strength to Resolutions 1540 and 1373 against global terrorism.

Apart from the above, the fact that most NGOs suffer from a strictly defined goals and objectives, creates a lacuna which makes it possible for them to dabble into areas where funds are readily available. To survive and keep afloat in the competitive market environment becomes a daily mantra. In this circumstance, practicing what they preach becomes a problem. This is compounded by lack of an internal mechanism for conflict resolution and career development. The Executive Director and other top members of the organization create a sectarian cabal such that every vital information of the group remains opaque to other members of the organization. In most cases, resource persons and project officers are underpaid, but they would be made to sign that their payment was in compliance with the donor's approved proposal. The victims do not have a choice, but to accept whatever was given them. If they protest or reject, next programme invitation may not be extended to them. This is in-spite of the 10% institutional development always built in the proposal. In this scenario, one begins to query the non-profit motif of NGOs, since in most cases they are used as fronts to attract foreign currency. From our survey of NGO activities in Nigeria from the 1980s to the late 1990s, it was discovered that the political ferment and the currency of Niger Delta theme which centred on environmental degradation led to NGO explosion. Billions of dollars were pumped into the region to address specific environmental problems, and raise awareness about the human insecurity bothering on military administration. Regrettably, only few were able to meet their target, while others haphazardly produced a report just to cover their records or claim that they were disrupted or arrested by the military junta. With the return of civilian rule in May 29, 1999, the so called vibrancy and vitality of NGOs came to the nadir. It was against this backdrop that late Gani Fawehemi demurred total dependence of NGOs on foreign funds. He consistently pointed out the negative implications of this economic dependence both on the image of the country and the vision and mission of the organizations. Malena (1995) noted that:

> *the most commonly weakness of the sector include, limited financial and management expertise, limited institutional capacity, low level of self – sustainability… and lack of understanding of the broader social or economic context. http://www.wds.world bank.org/-servlet Accessed on June 20/06, /15*

It is a common occurrence that NGO fraternity in African countries are echoing and mimicking the state of corruption happening within the leadership circles of their countries. In many NGOs, reports have indicated that those entrusted with funds for the institutions have misused them for personal benefit and in some instances corruptly access funding (Kang'e the and Manomano, 2014). Most NGOs suffer from chronic donor-dependence. This is a situation where NGOs always depend on foreign donors to finance their projects. We discovered that members of NGOs hardly contribute to the administration of their organizations. This reluctance is hinged on reliance from funding. In some cases, basic administrative materials cannot be provided when there is a dearth of external funds. The implication is that NGOs become susceptible to the vicissitudes and ideological bent of funders. After all, he who pays the piper must pick the tune. Lewis (2009) declared that NGOs maybe seen as progressive vehicles for change, but regarded as part of market – based solutions to policy problems. In Nigeria, it was discovered that NGOs who questioned the relevance of free market orthodoxy were blacklisted and starved of funds. Sometime in the 1990s, the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CDHR) had a change of leadership in Benin City, Edo State, but those who lost the election told the external funders that the organization had been taken over by communists. This unverified statement starved the organization of needed funds to execute its projects for a long time. CDHR was one of the most vocal NGOs in Nigeria that fought against prolonged military dictatorship in Nigeria between 1985 and 1999. Only what is allowed is dished out to members of the public. The implication is that members and other volunteer staff pretend to work since their boss pretend to pay them. Gradually, an organization that was built on populist pedestal and pro-poor vision degenerated to a one-man business. Unfortunately, this hypocrisy has not come within the scrutiny of anti-graft agencies in Africa. Most NGOs are urban based and not regularly in touch with the peculiarities of the rural areas. They only visit during advocacy campaigns and take beautiful pictures, adverts and publicity to justify their expenditure. This disconnect has kept them aloof from the development trend and needs of the society.

Finally, NGOs in Africa are associated with the deepening of market ideology in the continent. Hence, they are often referred to as a new form of westernization of Africa. The launch of NGO watch website on June 26, 2003 shows that international NGOs are not free from the ideological influence of their government. According to Andrew Natsios, Head of USAID:

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

NGOs had to do a better job of linking their humanitarian services to US foreign policy and making it clear that they are an arm of the US government. If they didn't Natsios threatened to personally tear up their contracts and find new partners". (The Globe and Mail, June 20, 2003).

a) Prospects

Although NGOs have come under intense criticism because of their problems. As Rief puts it,

Without a treasury, a legislature or an army at its disposal, civil society is less equipped to confront the challenges of globalization than nations are, and more likely to be wrecked by divisions based on region and self – interest of the single issue groups that form the nucleus of the civil society. (The Nation, February 22, 1999)

Nevertheless, NGOs in African cannot be wished away in-spite of their challenges. Apart from being part of the responses of the dialectical trend in the world, there is no gainsaying the fact that they have undoubtedly contributed to the continent's human security, served as the voice of the poverty – stricken and unreservedly condemned obnoxious practices in the continent of much significance is the vigorous and fearless campaign against the military rule in Nigeria in the 1990s. And the aggressive anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa. It was their dogged and consistent campaigns that attracted international condemnation and sanctions from the international community. The Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) CDHR, Campaign for Democracy (CD), Women in Nigeria (WIN), National Association of Nigerian Students(NANS) and the Labour became prominent in installing a civil regime on May 29, 1999, and ensuring that Ken Saro-Wiwa's death on May 10, 1995 received global condemnation and sympathy. The well-coordinated campaigns of Bring Back Our Chibok Girls has created the awareness about the inhumanity perpetuated by Boko Haram. The Nigerian Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) of 2011 is the handiwork of the Coalition of Freedom of Information ,including the Media Rights Agenda (MDA). In Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Environment Research Organization (ZERO) and the Empowerment for African Sustainable Development (EASD) have embarked on people-based projects to enhance the protection and conservation of the environment and improve the quality of life of the people. Therefore, the prospects of NGOs in Africa cannot be overestimated because of their rising record in development planning, research, awareness raising and employment generation. As many African States continue to experience some symptoms of State failure, NGOs have become a necessary channel to reach out to the grassroots. As whistle blowers, they have gradually become indispensable in our lives.

IV. Conclusion and Recommendations

NGOs have come to stay because they have become the conscience of the globe. Their geometrical rise since WWII demonstrates their indispensability in the global village. As the third sector in the society, they are an important ally of the exploited and the channel through which the poor gets the attention of the international community. Indeed, state-centred monopoly in development policy and economic growth is now brought under a sharp focus. In Africa, NGOs have constituted themselves into an alternative channel drawing the attention of the state to the grassroots, especially on gender – related issues and human rights. All these were facilitated because of globalization. The revolutions in communication technology unprecedentedly offered humanity a new era of swiftness in social relations, communication, relations political governance, geographical reach and economic vision. Sadly, the benefit from this development is not evenly distributed. In fact, globalization has become a foundation on which NGOs are propelled to greater height. However, despite the essential duties to humanity, they have come under caustic criticisms. These range from the opaque nature of their operations, to lack of accountability, transparency and susceptible to be overwhelmed by the totalizing logic of neo-liberal orthodoxy. It is against this backdrop that the New York Times averred that "we should not be afraid to ask who holds groups working in the public interest accountable or asking 'Do-gooders' to prove they Do good" (New York Times, January 3, 2004). In other words, NGOs must practice what they preach because they appear to epitomize the best and highest ideals. Nevertheless, considering their historical role which portends a glowing prospect, to eclipse their existence is to deny African a rare opportunity to be in the mainstream of global trend. NGOs must be embraced as partners in the business of governance, protection and promotion of basic freedoms of African peoples. As in integral part of democratic development, they must be given a pride place because:

from the abolition of slavery, the drafting of the UN Charter and its subsequent formation through to the campaign for the international criminal court and the ban on anti-personal mines, NGOs have made critical difference to our world. http://www.global-issues.org/ print/article/25 Accessed on June 22, 2015

In conclusion, African NGOs have come a long way. Sometimes, they have become the only visible official institution the rural poor can reckon with Considering their holistic importance to Africa, it becomes suicidal to shrink their responsibility and force them to wither away. This calls for their sustenance, partnership networking with the state and among

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

themselves based on best practices and minimum standards of accountability.

