Regional Integration an Offshoot of Globalization: A Tasking Challenge for the African Development Bank (AfDB)

By

Sambo Johnson Madigwe
Department of History,
Isaac Jasper Boro College of Education, Sagbama,
P.M.B. 74, Yenagoa Bayelsa State, Nigeria
Email Address: johnsonsambo080@gmail.com Mobile Phone +2348064369822

Abstract

The significance of regional integration as an essential component of economic development such as the African Development Bank in research on globalization and African development strategies has awoken an impassioned twenty-first century debate among African scholars, particularly in a multi-disciplinary discourse. However, the lack of unanimity regarding the variances of globalization to African developing economies, thus to understand the opposing camps, therefore necessitates a thorough appraisal of Africa's premier multilateral development finance institution (AfDB) and Africa's status as the least developed region of the world. Accordingly, this paper employing the historical and multi-disciplinary approaches, first considered the historical episode of AfDB and then distinguishes the operational standard, lending strategies, the unrealizable effort of integrating African countries due to its status as low/middle-income countries who continuously depend on developmental assistance from the West, and as well being witnessing a declining state in non-concessional lending which has made AfDB incapable in resource provision for African states. This experience differentiate AfDB from the Asian Development Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the

Caribbean Development Bank which are all known for sharing similar objectives such as provision of capital to governments to stimulate economic development, regional economic integration, policy and technical assistance. It then examines in detail two of the important arguments the two schools of thought have advanced in relation to globalization on Africa's economic development. It concludes that globalization weakens investment and Africa's capacity for achieving rapid economic growth and as well development. This is because at the heart of global economic system lies an unequal structure of trade, production and credit that is increasingly impoverishing Africa as a soul-mate of the global economy.

Introduction

A region may be conceived from two perspectives, geographical and nature standpoints. From the geographical point of view, a region is considered as a large area of land occupied by several countries who share borders and several other characteristics because they are connected with each other. To the social sciences, for instance, a region are made up of collection of different countries that are not placed in the concerned geographical region nor do they have any similar socio-cultural affiliations. But an arrangement not regional in nature but some colonial legacy and agreed objectives which they have adopted describes them as regional actors which have placed them in the concerned geographical region. A classic example is that of the Commonwealth of Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organization and that of the League of Arab Nations (Khana, 2009: 402).

In a broader sense, however, regional integration may be defined as the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are convinced to shift their loyalties, expectations and political-economic activities towards a new larger center whose institutions demand jurisdiction over pre-existing nation-states. The process of regional integration links several nations of a region into collective decision-making system. Several studies have pointed to the fact that this process implies recognition of mutual obligations and common interests. Thus, a classical example of an economic and political integration by group of countries whose effort created a lasting peace on its continent was that of the European Economic Community, established by the Treaty of Rome in 1957 after the wide spread destruction caused by the war of 1939 to 1945. The process brought about an economic alliance that strengthened European political ties with each other, moving to unification knowing too well that the process is an essential component of economic development (John, 2008: 5-7; Allan, 1987: 19, 26-27).

In the process of time several other developing countries were influenced by their close relationship with several European states and the fall of Communism which gave way for the spread of free markets was part of economic development which facilitated the growth of regional integration among respective developing countries of the world. This process which promoted economic and political integration as an essential component of economic development influenced independent African States to crave for major goals of economic integration among themselves to achieve economies of scale.

Economic cooperation and the alliance to improve Africa's overall position relative to that of developed economies necessitated the combination of Independent African States resources to established institutional framework and to build industries that will serve a large number of their citizens, help poorer countries among them, form a free trade area that will increase the scale of the internal market and as well simultaneously protect domestic producers against foreign competition (Richard and Jamal, 2008: 313; Richard, 1992: 66-67).

This important component of economic integration was what necessitated the creation of regional economic development banks and loan institutions such as the African Development Bank (AfDB) in 1964, which is modeled after the World Bank. In this sense several studies have concluded that regional integration is, in part, a product of globalization, thus influencing poor countries to form trading blocs to avoid economic marginalization. However, in as much as globalization increases greater interdependence, integration of resource markets across countries in trade and placement of capital in expectation of deriving income or profit from its use, thus it's arguable that the phenomenon is as well a threat to African developing economies. To able to draw a good conclusion, as to whether globalization is significant to Africa's development or a threat to African developing economies, requires a good understanding of both historical and social sciences views. However, this understanding could only be achieved through a thorough appraisal of the arguments of the factions. This, therefore, constitutes the discourse of this paper.

Historical Episode of the African Development Bank (AfDB)

Arising from imperialism, colonialism, racism, and as a victim of settler exploitation, African continent has remained susceptible to the disastrous effects of the Industrial Revolution and continuous exploitation of Africa through neocolonialist external forces which influences the economic policies and directions of African states. However, few African leaders during the All-African People's Conferences in 1958 felt that the African continent had witnessed sharply the effect of unfulfilled promises of global development strategies, compared to other continents of the world. Thus, a proposal from few Independent African States in 1958 was forwarded to the United Nations Organization (UNO) to establish a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development for Africa (SUNFED). But the already established International Development Association (IDA), a soft-loan fund within the World Bank group, controlled by the principal subscribers, the industrialized nations of the West decided to direct its funds were it should be used (Smith, 2003: 77-79; Gideon and Rohio, 1987: 357-360).

