

Perspectives on South-South Cooperation: A Critical Analysis

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Abstract

Revolutions in Africa and elsewhere for liberation and independence spurred by hope for change is characterized by the failure to turn independence to prosperity and sustain economic growth. The imperative to transform the economic and political culture of the nations and peoples of the third world to accelerate the end of poverty and underdevelopment found a common theme in the formation of South-South cooperation and other regional organizations as a response to the unequal economic relations between third world countries and the developed countries which has been an outgrowth of colonialism and neo colonialism. This paper attempts to examine the conceptual and historical matrix of South-South cooperation, its relevance in the promotion and growth of sub regional organizations such as the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Group of 77 (G 77), etc. This paper further exposes the underlining perspectives in which South-South cooperation may be studied. The methodology adopted for this work links historical background of South-South cooperation with its challenges, perspectives, framework of analysis, the growth of some regional organizations and their aims that help us to conclude and suggest ways forward for South-South to achieve set objectives. So far South-South Cooperation has achieved to some extent objectives for which it was formed but more needs to be done to sustain them in the face of contemporary realities.

Keywords: South-South Cooperation, Regional Organizations, Critical Analysis.

1. INTRODUCTION

The uneven and unequal nature of the present world order has increasingly manifested in the fast-growing gap between the world's rich and poor people and between developed and the developing countries and in the huge differences among nations in the distribution of wealth or resources (Khor 2003; Kolodko 2003). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Report 1992 estimated that, the 20 percent of the world's population in the developing countries received 82.7 percent of total world income, while 20 percent of people in the poorest countries receive only 1.4 percent (UNDP, 1992 cited in Khor 2003). In 1992, the average income of the 20 percent of people living in the richest countries was 60 times higher than that of the 20% living in the poorest countries. The Human Development Report 1996 further shows that over the past three decades only 15 countries (mostly the developed countries of Europe and America) have enjoyed high growth, while 89 countries were worse off economically than they were 10 or more years earlier. In 70 developing countries, the present income levels were less than in the 1960s and 1970s. What this means is that economic decline for most parts of the developing world has lasted far longer and gone deeper than during the Great Depression of the 1930s. While the rich countries mostly rebounded from the depression within four to five years, the last decade of the 1980s is in effect still continuing for hundreds of millions of people in many developing countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa (Doyle 1997).

In some cases, countries are poorer than thirty years ago, with little hope of rapid improvement. Whereas in 1965 the average per capita income of the Group of Seven (G7) leading industrial countries was 20 times that of the world's poorest countries, by 1995 it was 35 times as much (Kolodko 2003). Polarization among countries has not only been accompanied by increasing income inequalities, but access to social services (education, water supply, health and security, etc) and overall development. The fact is that development has become an integral part of the struggle for a new global order (Ake 1992). If the new world order (where peace, democracy and stability are seen as essential elements) is to be achieved, greater priority and attention must be given on the diffusion of development. No peaceful and secured world is going to be possible without solving the problem of uneven development and the abject poverty of the majority of the world's population. It is the result of uneven development that the world has been divided into two contrasting regions: the north and the south (Nyong'o 2004). The North is highly developed in all aspects of life - economic, political and social progress (Ake 1992) while the South stagnates. Therefore, the gap between the North and the South widens amidst growing immersion and alienation. Worried by the tragic and debilitating scenario of development in the South (growing poverty, increase in inequality, low incomes, riots and misery, etc) countries of the South have seen the need to come together to work for progress towards promoting development and pressing for a new world order in which their interests would be accommodated. This entire process of interactions, debates, solidarity and common concern for progress informs the ideological and philosophical basis of south-south cooperation (Ake, 1992).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual Clarifications