References Références Referencias

1. African Discovery Vol. 13 No. 1 June 1999.
2. Ake, C. (1995): 'The New World Order: The View from Africa' in Holm Hans – Henrik and G. Sorenson (ed) Whose Worlds Order: Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War. London, West view Press.
3. Ake, C. (1996): Democracy and Development in Africa. Lagos, Spectrum Books limited.
4. Albert, I. O., et al (2012): Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria. Abuja, Society for Peace Studies and Practice.
5. Annan, F. (2000): 'The Politics of Globalization' in O'Meara, P. et al: Globalization and the Challenges of a New Century. A Reader. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
6. Askel, I. and Baran, M. (2006): Organizational Problems of Non-Governmental Organizations. Avurupa Gulungu.
7. Awonusi, S. (2004): 'Globalization and Hegemonic English in Nigeria: Identity Conflicts and Linguistic Pluralism' in Oni, O. et al. Nigeria and Globalization. Lagos, CBAAC.
8. Bagci, C. (2007): Historical education of NGOs: NGO Proliferation in the Post-Cold War Era. Avurupa Gunlugu, No 4/2003 Pp. 299-326.
9. Bayart, J. (2010): The State in Africa. The Politics of the Belly. Cambridge, Polity Press.
10. Biakolo, E., et al (2011): Journalism and New Media Technologies in Africa. Lagos, CBAAC.
11. Business Day, July 8, 2015.
12. Gebre – Egziabher, S. (2010): Challenges and Weakness of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Africa. The Case of Indigenous NGOs in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa Christian Aid Ethiopia.
13. Kangiethe, S. M. and Manomano, T. (2014): Exploring the Challenges Threatening the Survival of NGOs in Selected African Countries. Italy, Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences MCSER Publishing.
14. Lewis, D. (2009): Non-Governmental Organizations, Definitions and History. Springer – Verlag Berlin Heidelberg.
15. Makoba, J. W. (2002): Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Third World Development: An Alternative Approach to Development.
16. Malena, C. (1995): A Practical Guide to Operational Collaboration between the World Bank and Non-Governmental Organization. http://www.wds.worldbank.org/servlet
17. Oboh, G. E. (2014): Mediatisation of Nigerian Politics. Issues and Perspectives for African Democracy. Ibadan, Stirling-Horden Publishers Ltd.
18. Oni, O. (2004): Nigeria and Globalization: Discourses on Identity Politics and Social Conflict. Lagos, Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization (CBAAC).
19. Stiglitz, J. (2002): Globalization and Its Discontents. London, Penguin Books.
20. Taylor, I. (2010): China's New Role in Africa. London, Lynne Rienner Publishers.
21. The Globe and Mail, June 20, 2003.
22. The Nation February 22, 1999.
23. Uwhejevwe – Togbolo, S. (2005): The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Development. Nigeria Village Square.
24. Wikipedia. The Free Journal of Third World Studies. Organization Encyclopaedia (2006): 'Non-Governmental Organization'. http://en.wikipedia.-org/wiki/non-governmentalorganization Accessed on July 4, 2015.
25. Zing, L. et al (2005): The United Nations. International Organization and World Politics (4th Ed.). Belmont, Thomson Wadsworth.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

China Faced with the Prospect of a Multipolar World

By Nicolae Iuga & Tilca Magnolia
Vasile Goldis Western University

Abstract- In the current established political analyses a few ciclehes have been put into circulation, such as: the USA is the only global superpower; the legitimacy of the United States of America's actions on the world stage is self-evident and cannot be questioned; it's preferable to have a globalization made under the United States of America, because this is an enlightened country and it promotes universal values; the Western values promoted by the USA are most certainly better than those of other civilizations' and can be extended on a global scale without any issue; introducing democracy into countries with a totalitarian political regime will automatically entail their economic prosperity; perhaps some of the actions of the United States of America are not good, but we shouldn't criticize them, because it would not be politically correct etc.

Keywords: china, the US, globalization, multipolar world, arabian spring.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Nicolae Iuga & Tilca Magnolia. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

China Faced with the Prospect of a Multipolar World

Nicolae Iuga [α] & Tilca Magnolia [σ]

Abstract- In the current established political analyses a few ciclehes have been put into circulation, such as: the USA is the only global superpower; the legitimacy of the United States of America's actions on the world stage is self-evident and cannot be questioned; it's preferable to have a globalization made under the United States of America, because this is an enlightened country and it promotes universal values; the Western values promoted by the USA are most certainly better than those of other civilizations' and can be extended on a global scale without any issue; introducing democracy into countries with a totalitarian political regime will automatically entail their economic prosperity; perhaps some of the actions of the United States of America are not good, but we shouldn't criticize them, because it would not be politically correct etc.

Our thesis, stated and unequivocally argued in the paragraphs below, claims instead that an emergent multipolar structure is being set up, that the hegemonic legitimacy of the United States of America is questionable and it has already begun its downfall, that the USA has entered a pronounced process of relativization of the values it promotes/its promoted values, that it has begun to significantly lose ground on a moral basis, especially after the Wikileaks revelations, a loss which will precede and cause future losses of a military, political and economic nature.

Keywords: china, the US, globalization, multipolar world, arabian spring.

I. Introduction

It is obvious that now and in the foreseeable future we are moving towards a multipolar world, that several military, economic and politically power poles are being set up, able to counter the US' political and military actions, to limit the single superpower status of the US and to compete with them. According to Henry Kissinger (Kissinger, 2005), next world power centers that the US will face will be: Japan, Russia, China, EU and possibly India. The Islamic world does not matter, at least for now, being weakly economic productive and highly religious and politico-military fragmented, the Arab nation is not grouped into a single state, Islam is a civilization which has not yet found a core-state as the Ottoman Empire once was. Political scientist Sivliu Brucan takes over the idea and in addition, he gives a set of rules that would govern the game. Namely: (a) None of the five or six players must isolate themselves and must not let themselves be isolated from the others, if they want to play an important role on the global stage; (b) Each player must seek to form a coalition with the others, with as many as four or five others; (c) The coalition that will be able to form a majority will have the decisive word in international relations (Brucan, 2005).

According to those mentioned above, an interesting pole of power is Japan, being the second world power after the United States, as it was classified based on the analysis of some indicators. Ten years ago, in 2006, Japan ranked third in the world in terms of GDP after the US and China, but first in certain economic sectors such as siderurgy and machine construction. It has a population of 127 million people. It is a country without resources, it imports almost all of its raw materials and oil products, but, thanks to a stunning productivity and the promoting of high-tech, Japan reached a high index of capitalization of raw materials and an extraordinary economic performance overall. Japan has no wide military sector of its own, which would absorb large financial investments and human resources. Currently this has become an advantage in the global economic race.

China has the advantage of being most populated country in the world. It ranks first worldwide in terms of population (over 1.3 billion people), just behind the US in terms of GDP and fourth place on the extent of the territory.

In recent years, China has made important changes in its economic structure, partially gave up an centralized economy specific to the Communist Regime, it reformed the education system, sent its youth to study abroad, especially in Japan and the US, and favored imports in computer technology, telecommunications and biotechnology (Bueno de Mesquita, 2009). Also, according to the appreciations of some experts, China has become a military power of global importance (Bueno de Mesquita, 2009). Moreover, China and the US are currently the only military powers that have developed weapons that can target space satellites, weapons extremely important given in the context in which ground military operations are coordinated by communications satellites.

The Russian Federations holds first place in the world surface, sixth place in terms of population with over 145 million inhabitants and ninth place on GDP, but has the advantage of a huge amount of natural resources and has one of the most powerful military

Author α: Socials Sciences Department, Vasile Goldis Western University, Arad. e-mail: nicolaeiuga@yahoo.com
Author σ: Engineering and Computer Science Department, Vasile Goldis Western University, Arad. e-mail: tilca.magnolia@uvvg.ro

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

systems in the world. Five or ten years ago, Russia became the main beneficiary of the rising oil prices, as it has now become the country hit hardest by the fall of the oil prices.