Hence, the failure of the United Nations Organization to honour that proposal in establishing a Special United Nations Fund for Economic

Development in Africa prompted African leaders to pass a resolution during one of her All-African People's Conference at Tunis in January 1960 to initiate a special development fund for Africa. The idea was discussed at the conference and resolution was adopted for the setting up of an African Investment Bank. The whole idea was to promote developmental projects, enhance Africa's collective economic advancement and social progress (Ayandele et al; 1971: 394).

The years preceding the establishment of the African Development Bank (AfDB) on the 10th of September 1964, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) under the wings of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations established the Economic Commission for Africa on the 29th day of April 1958. The commission at its third session in February 1961 toke up the idea of an African development fund and, thus unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the then Deputy Executive Secretary late Robert Gardiner a Ghanaian economist to undertake a thorough study of the possibilities of establishing an African Development Bank.

Later that same year, Gardiner initiated a multinational panel of experts who carried out several feasibility studies, inquiries and consultations on the commencement of a regional development bank. The final report of the panel of experts who recommended the establishment of the African Development Bank was considered during the commission's fourth session in February through March 1962. The adoption of the report by the Economic Commission for Africa brought about the nine member state committee of Guinea, Liberia, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Sudan, Mali, Tunisia, and Tanganyika who drafted the Charter for the bank and made preparations for its formation. Thereafter, Mamoun Beheiry a member of the drafting committee and as well the then Governor of the Bank of Sudan, representing Sudan, subsequently emerged as the first African Development Bank President in July 1st 1966. In 1970 he was succeeded by Abdelwahab Labidi of Tunisia (Raph et al, 1991: 54-55).

In accordance with several studies regarding the African Development Bank (AfDB) with its headquarter at Abidjan, established by thirty-three African States most of whom had just achieved sovereign status in the early 1960s. The member states who founded this financial and developmental institution the African Development Bank desired that the institution will be specialized in dealing with the African problems particularly in helping to overcome their economic constraints resulting from the low output in export trade of most African economies. But rather, the African Development Bank has always purportedly given preference to loans that would benefit more than one country. However, two basic characteristics of this financial and developmental institution has been the unique status which member states have made the African Development Bank the only regional development bank in the world without external contribution to its capital stock in the early 1960s and the provision which permit subscription to be payable in gold or convertible currency of member states. This decision was initiated by African states purposely to protect African character and independence, and as well to ensure that the bank's capital should be subscribed entirely by African states and to avoid their former metropolitan countries from controlling its share capital (Odi, 1992:1).

Globalization: Challenges for the African Development Bank

It is a universal truth that no group of people with a common interest having a shared aspect of cultural norms be it ancient or modern is devoid of their functions regarding a particular ideological foundation. Regardless of the level of civilization, this universal characteristic of society's psychology will always match its economic system. Thus, the ideas which had been held by people of various social classes in a society stem from one root, the psychology of the given age, the characteristics of that particular age and the totality of its manners and customs. It is from this society's psychology that all ideologies emerge. Ideology when conceptualized from this perspective as a complex whole of the political, economic, legal, religious, social, artistic, and philosophical expressions of any given society (Otoghile and Idahosa, 2007: 316).

But in Africa this is not the case, rather what is obtainable among states in Africa is that their ideology has been imposed on them. This situation has truncated the level and pace of socio-economic and political development in its entire ramification. Take for instance years after independence, the state of Africa's political economy and the control of its economic relations for the purpose of security, sharing of common values or resources and to promote peace and improve the quality of life more successfully by working together rather than separately, are things that have being left much to be desired.

However, considering the continent's weak economic performance decades after independence, thus the Euro-money named this major financial and development institution the African Development Bank (AfDB) a supranational borrower. This was due to its high credit status and its lending strategic policies which have remained an immune to the economic problems of the African continent (Odi, 1992: 1).

Based on developmental assessment and a number of reports highlighted, it is very much obvious that most African countries are currently low-income nations who are members of the African Development Bank's middle-income countries benefiting from developmental assistance from the Western world to continue growing a better distribution of fruits that will support the improvement of living standards of its citizens. This is true particularly with northern, western, eastern and central African countries that are middle-income countries and are going through political and economic turbulence and insurgent activities in their respective regions.

In line with Karen (2009: 222-224) and Aderiran's (1983: 171-173) perspectives about globalization with its functions in line with Transnational Corporations as actors in international relations, according to them these non-state actors Multinational Corporations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization are far richer than most African States whose operations are primarily engaged in business enterprises across national boundaries. These international institutions engages in activities ranging from manufacturing of goods for sales, construction to the extraction of raw materials such as; oil, iron ore, bauxites and other minerals, provide loans to promote growth of private enterprises, provision of capital to poorer nations in form interest-free loans and as well to augment the flow of private equity capital to African countries. This is the more reason why in most African countries, Multinationals account for the inflow and outflow of foreign investment and as well responsible for various events which have affected labour movements and the organization of labour within some countries in Africa.