According to Shively (2005) the meaning of the south originates from the categorization of the world into three broad regions during the cold war era: the West, East and the South. What is often referred to as the Third World is a compilation of varied states from Latin America, Africa and Asia with uniquely nothing in common except for the significant roles they played in taking sides either with the United States or Soviet Union which differentiated them from belonging neither to the West or East. Shively further defines the south as a term that reflects the north- south conflict which contends issues of trade and natural resources that has divided less industrialized states into the southern region while the industrialized states comprise North America, Western Europe, New Zealand and Japan. The East region includes the erstwhile Soviet Union and its former eastern European satellites. It must be understood therefore that the south or third world is a region of quite varied states inhabited with over two third of the world's population. The states of the south have mixed political ideologies ranging from communist states such as Cuba to monarchical governments (Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Jordan, etc), totalitarian states (such as North Korea, Singapore) and new democratic states (such as Nigeria).

One significant attribute of the countries or states of the south is that they are poor and have a dearth of governmental directions in their economies. Only a small handful of them like Saudi Arabia, Brazil, South Korea, Argentina, Singapore, Nigeria, etc possess great mineral wealth with potentials of achieving industrialization and development. While most of the states of the south depend largely on exports of raw materials or agricultural products, political participation is skewed to a small part of their population and their political structures are also new (Mearsheimer 2001, Shively 2005). The global south is thus home to 80% of the world's people but commands less than 20% of its wealth (Jones 1985). Remarkable straits that ushered the inception of south-south cooperation into the world arena was preceded with an awakening of self-reliant ideas that emanated during the cold war era with the inclination of newly independent states not to be entangled in the ideological controversy that ensued between the West and East based on capitalist and socialist countries. A loose formation of economically weak states unified by bonds of newness, poverty and colonial heritage collided into a group in the 1950s known as the Non-Aligned States (NAM) or the less developed countries (LDC). In contrast to the first major conflict that threatened world peace and security based on the hostile rivalry that was founded on ideological and military crisis between the Soviet World and the West; the second global conflict with such potential was the crisis between the North and South engendered primarily over economic issues and later over political and human rights issues (Jones 1985).

Developing countries and those in anticipation of independence began to question the very manner in which international economic relations was administered and the global division of labour that had salient effects on the development of the peoples and nations of the south. A number of joint proposals were thus advanced on how the international economic system, its structures be redirected and to possibly get assistance from multilateral institutions and the economically advanced countries of the North to overcome poverty and sustain economic growth. South-South cooperation evolved in the 1950s and 1960s. It has been a goal of developing countries foreign policy which has become a global strategy to achieve development and growth in the south. The Afro-Asian conference at Bandung in 1955 was the first significant mark of collective action that signaled the formation of several institutions that served as tools of efficacy to contribute to the yearnings and aspirations of the LDC. It is at this period that G-77, the non-aligned movement (NAM), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and other institutions of the United Nations (UN) system were established. Economic and political institutions at regional and sub-regional levels created to enhance development opportunities were also founded. The Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) composed by Latin America and the Caribbean; the East African Economic Community (EAEC), the Maghreb Customs and Economic Union, Organization of African Unity (OAU) 1963, the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the League of Arab States and several others designed for economic, political and social cooperation emerged (Nyerere 1993).

The saliency of the radical dichotomy of the world into two extremes of rich and poor nations is implicit in the asymmetric as is distinct in power, economic, technology and military relations. The disparity of means and power is conspicuously glaring. Reports by UNDP (1992) indicate the incomes of the riches 20 percent of the world's population was 30 times that of the poorest 20 percent in 1960. By 1990, it was 60 times more. It is explicit why the gap remains and grows wider. According to this report, per capita, the North has 9 times the number of scientists, technology personnel in the south and 24 times more investment in technological research. The expectation of south-south cooperation to serve as a diplomatic voice where the interests and concerns of the south world are articulated to reach development objectives is expressed in various efforts such as: The aspiration to be able to integrate into the world economy and influence the processes that will shape the new international economic relations in the first declarations. Through south-south cooperation, they should be able to conduct their own policies to address the challenges of the world economy. Increase the participation of developing countries in the global economic governance to facilitate countries of the south to benefit from globalization and enhance a coordinated approach to address the negative consequences of cyclical financial crisis. Cooperation of donor countries and the international institutions to adopt effective comprehensive and equitable solutions to the debt crisis in a time bound fashion. A higher display of unity and solidarity within the south among other expectations (Marrakech Declaration 2000).