Despite its internal problems, Russia's military recovery is a reality that cannot be ignored. Russia's GDP has grown tremendously during Putin's presidency, from 200 billion dollars in 1999, to 920 billiard dollars in 2006. Russia is a global energetic superpower, even if it does not have a diversified economy, for thus being named an "oil-state". It is also an old nuclear power which generates economical growth without a development in the real economy (Shestova, 2008).

The EU constitution is probably the most ambitious political project of the last half century. EU is still far from the status of a federal state, the production, the economic policies and the budgets being organized on a national basis. However, several synthetic indices could be relevant. With over half a billion people, the EU population occupies the third place in the world after China and India, while the GDP classifies the EU on fourth place after the US, China and Japan. A proper integration of the various European countries in a Union which has the characteristics of a single federal state is a complex process that is already marked by uncertainties regarding the functioning of the euro area and the uncontrolled migration of the populations of Muslim confession from North Africa to the rich states of Europe. According to some eurosceptics, the European Union might have a shorter lifetime than the Soviet Union; the EU is nothing more than a simple extension of the US, from a political point of view.

II. Arab Spring" is Organized by US Against China and Russia

In this context, the US wage a fierce battle, a hidden and unreported one, that is fought by intermediaries against all other great powers, primarily China and Russia, which could prove to be rival powers to the US who pretend itself that is the only global super power interested in establishing of an "unipolar" world under exclusive US domination and economic exploitation. Destabilization of Muslim states of North Africa under the cynical name "Arab Spring" is even part of this scenario.

The economist and contemporary political scientist, economic consultant and freelance journalist William Engdahl describes the US after the Second World War as a kind of entirely new empire, not based on military occupation of a territory, but on controlling some vital resources (www.williamengdahl.com, 2016). An informal empire, but an empire that controls the world finance, the basic food chain, the energy, the oil and chemical-pharmaceutical industry, an empire that became, after the collapse of the URSS, the greatest concentration of power in history. And this great empire, like any other empire in history, will have an end, and the end of the US will come exactly from this trend of controlling certain resources on a global scale.

At the moment, the ultimate goal of the US – as Engdahl shows (www.rt.com, 2016) – is to control the resources in Africa and Middle East in order to block the economic growth of China and Russia, just to control Eurasia entirely. But now, Engdahl says, the US went into decline, although no one from Washington is willing to acknowledge this, just as in the UK, a hundred years ago, no one wanted to admit that the Empire is in decline. Currently, the US endeavor not only to keep its reached power intact (Zakaria, 2008), but also to extend its dominance over the entire planet.

F. William Engdahl believes that the uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa are, by no means, a series of honest and spontaneous movements started from the inside and aimed to remove abusive political regimes, but that that riots were provoked from outside and are part of a political-military plan announced by former US President George W. Bush at a meeting of the G8 in 2003, a project called "The Grate Middle East". This project was devised by the US to take control over the entire Islamic world, from Afghanistan and Pakistan, trough Iran, Syria, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, to Gibraltar – by "democracy", by "balkanization" actually. The so-called "Arab Spring" was planned and organized in advance, the instigators on social networks being manipulated. The Arab leaders of the uprisings in Islamic countries were trained in Belgrade by American specialists from the Canvas and Otpor organizations, where there was a real school of diversion and political destabilization after the violent removal from power of former Serbian President Milosevic (www.rt.com, 2016).

What would be the reasons for the US to pursue a systematic dismantling of Islamic states? According to Engdahl, the first reason is that a huge wealth is concentrated in the hands of the leaders of the Arab world, consisting of accumulated funds and resources. These states have to be "democratized", as Russia was in the early 90s, because here the "market economy" can penetrate and the economy of these states can restructure itself – after the FMI imperative indications – such that "the banks and Western financial companies can come and take their prey" (www.rt.com, 2016).

The second reason is the "security" and the militarization of oil resources in places like Libya and Sudan, countries of interest for China's future economic growth. This fact was predicted long before Engdahl, by Zbigniew Brzezinski in a book published in 1998 (Brzezinski, 1998). In this book, the American political scientist, former security adviser of President Jimmy Carter, predicts the US strategy in Eurasia, showing no US competitor should be allowed to come to dominate Eurasia and to challenge the global pre-eminence of America (Woodward, 2010). To do this, China's access

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

to the oil resources must to be blocked, to the resources of Africa in general.

Ten years ago, in 2006, China invited 40 heads of state from Africa to Beijing, offering them particularly advantageous business deals, also proposing to invest, build houses and hospitals in Africa and to complete large infrastructure projects, everything that the IMF did not complete in Africa in the last 30 years since the IMF infiltrated there (Economy & Segal, 2009), (Jacques, 2009), (Lorenz, 2010). Immediately after this event, The Pentagon formed a "Command center" specifically for Africa, AFRICOM, and began to destabilize the resource-rich countries of the north. The frightening results of the US policy are seen everywhere: Egypt, Syria and Libya – formerly wealthy countries – are now in anarchy due to them.

Meanwhile, with its huge financial resources, China is buying treasury bills from US, thus supporting the US dollar and finances, and ironically, even the military investments of the US, directed inclusively against China. To maintain the dollar, the US had to quickly find new areas of prey, and that's why they looked toward the fabulous riches of the Arab world. According to Engdahl, even the crisis in Greece has been primed by Goldman Sachs since 2002; he has encouraged the country to falsify official reports regarding the budget deficit and the public debt, declaring government spending and public debt lower than they were in reality. The crisis in Greece has been programmed to be detonated from a distance from the US at the moment when it would have been necessary and when the euro could have become a serious competitor to the US dollar.

Finally, another big, gigantic historical irony is that now Russia itself, a Russian military encircled in recent years by the construction of no less than 17 new US military bases, this Russia – perhaps together with Iran, China and some countries in South America – is called upon to play a constructive and political stabilizing role in the world, to play the role of counterweight to this extremely dangerous strategy of the US and NATO. Following the same irony, this time more comic than serious, Russia took the torch of the compliance for human rights, providing political asylum to Edward Snowden, one of the few people, along with Julian Assange, who dared to show the true face of the US.

III. The Economic Rise of China

The economic and military rise of China is probably a fact too little analyzed. Those few relevant analyzes completed to date would seem to be subject to outright censorship (Laurenţiu, 2009). China has chosen a path of works and sacrifices, two decades ago. The Chinese worker has been educated to work hard and be paid less, compared to European or American worker. China produces everything, in enormous amounts and very cheap. China exported heavily, saturating Western consumer markets, but it imported very little, heaving therefore a trade balance with a very high surplus (Laurenţiu, 2009). Up until 2012, Germany held first place in the world with a trade balance overstock, but in 2013 Germany was overtaken by China. A huge cash flow enters China annually. Many countries, beginning with the US, have significant financial liabilities to China. Obviously, this money must be invested somewhere. As any commercial power with a financial surplus, China is making huge investments abroad and repatriating profits, which attract a greater capitalization of the country.

The countries that have already been undercapitalized and transformed in colonies have no financial resources and are forced to borrow. Where from? Basically, those countries are forced to borrow from the IMF, the European or American banks. And these banks ask higher rates from those countries than the regular loans from the open market, with the pretext that these countries may represent a risk on debt payment. Hungary is again a unique figure in this chapter. It already treated, at the beginning of 2014, a loan of 10 milliard Euros from Russia under more advantageous conditions than those imposed to Romania by the IMF to build a nuclear power plant. In the case of Hungary, if it will not give up on this loan from Russia, it is possible that the US will dramatically destabilize the country in the near future.