In affirmation to what other scholars have expressed, Mbalisi and Amaechi (2012: 139-141) assert that in regards to the essential prospects of Multinational Corporations and those other financial institutions whose liberal ideal of an interdependent world economy is to ensure an integration of national economies by way of extending sustainable development beyond Europe, requiring countries in Africa to institute policies that will enable them obtain financial assistance and to move beyond trade and money purposely to internationalize production. These policies have been consistent with economic liberalism which has remained detrimental to Africa's developing economies through continues deliberate and conscious use of its financial and technological power to promote interest of private and international capital in its expansion in African continent. This fact is buttressed in the operational decisions of these financial institutions as the most important instrument of the Northern Hemisphere countries in prying state control of its former colonies in Africa out of the hands of strong nationalists and socialists who would regulate international capitals inroad (Walton and David, 1994: 170).

On the other hand, the African Development Bank being Africa's largest development and financial institution that is truly African in character, 60% owned by African States and dedicated solely to the African continent is unique in its characteristics when compared to other developmental institutions operational in the continent of Africa. Thus, its ability has being to intermediate its substantial resources each year at a very low interest rates which is fundamental to the long-term nature of tackling developmental challenges. However, a key challenge of the African Development Bank has been recorded in its financial position, regarding lending from its non-concessional finance which has being on a declining state, thus, posing a major challenge to this financial and development institution as a whole.

However, several studies have pointed to the fact that weak non-concessional lending has been a threat to basic financial model of the institution, indicating that the African Development Bank has not being relevant or consistent in her job to middle-income borrowing countries. Thus, it has remained a challenging issue to the African Development Bank as it strife to remain significant to middle-income members, but its effort have proved abortive due to an increasing demands of sophisticated public administration required for the improvement of MDB services. Hence, several studies have suggested that the institution, African Development Bank (AfDB) has not yet been able to adapt to this new reality and as a result of that it is not well-positioned to support or assist for a fast changing Africa. In addition, fourteen of the non-concessional African States have chosen to borrow small amounts from the African Development Bank or have refused even (Birdsall, 2001: 126; French, May 2014: 56-57).

Due to the declining nature of lending that has gone below the African Development Bank's capacity, based on its capital. Thus, lending during the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 turned downward their expectation in terms of borrowing even in the succeeding years. This as well was in line with expectations and the activity of other MDBs.

In line with the assertions of Abdulsalami et al (2017:77-78) and Anjande (2010: 301) who stressed on the events leading to the global financial crisis of 2009 which commenced with the Mexican Peso crisis of 1994-1995, Japanese banking crisis of 1997, the Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998, and the Russian financial crisis of 1998. A major contributing factor to this crisis was the influencing presence of the United States and its globalization drive. Take for instance the United States proposal to reduce trade barrier with Mexico through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as its largest trade partner, created serious challenges for Mexico as the formation of NAFTA caused a disruption in its financial plan. The problem of balance of payment, faced by the Mexican government compelled it to devalue the peso. Whereas, the Asian crisis which included Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and South Korea whose achievement were in the acclaimed high growth rates ranging from 8-12 % GDP in the late 1980s-1990s. But the American economic recovery from recession in the early 1990s resulted as a source of Asian economic crisis. Thus, the national development plan of Alan Greenspan to raise American interest rate to head off inflation through the Reserve Bank turned the United States to an investment destination for investors, which resulted in a shift of investment from Southeast Asian countries to the United States. The trend dangled hot money flows into the United States economy and raised the value of US dollar through short-term interest rate, while the Southeast Asian countries currencies were pegged, making the export of those Southeast Asian countries less attractive and creating a shock to Asian economy in 1996.

On the other hand, the financial support offered to safe Russia from an economic quagmire, reform and as well to stabilize her currency, bond and stock markets by the International Monetary Fund in 1998. Consequently, the facilities was a short-term relief to Russian economy but its long-term effect was capital flight in the Russian economy, resulting to a major problem in the African continent as globalization began to take its bite on the continent. In as much as this trend constitute a great threat to the survival of Africa's economies, leaders of African continent have embraced the support of many global institutions who leads capital flight in Africa due to connivance of African leaders in cooperating with those institutions to commit crime.

Perhaps, as a result of this events and other issue the African Development Bank's lending status has fallen off much more than expected. Thus, this underperformance means that a sizeable share of the non-concessional lending window's capital has been laid idle. Despite, the effort of shareholders in increasing the African Development Bank's capital which is essential to its resources in providing counter-cyclical lending during the global financial crisis of 2009, while undermining its own financial stability at the same time. However, shareholders saw the increase of capital as an opportunity to position the African Development Bank in leaping forward in the scale of its engagement in development prospects, but her weak performance in the area of leading commitments suggests that the institution is still falling short of its major goal. In addition, during the period of capital increase, the bank projected annual non-concessional lending commitments as at 2010 to 2020 in order to make use of her new capital while remaining within the conservative financial policies required. But as the institution continues to fall short of her projections, the public sector lending was as well weak as indicated by studies (Greenhill et al, 2013: 72-73; Financial Times, May 2014: 46).