The composition of more than 110 nations with broad differences among other reasons own largely to the gradual, conservative and slow progress of third world politics since its evolution though founded on a common theme of struggle for development. Solidarity within the south is still rudimentary and easily divided because of the numerous complex diverse natures that constitute the south and the heavy dependence of the south on the north. Most societies of the south are plural and in grip of strong centrifugal forces, including secessionism. Religious differences are politicized, struggle for natural resources and territorial disputes render the south prone to violent conflicts. In comparison, the north amidst differences that exist amongst them, solidarity is more pronounced and

explicit in their consensus on north - south issues. Though southern solidarity appreciated from the 1970s, attempts to establish a new international economic order, further efforts by the south to be more assertive was muted by economic crisis by the early 1980s.

2.2 Empirical Discussions

The revival of NAM and its new posture that was expressed in the speeches of Mr. Alo Alatas, Indonesian minister of external affairs, and the chief host of its 30th meeting in Ghana (Accra September 2-8 1991), Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, Ghana's head of state, that the south should rather address the issue of north-south polarization which is still unresolved. According to Rawlings, the new world order is suspiciously a revised version of super power monopoly. The conference emphasized solidarity as necessary steps in building a truly new world order that cooperation replaces conflict, through the democratization of the international political system especially the UN systems by shifting of decision making from the Security Council to the General Assembly and trade negotiations from the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) to UNCTAD (Ake 1992). Secondly, the successful resistance of the industrialized states inspite of major declarations of solidarity at Bandung (1955), Cairo (1962) and the first three meetings of UNCTAD (1964, 1968 and 1996) was also a serious setback.

Progressive development in the economic and political experience of third world countries occurred in 1973 at the summit conference of NAM in Algiers where development issue was politicized and concerted efforts to bring to fruition the economic agenda of UNCTAD, a specific programme of action for developing a new international economic order was also launched. The renewed Arab-Israeli warfare engendered an oil embargo on supporters of Israel, signifying the economic and political powers of the third world and the resultant control of world oil prices by OPEC enhanced the third world to force its economic agenda upon the United Nations. Conclusively, it is to be recognized that despite these challenges, third world evolution as a political force was able to assert its unified position on international economic issues in respect to the unfavourable terms of North and South relations and the successful determination to transform this unified focus and the third world's perceived collective economic power as an instrument of political pressure for the implementation of a new international economic order (Jones 1985).

Liberalism may be defined as a doctrine and a set of principles for organizing and managing a market economy in order to achieve maximum efficiency, economic growth and individual welfare (Gilpin 1987). Liberalism emerged around the 17th and 18th centuries after the revolution in economic thought initiated by Adam Smith and others (David Ricardo, Jeremy Bentham, J.S. Mills, etc) and it became very popular in most developed countries. Generally liberalism refers to a set of ideas or theories of government which consider the liberty of the individual to be the most important political goal (Coady: 1995). Liberalism has different schools of thoughts and different conceptions of human rights but all liberals are unified by some common principles; All liberals support extensive freedom of thought and speech; They accept limitations on the power of governments; They uphold the rule of law; Liberals emphasize free exchange of ideas, a market or mixed economy and a transparent system. They strongly support liberal democracy as the ideal form of government with open and fair elections and the equal rights of citizens by law; greater emphasis is laid on the right to life, liberty and property. (Oxford Manifesto: 1997).

Forms of Liberalism

Classical Liberalism: Classical liberals have their concepts on free private enterprise, individual rights to poverty, "laissez faire" capitalism (Baptiste and Tracy), economic policy and freedom of contract (Jean Jacques Rousseau 1762). They argue that these rights are significant and without these rights it will be impossible to attain other liberal rights. They accept economic inequality that results from competition in the free market, so long as coercion is not used to influence it. The liberals also oppose the welfare state and do not justify wealth redistribution by government that may arise from such relations.