But the undercapitalized and colonized countries that borrow from the IMF and European and American banks also borrow indirectly from ….China! The reason is that China is the most important "contributor" to the authorized loan of the IMF, except that the profit goes to the IMF instead of China. There is a similar situation with the American banks. The US is heavily indebted to China. If I took, for example, a loan of $ 10 from the US and the US in turn owes China $ 1,000, we may say that I borrowed indirectly from China, except that the interest goes to the US banks not to those of China, and China practically loses the difference between the smaller interest it charged the US and the bigger interest that banks controlled by US & EU charge the countries-colonies.

China has some strengths (Laurenţiu, 2009) that make the hypothesis that in the near future this country overtake the US in terms of economic and military power plausible. These strengths are: China has a population that represents about a quarter of the planet's total population. It has a huge territory and already has access to certain resources. It has an important strategic position. It has a culture and a civilization older than two thousand years, in contrast to the US. It has ambitious people who proved that they are capable of self-sacrifice. It has strict laws against corruption. It has a centralized and authoritarian political system that

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

allows for a better adjustment in economic global competition (Zhao, 2006).

China succeed at having access to raw materials, but not by occupying certain areas of the world through war, but by commercial ways, buying effectively wide territories from Africa and Australia (for now), which shows once more the character of a nation with an ancient civilization (Zhao, 2006). On the other hand, just as the Europeans once stole Chinese specific inventions, like gunpowder and the magnetic needle, today China copies and reproduces any technical invention, with at amazing speed (Fogele, 2010). The centralized management of the country can also be an advantage because the decisions may quickly be taken and efficiently, without delays and without being blocked by the institutions of a badly understood democracy. Discipline and order are ensured by punishments that discourage crime, including the death penalty, unlike the example of Europe today, where the penal system is not discouraging, where the criminals have more rights than the injured parties and even than the honest people, some of the criminals living even better in prison than in liberty. Today, in Europe, most politicians who make the laws are nothing but representatives of the offenders.

Thus China has come to produce huge quantities of goods of daily use, clothing or electronics for the West, attracting enormous sums of money that are spent judiciously, however. Some Arab countries, whose governments are puppets of the US, also attracted huge sums of money from the West in exchanged for oil, but basically did not know what to do with money. They spent money in dazzlingly luxurious, consumerist voluptuousness, in morganatic investments, Babylonian constructions and artificial islands. The investments that produce nothing cause looses of money like pouring water into sand and, it is very likely that, in a certain future, this civilization will disappear, like an optical illusion of the wilderness. These Arab countries were not interested in the scientific research for the production of the alternative energy, because they must advantageously sell the oil, without energy competition. They were not also interested in investing in a proper defense sector, because they have US military bases on their territory.

In China's case, things are quite different. With money coming from the West being wisely managed, with a legal system to fight corruption, China bought factories, technologies and territories rich in resources; thus China owns the most important mineral wealthy of Africa and Australia, but it also made outside investments (Farndon, 2007) and credited western states. At the same time, China set up one of the best systems of higher education and scientific research in the world, it has advanced considerably in the production of alternative energy sources and created a fearsome military system. China's military technology competes seriously with the US and Japan.

The economic crisis started by American bankers in 2008 surprised the financial two superpowers, China and the US, in completely different situations. In the summer of 2013, the US public debt reached an unimaginable record, according to official figures, which apparently are about six times lower than the actual (www.gandul.info), 12,000 billion dollars (www.wall-street.ro), of which $1,315 billiard is owed to China only and $1,111 billion to Japan. The US owe to Venezuela with hundreds of millions of dollars for oil imported from here, and instead playing the debt, the US proceeded to demonize the leadership of this country and repeatedly tried to destabilize it. It seems that the US accumulated debts that they will never probably be able to pay. China has no debts (as of 2014) and even a trade surplus of $33.8 billion (on 8 December 2013).

It is known that the market mechanisms spontaneously adjust many things, but – according to some authors – if "the big American companies would be left at the mercy of the market, the value of these companies would shortly fall so much that they could be purchased by China very cheaply for nothing […] It is interesting to study how the major powers believe they have solved the 2009 crisis. The recipe was the issuing of electronic money and credits from the IMF for fools." (Laurenţiu, 2009). With this recipe, Americans have found a way to avoid the crisis, but only for a short time. In the near future, the dollar is likely to depreciate until it will become a worthless currency. America will then adopt a new currency or a currency that still will be viable, like the euro. Europe has no choice because it is blackmailed by an alleged US & NATO military threat that comes from the Russia – China direction (Kruger, 2005). Europe is vulnerable from this point of view, because outside NATO, it has no chance in a confrontation with such a threat.

As it was mentioned above, in the global economy, Germany had the largest current account surplus until 2013 when it was overtaken by China. In desperation, the US attacked Germany, regarding its economic policies. In the report submitted by the US Treasury in October 2013 harsh criticisms against Germany are inserted, Germany being presented as a country that seeks "to obtain a competitive advantage over US exports" (www.infopolitic.ro/criticile-sua-aduse-politicilor-economice-germane.html, 2014). In essence, Germany is criticized for maintaining a higher commercial surplus based on exports and for limiting the domestic demand; the IMF joined this criticism of the Treasury Department, giving "indications" to Germany to reduce the export surplus "at an appropriate rate" and to focus on meeting the domestic demand. In other words, it is said that the US products can hardly penetrate the European market and other markets outside Europe, because the US products are competing with better and cheaper German products; this is a reason to call Germany to discipline. Germany

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

rejected this criticism proving that "the US attack is incomprehensible" and that "its current account surplus cannot be a source of worry" (www.infopolitic.ro/criticile-sua-aduse-politicilor-economice-germane.html, 2014). Germany also pointed out that its current account surplus is a sign of health and competitiveness of the German economy, that it is better for Europe to have an export powerhouse in the German economy than to have no engine of growth.

The fact is even more bizarre, as the criticism from the US Treasury and the IMF against Germany were made in a totally inappropriate context, marked by the exposure concerning the illegal interception of European leaders' phones with the purpose of economic espionage, including those of German leaders, by a specialized agency of the US and the fact that President Obama asked the Congress to approve raising the US debt ceiling.

IV. Conclusion

It is possible that the US strategists, as a way out from the US situation, will consider the gradual starting of a series of regional wars, too, wars that will cause the overthrow of the current global order, with high chances of turning them into WW3. They do this by challenging China in an aberrant way, such as the accusations that China does not recognize Taiwan's independence, or that China does not respect human rights, reasons that the US considers "sufficient" for no longer paying their debt to China. The above data seems to put China and the US in a position of irreconcilable antagonism. Things are continuing to became more and more complicated because an objective irony of history is implicated here, as well. On one hand, the irony is that China, this great power, by buying treasury bonds from the US, finances the US, including the US military spending, i.e. the US arming themselves against China.

On the other hand, the International Monetary Fund, founded in 1944 by the Treaty of Bretton Woods, having the initial goal to reconstruct the world economy after the war and to promote it in a healthy way, officially began its activity on March 1, 1947. The system provided a stable exchange rate having gold as a standard reference, the single currency convertible in gold being the US dollar. But in 1971 the US took the decision to give up this convertibility. The countries exporting oil increased the oil prices and the US was very interested in paying for more expensive oil with a less valuable paper dollar. Thus, the system established at Bretton Woods is gone, but the IMF remained.

Subsequently, the IMF has been transformed by the US as an instrument of donation, control and financial robbing of poor countries, who are forced to borrow from the IMF. Given today's circumstances, the US cannot borrow other countries through the IMF because the US in highly indebted. So the IMF is gradually being taken over by China which has excess money. The irony of history in this case is that the IMF is no longer for whom it was intended to be, but for who was fit. Apparently countries owe to the IMF, but indirectly they actually owe China.