In addition, to the above key challenges of the African Development Bank is the complex environment in which the institution operates and its growing financial alternatives are important limitations that must be taken into account. Looking at this issue from an analytical approach it will interest you to know that the institution's operating environment is in several ways more challenging than other Monetary Development Banks. This is true because the relative nature of underdevelopment of most African countries rates the continent far below the essential basis of development regarding improvement of economic and social conditions which play a crucial role in achieving and managing change. But however, it will interest us to know that globalization that kick strongly against isolation but rather accentuates the need for economic development due to human tendency of desiring to improve living standard and to acquire possessions and advance technologically. Thus, the pressure to embrace economic changes is directly affecting Africa's economic development because of its spreads of technology, managerial skills, and investment essentials for economic prosperity. However, Africa's relative nature of underdevelopment is what limits the African Development Bank's ability to undertake a more serious development operation in the continent (Goldin and Kenneth, 2006: 133-135).

Two classical examples of the issue in discourse was in 2012 when we observed that out of thirty countries in the world that experienced significant social violence or open conflict, fourteen were African countries, three of whom are among the four most populous nations on the continent among whom are; Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Egypt. This meant that their conflict has an outside bearing or impact on the well-being of their respective region's population and destabilizes what should be the most powerful poles of economic growth. In addition, twenty-four out of the world's forty-seven fragile states are found in Africa (Chuka, 2015: 19-20; Chuka, 2017: 77-81; Boutros, 1994: 8-11).

More so, due to the continuing economic problems of most African countries the institution has curtailed a great number of viable projects of the type most familiar with the Bank. But have rather become more involved in policy-based lending in which loans are used for the purpose of supporting structural reform in the economies of member states. Another problem associated with the African Development Bank is her inability to establish a reputation for specialized knowledge about the economies of her member countries. Considering the fact that the African Development Bank is the smallest when compared with counterparts regional development banks of Latin America and Asian continents. The Bank is still finding it difficult to resolve many important political issues connected with its scope and responsibilities, hence the problem of shortage of African own expertise has brought about two policy decisions such as; salary levels not been internationally competitive and employment has remained officially confined to citizens of regional African countries whereas, external consultants and technical assistance experts have been the ones playing significant roles.

Another issue that has made the African Development Bank to stand in marked contrast to the other regional development banks is the issue of voting structure which Africa controls 64% votes in the Bank and 50% in the Fund. This out rightly meant that policy deliberations within the Bank is divided between regional's and non-regional's, hence African countries at this point are seen to be frustrated by their dependence on foreign capital and expertise. Whereas, the advanced market-economy countries are concern with the relational trade dependence and to control and own indirectly large percentage of the domestic stock of investment through the inflows of direct investment capital not minding to preserve the financial health of the Bank in taking the second place to the development aspirations of the regional members. Arising from the historical trade, investment, and aid transactions relations that existed between the advanced market-economy countries and African countries, Chibuzo (1988: 8-13) points to the resultant negative impact of globalization, arising from the system of global inequality. According to him these relations is a function of continues colonial subjugation, neocolonial penetration, manifestation of dominance over Africa's economy, continues out-flow of repatriated profits from the African continent, and to ensure that African countries would not attain an equitable deal from the international economic structures.

An Examination of the Views of the Protagonists and Antagonists of Globalization in Africa

There have been no heated debate regarding the subject matter "globalization" but there exist a lack of agreement regarding its application on economic, political and social development. There are prominent scholars, such as Samir Amin, Thandika Mkandawire, Mbalisi Chinedu, Ian Clark, Albrow M, Tade Akin Aina, Gill S, Martin Khor, Osita Eze, Peter Egom, Raymond Baker, Jacob Silberberg, Peter Andreas, David Balaam and Bradford Dillman, and Dele Seteolu. All of whom generally spoke of its manifestation in contemporary capitalism's chaos, its bogus ideological project characterized by economic reductionism, technological determinism and political cynicism that has further marginalized African continent, making her citizens poorer and objects of development. For them globalization has become visible in all facets of the political, socio-economic and ideological crisis. This accounts for the erosion of the three subsystems that constitute the basis of postwar growth (Osita, 2010: 92; Clark, 1999: 103).

These scholars are of the view that globalization is a capitalist imperialism that is characterized by deregulation, denationalization, new technologies, integrated markets, global interdependence, and global flows, subordination of domestic economies to global market conditions and practices. For them the whole process of globalization pervades the world's economic, socio-cultural and political discourse of the age. This thereby, brings Africa's economies and politics, inextricable linked, and inexorably tied to the aprons of the advanced market economic countries of the West, hence regulating and controlling globalization's operational agents such as Multinational Corporations and Transnational Organizations whose headquarters are in Europe and America. They further buttressed that through the policy focus of these agents of globalization; the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and Multinational/Transnational Corporations (MNCs), African countries are compelled to depend on the advanced economies of the West. Thus, the effect of over dependence on Africa's development has continued to raise relevant questions and disillusionment among scholars. The growing tendency towards unequal trade liberalization and homogenization of socio-cultural, economic, political, and technological structures, ideas and lifestyle constitute a major cog in the wheel of progress of Africa's economic and political development strides (Albrow, 1996: 213-215).