Anarcho (anarchism - no state at all) and miniarchism (a minimal state) are forms of capitalism that emerged out of classical liberalism with Frederic Bastiat, Gustave de Molinary, Herbert Spencer and Auberon as advocates.

Anarchism is a doctrine that is opposed to all kinds of government and perceives as unnecessary all forms of political authority. The state is regarded as evil and they propose its abolishment (Molinary 1841; Adam Smith 1723-1790). Individuals could structure both moral and economic life without direction from the state and nations would do better when their citizens are allowed to follow their own initiatives.

Miniarchist (also known as the night watchman) limit government functions to state institutions such as the courts, police and defense against foreign invasion. This form of capitalism is also known as libertarianism.

Social Liberalism (John Dewey and Mortimer Adler) support that all individuals should have access to basic necessities. This thought arose in the 19 century and was influenced by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Social liberals support free trade and a market based economy where the needs of all individuals are met. They advocate a greater degree of government influence to protect individual rights such as anti discriminatory laws. They are also in support of universal education, the provision of welfare state with emphasis on benefits for the employed, housing for the homeless, care for the sick, disabled, the mental and old supported by progressive taxation (Oxford Manifesto 1947).

Political Liberalism stresses the social contract in which citizens make the laws and agree to abide by those laws because they know what is best for them. Therefore the basis of society and its institutions exist to enhance the ends of individuals without discrimination and preference to the highly ranked in society. Political liberalism enfranchises all adult citizens regardless of race, sex and economic

status. According to John Rauls “the state has no right to determine a particular conception of the good life”. These liberal values are also expressed in the United States Independence Declaration as the right to the pursuit of happiness.

Cultural Liberalism directs its focus on the rights of individuals’ conscience and life style and issues of sexual and religious freedom, cognitive freedom and protection from government intrusion into private life. Government intervention in some areas such as regulation of literature, arts, academics, terminal illness, gambling, sex, prostitution, abortion, birth control, alcohol and other controlled substances is highly opposed by cultural liberals.

Conservative Liberalism is concerned more with economic issues in combination with some conservative elements.

Liberal International Relations theory allows for plurality in state actions in contrast to realism which sees the state as a unitary actor. State preferences are upheld as determinant of state behaviour rather than capabilities. These preferences vary from state to state and factors that influence these choices could be the culture, economic system or type of government. Theories of this thought do not limit interaction of states’ high politics (political, security) but also consider the economic and cultural aspects of a state through commercial firms, organizations or individuals. In summary, they see plenty of opportunities for cooperation and broader notions of power such as cultural capital to replace an anarchic state.

Modern Liberalism is the mixture of these forms of liberalism found in developed countries.

Neo Liberalism refers to a programme of reducing trade barriers and international market restrictions through government power to enforce opening of foreign markets. Some level of government involvement in the domestic economy, especially government responsibility to print fiat money is accepted but strongly opposed by libertarians (Oxford Manifesto 1997).

As a political ideology, liberalism emerged to challenge absolutism and totalitarianism. It has promoted a free world of ideas, governance, leadership and self freedom. It has been the propelling ideology used by most countries of the south to call for equity, representation, justice, fair play and participation in the global order. It has helped to foster the spirit of interaction, cooperation and integration among countries of the south in such organizations as the Group of 77 (G77), the African Union, Non- Align Movements, Economic Community of West African States, etc. In the final analysis, liberalism has been the driving force of globalization in which ideas, knowledge, business, development, governance and security have become unified issues of global concern. Liberalism has thus reawakened the consciousness of most peoples in the straggle to bridge the gap of development between the north and the south (Khor 2003).