References Références Referencias

1. S. Brucan, "The 21st century", Iaşi: Ed. Polirom, 2005, pp. 104.
2. Z. Brzezinski "The Grand Chessboard, American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives", Basic Books, 1998.
3. B. Bueno de Mesquita, "The Predictioneer's game", 2009.
4. E.C. Economy and A. Segal, "The G-2 Mirage",. in Foreign Affairs, May-June, 2009.
5. J. Farndon, "The Secrets of China", Bucureşti, Editura Litera Internaţional, 2007, pp. 105.
6. R. Fogele, "The China's estimated economy by 2040", in Foreign Policy – Romania, January-February 2010 , pp. 49.
7. M. Jacques, "When China rules the World". New York, New York, 2009.
8. H. Kissinger, "Realists vs. Idealists",. in International Herald Tribune, 2005.
9. R. Kruger, "All Under Heaven: A Complete History of China", Artemis, Bucharest, 2005.
10. P. Laurenţiu, "Meritocracy", Ed. Antet, republished at www.meritocratia.ro, 2009.
11. A. Lorenz, "Two Superpowers Take on the World", Spiegel International Journal, January, 2010.
12. L. Shestova, "Vladimir Putin", in Foreign Policy Journal, Washington, no. 2, 2008.
13. B. Woodward, "Obama's Wars", Simon & Schuster, 2010.
14. www.gandul.info. (n.d.). Retrieved February 27, 2014, from www.gandul.info
15. www.infopolitic.ro/criticile-sua-aduse-politicilor-economice-germane.html, 2014, Retrieved February 28, 2014, from www.infopolitic.ro/criticile-sua-aduse-politicilor-economice-germane.html
16. www.rt.com, 2016, Retrieved February 22, 2016, from www.rt.com
17. www.wall-street.ro, Retrieved February 27, 2014, from www.wall-street.ro
18. www.williamengdahl.com. 2016, Retrieved February 22, 2016, from www.williamengdahl.com
19. F. Zakaria, "The Post-American World. US", W.W. Norton & Company Publisher, 2008.
20. T. Zhao, "Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept All under Heaven"- Tianxia. in "Social Identities", vol. 12, no.1, January 2006, Taylor-Francis , pg. 29-41.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journals Inc. (US) Guidelines Handbook 2016

www.GlobalJournals.org

FELLOWS

FELLOW OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (FARSHS)

Global Journals Incorporate (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society (OARS), U.S.A and in turn, awards "FARSHS" title to individuals. The 'FARSHS' title is accorded to a selected professional after the approval of the Editor-in-Chief/Editorial Board Members/Dean.

- The "FARSHS" is a dignified title which is accorded to a person's name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSS or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSHS.

FARSHS accrediting is an honor. It authenticates your research activities. After recognition as FARSHS, you can add 'FARSHS' title with your name as you use this recognition as additional suffix to your status. This will definitely enhance and add more value and repute to your name. You may use it on your professional Counseling Materials such as CV, Resume, and Visiting Card etc.

The following benefits can be availed by you only for next three years from the date of certification:

FARSHS designated members are entitled to avail a 40% discount while publishing their research papers (of a single author) with Global Journals Incorporation (USA), if the same is accepted by Editorial Board/Peer Reviewers. If you are a main author or co-author in case of multiple authors, you will be entitled to avail discount of 10%.

Once FARSHS title is accorded, the Fellow is authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). The Fellow can also participate in conference/seminar/symposium organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent.

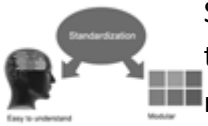
You may join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) after successful completion of three years as Fellow and as Peer Reviewer. In addition, it is also desirable that you should organize seminar/symposium/conference at least once.

We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time.This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US) | Guidelines Handbook

The FARSHS can go through standards of OARS. You can also play vital role if you have any suggestions so that proper amendment can take place to improve the same for the benefit of entire research community.

As FARSHS, you will be given a renowned, secure and free professional email address with 100 GB of space e.g. johnhall@globaljournals.org. This will include Webmail, Spam Assassin, Email Forwarders,Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.



The FARSHS will be eligible for a free application of standardization of their researches. Standardization of research will be subject to acceptability within stipulated norms as the next step after publishing in a journal. We shall depute a team of specialized research professionals who will render their services for elevating your researches to next higher level, which is worldwide open standardization.

The FARSHS member can apply for grading and certification of standards of the educational and Institutional Degrees to Open Association of Research, Society U.S.A.
Once you are designated as FARSHS, you may send us a scanned copy of all of your credentials. OARS will verify, grade and certify them. This will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and some more criteria. After certification of all your credentials by OARS, they will be published on your Fellow Profile link on website https://associationofresearch.org which will be helpful to upgrade the dignity.

The FARSHS members can avail the benefits of free research podcasting in Global Research Radio with their research documents. After publishing the work, (including published elsewhere worldwide with proper authorization) you can upload your research paper with your recorded voice or you can utilize chargeable services of our professional RJs to record your paper in their voice on request.

The FARSHS member also entitled to get the benefits of free research podcasting of their research documents through video clips. We can also streamline your conference videos and display your slides/ online slides and online research video clips at reasonable charges, on request.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

The FARSHS is eligible to earn from sales proceeds of his/her researches/reference/review Books or literature, while publishing with Global Journals. The FARSHS can decide whether he/she would like to publish his/her research in a closed manner. In this case, whenever readers purchase that individual research paper for reading, maximum 60% of its profit earned as royalty by Global Journals, will be credited to his/her bank account. The entire entitled amount will be credited to his/her bank account exceeding limit of minimum fixed balance. There is no minimum time limit for collection. The FARSS member can decide its price and we can help in making the right decision.

The FARSHS member is eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper. After reviewing 5 or more papers you can request to transfer the amount to your bank account.

MEMBER OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (MARSHS)

The ' MARSHS ' title is accorded to a selected professional after the approval of the Editor-in-Chief / Editorial Board Members/Dean.

The "MARSHS" is a dignified ornament which is accorded to a person's name viz. Dr John E. Hall, Ph.D., MARSHS or William Walldroff, M.S., MARSHS.

MARSHS accrediting is an honor. It authenticates your research activities. Afterbecoming MARSHS, you can add 'MARSHS' title with your name as you use this recognition as additional suffix to your status. This will definitely enhance and add more value and repute to your name. You may use it on your professional Counseling Materials such as CV, Resume, Visiting Card and Name Plate etc.

The following benefitscan be availed by you only for next three years from the date of certification.

MARSHS designated members are entitled to avail a 25% discount while publishing their research papers (of a single author) in Global Journals Inc., if the same is accepted by our Editorial Board and Peer Reviewers. If you are a main author or co-author of a group of authors, you will get discount of 10%.

As MARSHS, you willbegiven a renowned, secure and free professional email address with 30 GB of space e.g. johnhall@globaljournals.org. This will include Webmail, Spam Assassin, Email Forwarders,Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US) | Guidelines Handbook

We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time.This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.

The MARSHS member can apply for approval, grading and certification of standards of their educational and Institutional Degrees to Open Association of Research, Society U.S.A.

Once you are designated as MARSHS, you may send us a scanned copy of all of your credentials. OARS will verify, grade and certify them. This will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and some more criteria.

It is mandatory to read all terms and conditions carefully.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

AUXILIARY MEMBERSHIPS

Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society (USA) - OARS (USA)

Global Journals Incorporation (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) and in turn, affiliates research institutions as "Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society" (IFOARS).

The "FARSC" is a dignified title which is accorded to a person's name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSC or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSC.

The IFOARS institution is entitled to form a Board comprised of one Chairperson and three to five board members preferably from different streams. The Board will be recognized as "Institutional Board of Open Association of Research Society"-(IBOARS).

The Institute will be entitled to following benefits:

The IBOARS can initially review research papers of their institute and recommend them to publish with respective journal of Global Journals. It can also review the papers of other institutions after obtaining our consent. The second review will be done by peer reviewer of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) The Board is at liberty to appoint a peer reviewer with the approval of chairperson after consulting us.

The author fees of such paper may be waived off up to 40%.

The Global Journals Incorporation (USA) at its discretion can also refer double blind peer reviewed paper at their end to the board for the verification and to get recommendation for final stage of acceptance of publication.

The IBOARS can organize symposium/seminar/conference in their country on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)-OARS (USA). The terms and conditions can be discussed separately.