Josphert (2012: 2-3) and Dele (2004: 6-8) alongside their contemporaries were of the view that the key elements of globalization which include interdependent world amid polarization and inequality, international division of labour and polarized system, global economy through the integration of local economies using the instrument of structural adjustment programmes, and flow of ideas and finances. According to them these flows are enmeshed in contradictory influences and currents, and sometimes, undermine more dominant structures and patterns through hidden and overt forms of resistance, alternative organization and value. They have as well emphasized that due to its nature of domination, exploitation, and exclusion and as well as its destructive form over local and national cultures the Global Civil Society Movements have pictured globalization as counter-globalization or globalization from below. From the economic circle globalization is based on trade, investment, financial exchange, production and consumption through the operational forces of the multinational corporations constituting as the major players in the global economy. But the operations and activities of the multinational corporations do not in any way reduce states role as regulators and guarantors of the rule of law, but rather the function of states is in the interest of capital and collaboration with capitalism to sustain economic organizations in the interest of the hegemonic groups within the country. This economic dimension of globalization is often expressed in the integration of financial markets which dictates the velocity at which movement of capital flows.

However, the emphases Dele was stressing is that economic globalization which centers on the flows of labour, real estate investments, entrepreneurship, and intellectual property, but what has been observed is that the great chunk of the financial transfer only involves speculative capital while direct foreign investment has being less pronounced. Hence, these flows when appraised against the backdrop of the global activities, international regions, countries, industries and firms it will likely expose discrepancies in factor flows, thus revealing the incompleteness, unevenness and dependent nature of current globalization process that if determined by developing countries may be subject to reversals.

Considering, political globalization with its nexus connecting to state power, globalization and democratization. Thus, with the growing nature of transnational economic and cultural relations the distributive capacities and legitimacy of states in Africa have reduced despite their key basic three roles as; regulator providing legitimacy for international economic regulations and stability to financial markets, as mechanism of social cohesion and economic cooperation between the major social groups at the state level, and as guarantor of the rule of law. Thus, the anti-globalist African intellectuals are of the view that African States are an insulator against external shocks and alleviates market distortions. But in as much as globalization depicts the growing power of capital over the social classes, thus it as well narrows the democratic space, public policy process has become less amenable to be influenced by the masses and then the global space is likely to lack the democratic structures that are expected to be rooted in the global citizens. They have as well reasoned that capitalist globalization will neither foster nor forecloses prospects for democratic struggles at local, national and global levels.

Anti-globalist scholars have made strong push in their view as they insist that the dimension and dynamics of Africa's marginality, crisis and the manner in which the continent has been integrated into the global capitalist economic framework has been destructive in ways as it has undermined the half-hearted attempt at auto centered development many years after independence in the African continent. For them the continent of Africa was integrated into the short movements of history characterized by imperialism, colonialism, commercial production, and neocolonialism. These peripheral status or dependent formation was designed to pursue dependent capitalism through the connivance of foreign capital and local African compradors, enhanced through orthodox structural adjustment which shifted fiscal autonomy to bodies outside the continent. Thus, the policies of liberalization, deregulation and marketization was intended to create capitalist values, while the adjusting economies of Africa suffer de-industrialization, food crisis, economic doldrums, military marginality, and insecurity, divestment, net capital outflow through debt servicing, collapse of traditional safety kingship system, economic stagnation and wide-spread poverty. They argue that the state in Africa emerged through colonial and neocolonial experience, which became predicated on artificial boundary that was fixed and redrawn depending on the power-configurations of the international politics. Hence, they further exclaimed that what characterized or linked the African ruling class with foreign interest is the dependent capitalist framework which has structured African States to serve the industrialized economic country's interest through expanding and accommodating local elite.

However, what has now characterized a failed state in contemporary African society are conflict, crisis, war, collapse of state institutions, and authorities, absence of legitimate governing elite, inefficient state, and poor capacity to pursue development. This situation of a failed state in Africa has being viewed to be weak against globalization forces, hence market logic as the dominant philosophy of economic governance of the state in Africa on the side of the donor community is a vitiates intervention viable for development strategy. To these scholars, these are the effects of globalization in African continent as colonial structures where retained, and continues to fulfill the expected desires of foreign power (Ngugi, 2012:36-38; Smith, 2003: 76-81; Sambo and Ebeku, 2018: 51-53).

On the other hand, there are other scholars who have maintained that globalization is an important and central dynamics that have molded into a shared social space by economic and technological forces affecting relations between states, individuals and non-state actors in our contemporary world. Maryann Cusimano (2000: 22) has advanced that Those states who benefit more from globalization than others have desired to pursue decidedly pro-globalization policies. Reason being that technological advances do not occur in an economic or political vacuum nor do scientists happen upon the discovery of powerful supercomputers, tiny microchips, and fiberoptic telecommunications links by accident. But all of these advances came about through sustained political, investment decisions and social policy that harnessed resources in pursuit of technological progress and innovations as a tool to advance economic and political goals.