Rights guaranteed by liberalism are abstract and not concrete. In the case of Africa, liberal ideas have been more of a lip service as its tenets of technology transfer, exchange of ideas, rule of law, etc has not been practically extended to the south. Obi clearly concludes that the phenomenon of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in developing countries for instance has been exploited by developed countries who have been reluctant in transferring technology, training and skills to these countries for the production of generic drugs for treatment of the disease and have made the production and marketing of the drags an exclusive reserve of firms from the developed countries. Efforts at research and discovery of these drugs in developing countries is also frustrated (Obi 2003).

2.3 Theoretical Perspectives

Realism as a theoretical tool for understanding the behaviour of states in the international system, it is as old as the advent of Nicholo Machiavelli (1469 - 1527). Other scholars who have propelled the intellectual driving shaft of realism include Hans Morgenthau, Walter Lipman, E.H. Carr, Robert Gilpin, Arnold Wolfers, Hedley Bull, etc. Realism is founded on the following assumptions. The first is that the international system is anarchic. There is no authority above states capable of regulating their interactions. As such, states must arrive at relations with other states on their own, rather than being dictated by some higher controlling entity. Secondly, sovereign states are the principal actors in the international system. International institutions, non-governmental organizations, multi-national corporations and other sub-state or trans-state actors are viewed as having little independent influence. Thirdly, states are rational unitary actors each moving towards their own national interest. There is a general distrust of long term cooperation or alliance. The overriding national interest of each state is its national security and survival. Fourthly, relations between states are determined by their comparative level of power derived primarily from their military and economic capabilities.

Realists believe that mankind is not inherently benevolent but rather self centred and competitive. This hobbesian realism or perspective contrasts with the approach of liberalism in international relations which views human nature selfish and conflictual unless given appropriate conditions under which to cooperate (Ajene: 1987). Realists further explain international relations in various views:

Neo Realism founded by Kenneth Waltz proposes a systemic approach or international structure to act as a constraint on state behaviour. Liberal Realism, a branch of political realism also known as the “English School of International Theory” stipulates the existence of a ‘society of states’ despite the condition of international anarchy. Defensive Realism is a variant of realism that maintains that states are rational players and the primary actors in world affairs. Stephen Waltz argues that the increase of anarchy also increases instability. For instance the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the conventional force level of countries of the South: Egypt, Israel, India, Pakistan, Iran, and South Africa is perceived as a threat to the North. This also explains the current invasion of Iraq by the US and the hostile relations between the US and Iran (Ake 1992). Offensive Realism posits that anarchy on the world stage gives opportunities for expansion by states. Regional conflicts have been encouraged by the US, Soviet Union, France, Britain, Italy and West Germany who are the principal supplier of arms to the third world. The main reason is that the third world continues to be a foreign policy option of the major powers’ interest in expansion (Jones 1985). Democratic Realism is a foreign

policy strategy advanced by Charles Krauthammer in 2004, calling for the US to spread democracy by force to strategically vital areas throughout the globe especially in the Middle East. Subaltern Realism emphasizes the divergence of third world conditions from those of industrialized core states and proposes an alternative conceptualization of security to that proposed by neo realism. Legal Realism believes that all law is made by human being and is therefore subject to human frailties and imperfections (Mearsheimer 2001).

Marxism is a theory and political practice derived from the work of Karl Max and Friedrich Engels. There are other variant thoughts that have emerged out of this theory known as the neo Marxists but have some tenets which are common to them. The Marxist perspective is anchored on certain essential elements. The first is the dialectical approach to knowledge and society that defines the nature of reality as dynamic and conflictual. The second element is a materialist approach to history which recognizes material production as being central to historical change. Above all, the Marxist perspective focuses attention on the material conditions of people, and social relations among them. It argues that relations or interactions among people or groups of people or states are usually based on exploitation and differential power relationships. It is on this basis that the international order today evinces unequal relations built on the dominance of the strong over the weak (Ake 1992). In applying Marxism to third world countries, peculiar situations of underdevelopment, neo Marxist writers such as Claude Ake, Gunder Frank, Walter Rodney (Dependency theory), Samir Amin, Emmanuel Wallestein (world systems theory), etc argue that the international system must be understood within the rich north as being made possible by the exploitation of the poor south (Ayres 1995).