The Board can also play vital role by exploring and giving valuable suggestions regarding the Standards of "Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS)" so that proper amendment can take place for the benefit of entire research community. We shall provide details of particular standard only on receipt of request from the Board.

The board members can also join us as Individual Fellow with 40% discount on total fees applicable to Individual Fellow. They will be entitled to avail all the benefits as declared. Please visit Individual Fellow-sub menu of GlobalJournals.org to have more relevant details.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US) | Guidelines Handbook

We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.

After nomination of your institution as "Institutional Fellow" and constantly functioning successfully for one year, we can consider giving recognition to your institute to function as Regional/Zonal office on our behalf.
The board can also take up the additional allied activities for betterment after our consultation.

The following entitlements are applicable to individual Fellows:

Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) By-laws states that an individual Fellow may use the designations as applicable, or the corresponding initials. The Credentials of individual Fellow and Associate designations signify that the individual has gained knowledge of the fundamental concepts. One is magnanimous and proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice.

Open Association of Research Society (US)/ Global Journals Incorporation (USA), as described in Corporate Statements, are educational, research publishing and professional membership organizations. Achieving our individual Fellow or Associate status is based mainly on meeting stated educational research requirements.

Disbursement of 40% Royalty earned through Global Journals : Researcher = 50%, Peer Reviewer = 37.50%, Institution = 12.50% E.g. Out of 40%, the 20% benefit should be passed on to researcher, 15 % benefit towards remuneration should be given to a reviewer and remaining 5% is to be retained by the institution.

We shall provide print version of 12 issues of any three journals [as per your requirement] out of our 38 journals worth $ 2376 USD.

Other:

The individual Fellow and Associate designations accredited by Open Association of Research Society (US) credentials signify guarantees following achievements:

- The professional accredited with Fellow honor, is entitled to various benefits viz. name, fame, honor, regular flow of income, secured bright future, social status etc.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

- In addition to above, if one is single author, then entitled to 40% discount on publishing research paper and can get 10%discount if one is co-author or main author among group of authors.
- The Fellow can organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and he/she can also attend the same organized by other institutes on behalf of Global Journals.
- The Fellow can become member of Editorial Board Member after completing 3yrs.
- The Fellow can earn 60% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.
- Fellow can also join as paid peer reviewer and earn 15% remuneration of author charges and can also get an opportunity to join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)
- • This individual has learned the basic methods of applying those concepts and techniques to common challenging situations. This individual has further demonstrated an in–depth understanding of the application of suitable techniques to a particular area of research practice.

Note :

"

- In future, if the board feels the necessity to change any board member, the same can be done with the consent of the chairperson along with anyone board member without our approval.
- In case, the chairperson needs to be replaced then consent of 2/3rd board members are required and they are also required to jointly pass the resolution copy of which should be sent to us. In such case, it will be compulsory to obtain our approval before replacement.
- In case of "Difference of Opinion [if any]" among the Board members, our decision will be final and binding to everyone.

"

Process of submission of Research Paper

The Area or field of specialization may or may not be of any category as mentioned in 'Scope of Journal' menu of the GlobalJournals.org website. There are 37 Research Journal categorized with Six parental Journals GJCST, GJMR, GJRE, GJMBR, GJSFR, GJHSS. For Authors should prefer the mentioned categories. There are three widely used systems UDC, DDC and LCC. The details are available as 'Knowledge Abstract' at Home page. The major advantage of this coding is that, the research work will be exposed to and shared with all over the world as we are being abstracted and indexed worldwide.

The paper should be in proper format. The format can be downloaded from first page of 'Author Guideline' Menu. The Author is expected to follow the general rules as mentioned in this menu. The paper should be written in MS-Word Format (*.DOC,*.DOCX).

The Author can submit the paper either online or offline. The authors should prefer online submission.Online Submission: There are three ways to submit your paper:

(A) (I) First, register yourself using top right corner of Home page then Login. If you are already registered, then login using your username and password.

(II) Choose corresponding Journal.

(III) Click 'Submit Manuscript'. Fill required information and Upload the paper.

(B) If you are using Internet Explorer, then Direct Submission through Homepage is also available.

(C) If these two are not conveninet , and then email the paper directly to dean@globaljournals.org.

Offline Submission: Author can send the typed form of paper by Post. However, online submission should be preferred.

Preferred Author Guidelines

MANUSCRIPT STYLE INSTRUCTION (Must be strictly followed)

Page Size: 8.27" X 11'"

- Left Margin: 0.65
- Right Margin: 0.65
- Top Margin: 0.75
- Bottom Margin: 0.75
- Font type of all text should be Swis 721 Lt BT.
- Paper Title should be of Font Size 24 with one Column section.
- Author Name in Font Size of 11 with one column as of Title.
- Abstract Font size of 9 Bold, "Abstract" word in Italic Bold.
- Main Text: Font size 10 with justified two columns section
- Two Column with Equal Column with of 3.38 and Gaping of .2
- First Character must be three lines Drop capped.
- Paragraph before Spacing of 1 pt and After of 0 pt.
- Line Spacing of 1 pt
- Large Images must be in One Column
- Numbering of First Main Headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman Letters, Capital Letter, and Font Size of 10.
- Numbering of Second Main Headings (Heading 2) must be in Alphabets, Italic, and Font Size of 10.

You can use your own standard format also.
Author Guidelines:

1. General,

2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

1. GENERAL

Before submitting your research paper, one is advised to go through the details as mentioned in following heads. It will be beneficial, while peer reviewer justify your paper for publication.

Scope

The Global Journals Inc. (US) welcome the submission of original paper, review paper, survey article relevant to the all the streams of Philosophy and knowledge. The Global Journals Inc. (US) is parental platform for Global Journal of Computer Science and Technology, Researches in Engineering, Medical Research, Science Frontier Research, Human Social Science, Management, and Business organization. The choice of specific field can be done otherwise as following in Abstracting and Indexing Page on this Website. As the all Global

Journals Inc. (US) are being abstracted and indexed (in process) by most of the reputed organizations. Topics of only narrow interest will not be accepted unless they have wider potential or consequences.

2. ETHICAL GUIDELINES

Authors should follow the ethical guidelines as mentioned below for publication of research paper and research activities.

Papers are accepted on strict understanding that the material in whole or in part has not been, nor is being, considered for publication elsewhere. If the paper once accepted by Global Journals Inc. (US) and Editorial Board, will become the copyright of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

Authorship: The authors and coauthors should have active contribution to conception design, analysis and interpretation of findings. They should critically review the contents and drafting of the paper. All should approve the final version of the paper before submission

The Global Journals Inc. (US) follows the definition of authorship set up by the Global Academy of Research and Development. According to the Global Academy of R&D authorship, criteria must be based on:

1) Substantial contributions to conception and acquisition of data, analysis and interpretation of the findings.

2) Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.

3) Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

All authors should have been credited according to their appropriate contribution in research activity and preparing paper. Contributors who do not match the criteria as authors may be mentioned under Acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements: Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned under acknowledgement. The specifications of the source of funding for the research if appropriate can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with address.

Appeal of Decision: The Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed elsewhere.

Permissions: It is the author's responsibility to have prior permission if all or parts of earlier published illustrations are used in this paper.

Please mention proper reference and appropriate acknowledgements wherever expected.

If all or parts of previously published illustrations are used, permission must be taken from the copyright holder concerned. It is the author's responsibility to take these in writing.

Approval for reproduction/modification of any information (including figures and tables) published elsewhere must be obtained by the authors/copyright holders before submission of the manuscript. Contributors (Authors) are responsible for any copyright fee involved.

3. SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be uploaded via this online submission page. The online submission is most efficient method for submission of papers, as it enables rapid distribution of manuscripts and consequently speeds up the review procedure. It also enables authors to know the status of their own manuscripts by emailing us. Complete instructions for submitting a paper is available below.