In addition, following the studies of other scholars who have generally accepted the view that globalization is not destined, but rather chosen because economically liberal policies and capitalist practices which are creations of the United States of America points to the fact that globalization in its economic form which has its root in the late 1940s was based on United States economic might. Thus, exclaiming with excitement that the spread of capitalism and the unchallenged unipolar international system helped to facilitate the inevitable and irreversible forces of globalization which has distinctive character differences between the past and the present. For them they contend that globalization has transformed global politics into a system in which war is obsolete and international/regional organizations, international institutions, economic and ecological interdependence create opportunities for lasting peace and environmentally sustainable prosperity. Pro-globalization scholars further stressed that globalization has been proven to be positive and beneficial because it increases trade productivity, wealth, creates job opportunities across the globe, restrains incidence of militarized interstate disputes and war, promote high degree of interdependence among states, and the flow of investment capital through Financial Institutions and Multinational Corporations are bolster of economic development of African states. In accordance with statistical records of the International Monetary Fund that between 1991 and 2002, more than $2.1 trillion in net foreign direct investment had been flown into the Low Developed Countries for their economic development (Martin, 2001: 178-191; Peter, 2008: 292; Held et al., 1999: 2-3).

Proponents of globalization argue in line with the philosophical leanings of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries scholars such as; Edward Misselden, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill whose free trade theory and principles of political economy postulate of an advantage of specialization economic interchange that consist of more efficient productive forces of the world. It has been advanced further that one of globalization many benefits is the capital investment it brings into African continent. Advocates of globalization posit that the openness required for free economic exchange promotes democracy because corrupt authoritarian governments cannot adjust to the demands of the new globalized world. This is proven to be so because a more transparent, competitive and rational economic structure is very difficult to simultaneously have a free enterprise system not until it will gradually fadeout. Proponents of globalization further emphasized that global markets and information technology are multiplying the channels through which foreign actors can influence some authoritarian African leaders, simultaneously undermining their regime's strict control (Moore and David, 2003: 376-380).

Analysis and Conclusion

From the examined arguments outlined above, we observe that both opposing factions have strong points in support of their stances. The anti-globalization arguments are so convincing and mind-blowing considering the headlong rush toward globalization that began after 1945 and proceeded with growing momentum in the decades that followed has brought the African continent under an economic globalization with, marked parallels to the economic expansion that occurred in the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution is a capitalist unregulated systems. Clearly the advances that globalization has or is creating have occurred largely in an unregulated international system, and as a result, the benefits and costs that accompany most changes have been unequally distributed. However, in particular, the free-for-all global economic system for them has been associated with damaging of the environment, negative utilization of child labour, a process that have come with continues injustice, impoverishment, inequality, work insecurity, and weakened institutions and the erosion of identity. In addition, it has been observed that although other regions of the world are affected by its process, but the African continent has been most unfavourable with the process of globalization in terms of employment and lack or shortage of assets. They pointed to the fact that considering the declining nature of Africa's share in world trade, investment and technology of information which constitute the major signs of her weakness in its integration process. For them integration of the African continent into global economy in recent time has been very uneven, thus the slow nature of its integration process is marked by marginalization (Josphert, 2012: 12).

Again, it has been established that globalization was to ensure a great increase in production, lead development and ensure social welfare, but these have rather benefited the rich and further widened inequalities between industrialized and poor countries of the world. Tunde Adeniran (2007: 114-115), Payne and Nassar (2008: 98-99) are of the view that globalization may be considered as an attempt to extend the culmination of capitalist ethos of profit motive which has remained irrepressible. But however, they expressed that virtually all studies of pro-globalization scholars are significant as globalization attempts to move the world from a state in which value is created in vertical silos of command and control to a world where value is increasingly becoming horizontal by how each actor in the global economy connects and collaborates. Thus, the unprecedented and perfected integration of financial markets by modern electronic communication, praised for its possibility to produce products anywhere and sold anywhere by companies obliterate Gnostic speculations about the future reality of globalization. Equally, important is the fact that the essentials of globalization has made way for the spread of trans-border currencies and global credit cards, supra-territorial deposits, loans and fund transfers, trans-border bonds and stocks, worldwide electronic trading, has encouraged most governments to implement free trade policies and as well attracted foreign investment. All of these and the heightened competition between and among states and the help it offers to engender economic success are all products of developments sown during the Bretton Woods System of 1944.

These arguments directly substantiate Osita Eze's (2010: 91-94) view that globalization is instrumental in designing and protecting the structural underpinning of a newer versions of scrambles for scarce world resources which has given strength to exploitation and resource wars in African continent. It must be noted here that the nature and manifestations of globalization is worldwide in reach, experiences indicates that its impact are often negative based on its multi-dimensional concept and implications for all peoples of the world.

From Osita's observations, the conclusions drawn by proponents of globalization are often time challenged by others, not because they do not have sound foundations but because globalization is one of the most challenging developments in world history, it is the movement of history, it depicts the final conquest of capital over the rest of the world, and by its nature it is known for a parasitic expansion. Most importantly, this explains the insatiable appetite globalization has in accessing world natural resources to sustain its existence, invariably, globalization encourages decreasing national control and increasing control over the internal economy of states by external players. Globalization is able to achieve control of global economic and political architectures through its various structures such as; World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations and its agencies, and in particular, the World Trade Organization. In fact, globalization that is supposedly to be market-driven is not actually driven by the invisible hand of the market but managed by undemocratic, opaque and supremacist forces which defy rational dialogue in most agreements of the World Trade Organization. Thus, it is a mistake to see and conceptualize globalization to be the reduction in global poverty, while evidence suggests otherwise that globalization exacerbate inequality, worsen the conditions of African states, erode their incomes, increases their vulnerability, and adding to their disempowerment, disintegrating Africa's economies, and as well exploits Africa's natural resources and made their markets a dumping ground for goods and services produced in the industrial market economy countries.