Manuscript submission is a systematic procedure and little preparation is required beyond having all parts of your manuscript in a given format and a computer with an Internet connection and a Web browser. Full help and instructions are provided on-screen. As an author, you will be prompted for login and manuscript details as Field of Paper and then to upload your manuscript file(s) according to the instructions.

To avoid postal delays, all transaction is preferred by e-mail. A finished manuscript submission is confirmed by e-mail immediately and your paper enters the editorial process with no postal delays. When a conclusion is made about the publication of your paper by our Editorial Board, revisions can be submitted online with the same procedure, with an occasion to view and respond to all comments.

Complete support for both authors and co-author is provided.

4. MANUSCRIPT'S CATEGORY

Based on potential and nature, the manuscript can be categorized under the following heads:

Original research paper: Such papers are reports of high-level significant original research work.

Review papers: These are concise, significant but helpful and decisive topics for young researchers.

Research articles: These are handled with small investigation and applications

Research letters: The letters are small and concise comments on previously published matters.

5.STRUCTURE AND FORMAT OF MANUSCRIPT

The recommended size of original research paper is less than seven thousand words, review papers fewer than seven thousands words also.Preparation of research paper or how to write research paper, are major hurdle, while writing manuscript. The research articles and research letters should be fewer than three thousand words, the structure original research paper; sometime review paper should be as follows:

Papers: These are reports of significant research (typically less than 7000 words equivalent, including tables, figures, references), and comprise:

(a)Title should be relevant and commensurate with the theme of the paper.

(b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.

(c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.

(d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.

(e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.

(f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;

(g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.

(h) Brief Acknowledgements.

(i) References in the proper form.

Authors should very cautiously consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate efficiently. Papers are much more likely to be accepted, if they are cautiously designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and be conventional to the approach and instructions. They will in addition, be published with much less delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and to make suggestions to improve briefness.

It is vital, that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

Format

Language: The language of publication is UK English. Authors, for whom English is a second language, must have their manuscript efficiently edited by an English-speaking person before submission to make sure that, the English is of high excellence. It is preferable, that manuscripts should be professionally edited.

Standard Usage, Abbreviations, and Units: Spelling and hyphenation should be conventional to The Concise Oxford English Dictionary. Statistics and measurements should at all times be given in figures, e.g. 16 min, except for when the number begins a sentence. When the number does not refer to a unit of measurement it should be spelt in full unless, it is 160 or greater.

Abbreviations supposed to be used carefully. The abbreviated name or expression is supposed to be cited in full at first usage, followed by the conventional abbreviation in parentheses.

Metric SI units are supposed to generally be used excluding where they conflict with current practice or are confusing. For illustration, 1.4 l rather than 1.4 × 10-3 m3, or 4 mm somewhat than 4 × 10-3 m. Chemical formula and solutions must identify the form used, e.g. anhydrous or hydrated, and the concentration must be in clearly defined units. Common species names should be followed by underlines at the first mention. For following use the generic name should be constricted to a single letter, if it is clear.

Structure

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals Inc. (US), ought to include:

Title: The title page must carry an instructive title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) wherever the work was carried out. The full postal address in addition with the e-mail address of related author must be given. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining and indexing.

Abstract, used in Original Papers and Reviews:

Optimizing Abstract for Search Engines

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or similar. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. This in turn will make it more likely to be viewed and/or cited in a further work. Global Journals Inc. (US) have compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Key Words

A major linchpin in research work for the writing research paper is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and Internet resources.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy and planning a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Search engines for most searches, use Boolean searching, which is somewhat different from Internet searches. The Boolean search uses "operators," words (and, or, not, and near) that enable you to expand or narrow your affords. Tips for research paper while preparing research paper are very helpful guideline of research paper.

Choice of key words is first tool of tips to write research paper. Research paper writing is an art.A few tips for deciding as strategically as possible about keyword search:

- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
- It may take the discovery of only one relevant paper to let steer in the right keyword direction because in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.
- One should avoid outdated words.

Keywords are the key that opens a door to research work sources. Keyword searching is an art in which researcher's skills are bound to improve with experience and time.

Numerical Methods: Numerical methods used should be clear and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.

References

References follow the Harvard scheme of referencing. References in the text should cite the authors' names followed by the time of their publication, unless there are three or more authors when simply the first author's name is quoted followed by et al. unpublished work has to only be cited where necessary, and only in the text. Copies of references in press in other journals have to be supplied with submitted typescripts. It is necessary that all citations and references be carefully checked before submission, as mistakes or omissions will cause delays.

References to information on the World Wide Web can be given, but only if the information is available without charge to readers on an official site. Wikipedia and Similar websites are not allowed where anyone can change the information. Authors will be asked to make available electronic copies of the cited information for inclusion on the Global Journals Inc. (US) homepage at the judgment of the Editorial Board.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend that, citation of online-published papers and other material should be done via a DOI (digital object identifier). If an author cites anything, which does not have a DOI, they run the risk of the cited material not being noticeable.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend the use of a tool such as Reference Manager for reference management and formatting.

Tables, Figures and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be few in number, cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g. Table 4, a self-explanatory caption and be on a separate sheet. Vertical lines should not be used.

Figures: Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always take in a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g. Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in electronic form by e-mailing them.

Preparation of Electronic Figures for Publication

Even though low quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (or e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Do not use pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings) in relation to the imitation size. Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement Form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution (at final image size) ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs) : >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color Charges: It is the rule of the Global Journals Inc. (US) for authors to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that, if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a color work agreement form before your paper can be published.

Figure Legends: Self-explanatory legends of all figures should be incorporated separately under the heading 'Legends to Figures'. In the full-text online edition of the journal, figure legends may possibly be truncated in abbreviated links to the full screen version. Therefore, the first 100 characters of any legend should notify the reader, about the key aspects of the figure.

6. AFTER ACCEPTANCE

Upon approval of a paper for publication, the manuscript will be forwarded to the dean, who is responsible for the publication of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

6.1 Proof Corrections

The corresponding author will receive an e-mail alert containing a link to a website or will be attached. A working e-mail address must therefore be provided for the related author.

Acrobat Reader will be required in order to read this file. This software can be downloaded

(Free of charge) from the following website:

www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html. This will facilitate the file to be opened, read on screen, and printed out in order for any corrections to be added. Further instructions will be sent with the proof.

Proofs must be returned to the dean at dean@globaljournals.org within three days of receipt.

As changes to proofs are costly, we inquire that you only correct typesetting errors. All illustrations are retained by the publisher. Please note that the authors are responsible for all statements made in their work, including changes made by the copy editor.

6.2 Early View of Global Journals Inc. (US) (Publication Prior to Print)

The Global Journals Inc. (US) are enclosed by our publishing's Early View service. Early View articles are complete full-text articles sent in advance of their publication. Early View articles are absolute and final. They have been completely reviewed, revised and edited for publication, and the authors' final corrections have been incorporated. Because they are in final form, no changes can be made after sending them. The nature of Early View articles means that they do not yet have volume, issue or page numbers, so Early View articles cannot be cited in the conventional way.

6.3 Author Services

Online production tracking is available for your article through Author Services. Author Services enables authors to track their article - once it has been accepted - through the production process to publication online and in print. Authors can check the status of their articles online and choose to receive automated e-mails at key stages of production. The authors will receive an e-mail with a unique link that enables them to register and have their article automatically added to the system. Please ensure that a complete e-mail address is provided when submitting the manuscript.

6.4 Author Material Archive Policy

Please note that if not specifically requested, publisher will dispose off hardcopy & electronic information submitted, after the two months of publication. If you require the return of any information submitted, please inform the Editorial Board or dean as soon as possible.

6.5 Offprint and Extra Copies

A PDF offprint of the online-published article will be provided free of charge to the related author, and may be distributed according to the Publisher's terms and conditions. Additional paper offprint may be ordered by emailing us at: editor@globaljournals.org .

Before start writing a good quality Computer Science Research Paper, let us first understand what is Computer Science Research Paper? So, Computer Science Research Paper is the paper which is written by professionals or scientists who are associated to Computer Science and Information Technology, or doing research study in these areas. If you are novel to this field then you can consult about this field from your supervisor or guide.

TECHNIQUES FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY RESEARCH PAPER:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is searched by the interest of author but it can be also suggested by the guides. You can have several topics and then you can judge that in which topic or subject you are finding yourself most comfortable. This can be done by asking several questions to yourself, like Will I be able to carry our search in this area? Will I find all necessary recourses to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area? If the answer of these types of questions will be "Yes" then you can choose that topic. In most of the cases, you may have to conduct the surveys and have to visit several places because this field is related to Computer Science and Information Technology. Also, you may have to do a lot of work to find all rise and falls regarding the various data of that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information.

2. Evaluators are human: First thing to remember that evaluators are also human being. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So, present your Best.

3. Think Like Evaluators: If you are in a confusion or getting demotivated that your paper will be accepted by evaluators or not, then think and try to evaluate your paper like an Evaluator. Try to understand that what an evaluator wants in your research paper and automatically you will have your answer.

4. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

5. Ask your Guides: If you are having any difficulty in your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty to your guide (if you have any). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work then ask the supervisor to help you with the alternative. He might also provide you the list of essential readings.

6. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of Computer Science, then this point is quite obvious.

7. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable to judge good software then you can lose quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various software programs available to help you, which you can get through Internet.

8. Use the Internet for help: An excellent start for your paper can be by using the Google. It is an excellent search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question how to write my research paper or find model research paper. From the internet library you can download books. If you have all required books make important reading selecting and analyzing the specified information. Then put together research paper sketch out.

9. Use and get big pictures: Always use encyclopedias, Wikipedia to get pictures so that you can go into the depth.

10. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right! It is a good habit, which helps to not to lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on Internet also, which will make your search easier.

11. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it and then finalize it.

12. Make all efforts: Make all efforts to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in introduction, that what is the need of a particular research paper. Polish your work by good skill of writing and always give an evaluator, what he wants.

13. Have backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either in your computer or in paper. This will help you to not to lose any of your important.

14. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several and unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating "hotchpotch." So always, try to make and include those diagrams, which are made by your own to improve readability and understandability of your paper.

15. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history or current affairs then use of quotes become essential but if study is relevant to science then use of quotes is not preferable.

16. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense, to present those events that happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate future happening events. Use of improper and wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid the sentences that are incomplete.

17. Never use online paper: If you are getting any paper on Internet, then never use it as your research paper because it might be possible that evaluator has already seen it or maybe it is outdated version.

18. Pick a good study spot: To do your research studies always try to pick a spot, which is quiet. Every spot is not for studies. Spot that suits you choose it and proceed further.

19. Know what you know: Always try to know, what you know by making objectives. Else, you will be confused and cannot achieve your target.

20. Use good quality grammar: Always use a good quality grammar and use words that will throw positive impact on evaluator. Use of good quality grammar does not mean to use tough words, that for each word the evaluator has to go through dictionary. Do not start sentence with a conjunction. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Ignore passive voice. Do not ever use a big word when a diminutive one would suffice. Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. Prepositions are not expressions to finish sentences with. It is incorrect to ever divide an infinitive. Avoid clichés like the disease. Also, always shun irritating alliteration. Use language that is simple and straight forward. put together a neat summary.

21. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments to your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

22. Never start in last minute: Always start at right time and give enough time to research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

23. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time proves bad habit in case of research activity. Research is an area, where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work in parts and do particular part in particular time slot.

24. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if evaluator has seen it anywhere you will be in trouble.

25. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

26. Go for seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

27. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

28. Make colleagues: Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

29. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

30. Think and then print: When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

31. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information, like, I have used MS Excel to draw graph. Do not add irrelevant and inappropriate material. These all will create superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should NEVER take a broad view. Analogy in script is like feathers on a snake. Not at all use a large word when a very small one would be sufficient. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Amplification is a billion times of inferior quality than sarcasm.

32. Never oversimplify everything: To add material in your research paper, never go for oversimplification. This will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be more or less specific. Also too, by no means, ever use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions aren't essential and shouldn't be there used. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands and abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas, that are, not necessary. Parenthetical words however should be together with this in commas. Understatement is all the time the complete best way to put onward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

33. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. Significant figures and appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibitive. Proofread carefully at final stage. In the end give outline to your arguments. Spot out perspectives of further study of this subject. Justify your conclusion by at the bottom of them with sufficient justifications and examples.

34. After conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print to the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects in your research.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form, which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

Final Points:

A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record keeping are the only means to make straightforward the progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear

· Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

· Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)

· Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper

· Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)

· Align the primary line of each section

· Present your points in sound order

· Use present tense to report well accepted

· Use past tense to describe specific results

· Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives

· Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

Title Page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short. It should not have non-standard acronyms or abbreviations. It should not exceed two printed lines. It should include the name(s) and address (es) of all authors.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

Abstract:

The summary should be two hundred words or less. It should briefly and clearly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript--must have precise statistics. It should not have abnormal acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Shun citing references at this point.

An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for briefness. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study, with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - theory, overall issue, purpose
- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
- As a outline of job done, it is always written in past tense
- A conceptual should situate on its own, and not submit to any other part of the paper such as a form or table
- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
- Exact spelling, clearness of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else

Introduction:

The **Introduction** should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled the declared objectives.

Approach:

- Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done.
- Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point with every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need a least of four paragraphs.

- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
- Shape the theory/purpose specifically - do not take a broad view.
- As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (Methods and Materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A sound written Procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replacement your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt for the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to spare your outcome but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section. When a technique is used that has been well described in another object, mention the specific item describing a way but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to text all particular resources and broad procedures, so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step by step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
- Embrace particular materials, and any tools or provisions that are not frequently found in laboratories.
- Do not take in frequently found.
- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method (not particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology)
- Describe the method entirely
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures
- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
- Use standard style in this and in every other part of the paper - avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings - save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

Please carefully note down following rules and regulation before submitting your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc. (US):

Segment Draft and Final Research Paper: You have to strictly follow the template of research paper. If it is not done your paper may get rejected.

- The **major constraint** is that you must independently make all content, tables, graphs, and facts that are offered in the paper. You must write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The Peer-reviewers need to identify your own perceptive of the concepts in your own terms. NEVER extract straight from any foundation, and never rephrase someone else's analysis.

- Do not give permission to anyone else to "PROOFREAD" your manuscript.

- Methods to avoid Plagiarism is applied by us on every paper, if found guilty, you will be blacklisted by all of our collaborated research groups, your institution will be informed for this and strict legal actions will be taken immediately.)
- To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use please do not permit anyone right to use to your paper and files.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals Inc. (US)

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals Inc. (US).

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

Index

A

Accommodate · 7, 39, 68
Aceitável · 18
Afunilarem · 29
Amundsen · 11, 15

B

Balochistan · 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88
Biakolo · 90, 96
Botswana · 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72
Brexit · 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79
Bureaucratic · 7, 8, 86, 91

C

Cankerworm · 10, 11
Carvalho · 21, 22, 29, 31, 32
Chibok · 95

D

Discombobulation · 73

E

Eleições · 18, 21, 26
Embezzle · 12
Esquerda · 18, 20, 26, 32
Eurosceptics · 98

F

Faloore · 11, 15
Fawehemi · 94
Fethullah · 49, 50, 51, 54

L

Laurenţiu · 99, 100, 101

M

Manomano · 94, 96
Mobilização · 22
Multipolar · 3, 97

N

Nicaragua · 39

O

Ogunboyede · 59, 65
Olugbenga · 11, 17

P

Pesquisa · 23, 26
Philanthropists · 50, 54

R

Ramifications · 5, 6
Refugees · 62, 63
Reposição · 22

S

Shestova · 98, 101

U

Ubukonde · 7
Umudugudu · 14

save our planet

Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at www.GlobalJournals.org | www.SocialScienceResearch.org
or email us at helpdesk@globaljournals.org

ISSN 975587

© Global Journals