On the other hand, the African Development Bank (AfDB) which is Africa's premier multilateral development finance institution, established since September 10th 1964 has being struggling on how to extract, convert and utilize her enormous raw materials for her development and industrialization. The effort has only held very minimal progress because the continent only has 1.5% of the global trade to give out and then in return derives only 1.3% of the world income. Thus, her per capita annual gross domestic product as at 2002 was $530 billion, while a total annual gross income of Africa records $400 billion. This indicates that in comparison Africa's Gross Domestic Product was less than the annual GDP of the state of Texas, New York and Canada in 2002. This point to the fact that globalization serves to weaken investment, and Africa's capacity for achieving rapid economic growth and development, reason being that at the heart of the global economic system lies an unequal structure of trade, production and credit that is increasingly impoverishing Africa as a soul-mate of the global economy (Aluko, 2004: 48).

It was on the basis of this that Akinwumi Adesina (AfDB's) 8th President and former Nigeria's Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development at his inauguration in Abidjan, Ivory Coast spoke of unlocking African States and their citizens potentials in order to unleash a new wave of growth and development to be shared across the continent. For him to light up and power Africa, feed the continent, integrate African States, to industrialize Africa, and improve quality of life for the people of the African continent were his major priorities which he belief will shape AfDB's focus because Africa remains home to most of the developed world's greatest sources of raw materials. According to him his mission for the AfDB is to drive an inclusive growth and lift millions of people out of poverty since the continent remains the least developed region of the world, and that the situation of power shortage being responsible for the poor human development indices in African States, lack of energy as well has put the brakes on Africa's industrialization (Chibuike, 2015: 28-29). Thus, to this end energy is generally believed to be the engine that powers economies, hence with solar, wind, hydropower and geothermal as sources of energy when harnessed will power the continent and unlock Africa's economic potential, thereby enabling African Governments through the African Development Bank to launch a transforming programmes that will boost income for Africans, grow agricultural sectors as business that will be wealth creating sector, provide solution for diversification of economies on the African continent.

However, we opined that strengthening of regional trade ties in Africa will be a means of strategic development that would reduce inequalities between countries, help the African Development Bank to partner with regional economic communities and African Union towards achieving shared goals of increasing integration in Africa and deliver quality growth and development for all Africans to prosper rather than depending on the industrialized world. More so, the African Development Bank should be measured by the strength, growth and development of Africa and the Bank's lending portfolio because it will enable the financial institution (AfDB) to be more than a lending institution and a true development institution with measurable impacts on the lives of Africans.

REFERENCES

1. Khana, V.N. *International Relations.* New Delhi: VIKAS Publishing House, PVT Ltd, 2009.
2. John, McCormik. *Understanding the European Union: A concise Introduction.* New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2008.
3. Allan, Williams M. *The Western European Economy: A Geography of Post-War Development*. London: Hutchinson Education, 1987.
4. Richard, Payne J and Jamal Nassar R. *Politics and Culture in the Developing World: The Impact of Globalization.* United States of America: Pearson Education, Inc, 2008.
5. Richard, J. Payne. *The Third World and South Africa.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992.
6. Smith, B.C. *Understanding Third World Politics: Theories of Political Change and Development.* New York: PALGRAVE McMillan, 2003.
7. Gideon-Cyrus, Mutiso and Rohio S.W. *Readings in African Political thought.* Ibadan, Nigeria: Heinemann Educational Books, 1987.

8. Ayandele, E.A, Afigbo A.E, Gavin R.J. and Omer-Cooper J.D. *The Growth of African Civilization the Making of Modern Africa Volume 2: The Late Nineteenth Century to the Present Day.* London: Longman Group Ltd, 1971.
9. Raph, Uwechue, et al. *Africa Today*. London: Africa Books Ltd, 1991.
10. "The African Development Bank: Facing New Challenges." *Overseas Development Institute*, Odi Briefing Paper. April-May, 1992. 1.
11. Otoghile, A. and Idahosa O. "The Post-Colonial State in Africa: Theoretical Issues Revisited." *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs* 28.11-12 (2007): 316.
12. "The African Development Bank: Facing New Challenges." *Overseas Development Institute,* Odi Briefing Paper. April-May, 1992. 1.
13. Karen, Mingst. *Essentials of International Relations.* New York: W.W Norton and Company, 2009.
14. Tude, Aderiran. *Introduction to International Relations.* Ibadan: Macmillan, 1983.
15. Mbalisi, Chinedu N. and Amaechi Chidi. "Globalization and Developing Countries: Milestones on Nigeria's Economic Development." *Uzu: Journal of History and International Studies* 3.1 (2012): 139-141.
16. Walton, John and David Seddon. *Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment*. Oxford: Eng Blackwell, 1994.
17. Birdsall, N. *The Role of Multilateral Development Banks in Emerging Market Countries.* Washington D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001.
18. French, Hertiez. "Into Africa: China's Wild Rush." *New York Times* May 2014: 56-57.
19. Abdulsalami, Muyideen Deji, Anuye Steve Paul and Akombo Elijah Ityavkase. "The Effects of Global Economic Crises on Nigerian Democracy, 1990-2016." *Al-Hikmah Journal of History and International Relations* 4.1 (2017: 77-78.

20. Anjande, G. "Global Financial Crisis of 2008 till Date: What alternative for Nigeria?" *National Conference of Organized Institute of Chartered Economics of Nigeria,* Kaduna 3rd Ed. March 5th-6th, 2010.
21. Greenhill, R. Prizzon A. and Rogerson A. *The Age of Choice: Developing Countries in the New Aid Landscape.* London: Overseas Development Institute, ODI 2013.
22. Financial Times. "International Monetary Fund warns rising African Nations on Sovereign debt risks." *Financial Times* 29 May 2014, home ed.: B46+.
23. Goldin, Ian and Kenneth Reinert. *Globalization for Development.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
24. Chukka, Enuka. *Conflict and Peacekeeping in Nigeria: The West African Peace Initiative, 1990-1997.* Anambra, Nigeria: Arise and Shine Press, 2015.
25. Chukka, Enuka. *Nigeria's Peace Roles in African Conflicts: The Promptings, Pluses and Pains.* Anambra, Nigeria: Arise and Shine Press, 2017.
26. Boutros, Boutros-Ghali. "The Land Mine Crisis." *Africa's Foreign Affairs* 73.5 (1994): 8-11.
27. Chibuzo, Nwoke N. "Conceptual Perspectives on the Peripheral Position of Third World Countries in the International Economic System." *Nigeria's Economic Relations with the Major Developed Market-Economy Countries, 1960-1985.* Eds. Akindele R.A. and Bassey E. Ate. Lagos, Nigeria: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1988. 8-13.
28. Osita, Eze C. "Globalization and the Dynamics of External Interests in Africa." *New Scramble for Africa.* Eds. Osita Eze C. and Chike Anigbe A. Lagos, Nigeria: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 2010. 92.
29. Ian, Clark. *Globalization and International Relations Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

30. Albrow, M. *The Global Age: State and Society beyond Modernity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
31. Josphert, Ngui Kimatu. "The Impact of Globalization on African Countries Economic Development." *African Journal of Business Management* 44.6 (2012): 2-3.
32. Dele, Seteolu. "Globalization: Challenges for the State in Africa." *The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs* 25.1-2 (2004): 6-8.
33. Ngugiwa, Thiongo. "Time for Africa to Reclaim the Blackbody." *New African Magazine* July 2012: 36-38.
34. Smith, B.C. *Understanding Third World Politics: Theories of Political Change and Development.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
35. Sambo, Johnson M. and Ebeku Asueme. "West Africa and the Ebola Crisis: The Need for Regional Security." *Unihez Journal of Contemporary Research* 7.2 (2018): 51-53.
36. Maryann, K. Cusimano. "Beyond Sovereignty: The Rise of Trans-sovereign Problems." *Beyond Sovereignty: Issues for a Global Agenda.* Ed. Maryann K. Cusimano. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2000. 22.
37. Martin, Wolf. "Will the Nation-State Survive Globalization?" *Foreign Affairs* 80 (January-February 2001): 178-191.
38. Peter, Burnell. "Governance and Conditionality in a Globalizing World." *Politics in the Developing World.* Eds. Peter Burnell and Vicky Randall. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. 292.
39. Held, David Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture.* Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1999.
40. Moore, Will H. and David Lanoue J. "Domestic Politics and US Foreign Policy: A Study of Cold War Conflict Behavior." *Journal of Politics* 65 (2003): 376-380.
41. Josphert, Ngui Kimatu. "The Impact of Globalization on African Countries Economic Development." *African Journal of Business Management* 44.6 (2012): 12.

42. Tunde, Adeniran. "Globalization and Nigeria's National Interests."*Nigeria's National Interests in a Globalizing World: Further Reflections on Constructive and Beneficial Concentricism Volume Two Foreign Policy Interests in the Inner Most Circle.* Ed. Bola Akinterinwa A. Ibadan: Bolytag International Publishers, 2007. 114-115.
43. Payne, Richard J. and Nassar Jamal R. *Politics and Culture in the Developing World: The Impact of Globalization.* United States of America: Pearson Education, Inc, 2008.
44. Osita, Eze C. "Globalization and the Dynamics of External Interests in Africa." *New Scramble for Africa.* Eds. Osita C. Eze and Chike A. Anigbo. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 2010. 91-94.
45. Aluko, Sam. "Background to Globalization and Africa's Economic Development." *Nigerian Economic Society* 12.4 (2004): 48.
46. Chibuke, Oguh. "Adesina's Plans for Africa's Transformation as AfDB' President." *Ignite* July-December 2015: 28-29.