3. METHODOLOGY

This study is anchored on the realist perspective. It is the conviction of this paper that, the international system is defined/characterized by anarchy in the distribution of power and resources. In spite of the anarchical nature of the international system, it is decentralized with states having interests to protect. States therefore enter into cooperation on the logic of self help to seek and protect their own interests and will not subordinate their interests to others because they can never be certain of other states' future intentions, there is lack of trust between states which requires state to be on guard against relative losses of power which could enable other states to threaten their survival. This lack of trust but the need to ensure survival informs the basis of cooperation among states. It is from this point that south-south cooperation can be studied and understood.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Group of 77 (G-77)

The G-77 was founded on 15 June 1964 by signatories of seventy seven developing countries in a joint declaration issued at the end of the first session of UNCTAD meeting in Geneva. It is the largest intergovernmental organization of developing states in the UN with a current membership of 130 countries but still retains the original name G- 77 because of its historic significance. The first ministerial meeting of the G-77 held on 10 - 25th October 1967 adopted the charter that created chapters of the group with liaison offices in Geneva (UNCTAD), Nairobi (UNEP), Paris (UNESCO), Rome (FAO/IFAO), Vienna (UNIDO), the Group of 24 (G-24) in Washington Dc (IMF and World Bank). The organization creates forum for the following aims and activities; Provides the means for articulation and promotion of the collective economic interests of the south; Enhance the joint negotiating capacity of countries of the south on all major international economic issues within the United Nations system; Make joint declarations, actions, programmes and agreements on development issues; Promote south-south cooperation for development.

Several declarations/documents have been adopted by G-77 since its first ministerial meeting in 1967. This includes: The charter of Algiers, Algiers (10 - 25th 1967); The Marrakech declaration on south-south cooperation at the Marrakech framework of the implementation of south-south cooperation, Morocco (16 - 19 December 2003); Agreement on a Global System of Trade Preferences (GSTP) among developing countries Belgrade (11-13 April 1988); High level conference on sub regional and regional economic cooperation among developing countries, Bali, Indonesia (1998); High level forum on trade and investment, Doha, Qatar (2004) and many others. (Ahmia 2006).

African Union (AU)

Efforts to unite African states have found historic origins in an early confederation, the Union of Africa States established in the 1960s by Kwame Nkrumah and other subsequent attempts that established the organization of African Unity (OAU) and the African Economic Community (AEC) founded in 1963 and 1981 respectively. The union is a successor to the OAU that critics argue failed to protect the rights and liberties of African citizens from their political leaders. The revival of the idea to create AU was under the leadership of Libyan head of state, Muammar Al Gaddafi in the mid 1960s, with the issuance of the Sirte Declaration by the government of OAU and the heads of state on September 1999, demanding for the establishment of an African Union. The Union was eventually launched in Durban on July 9, 2002 by its first president, South African leader Thabo Mbeki at the first session of the assembly of the AU (BBC News 2002).

The AU is a supranational union with a membership strength that covers the entire African continent except for Morocco who withdrew from OAU in 1984 prior to the creation of AU, when member states supported the admission of Sahrawi Arab Democratic

Republic into OAU. The initiative to create the New Partnership for Africa's Development was also launched at this period (BBC News 2001).

The Aims are to; To have a single currency (the Afro); To integrate a single force; Create institutions for states and a cabinet for the AU heads of state; To help secure Africa's democracy, human rights and a sustainable economy by bringing an end to intra African conflict and create a common market; Promotes African languages. The Union since inception is faced with issues in the following areas: Health issues such as combating malaria which rates as a top killer disease in Africa and curbing the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS pandemic, one of the most serious threat facing Africa and claiming lives in millions especially in sub-Saharan Africa. The Union has been confronting undemocratic regimes and mediating in many civil wars. The political situation in Zimbabwe reports human rights abuses. It has been a focal issue since the early 2000s. The AU suspended Mauritania from all organizational activities due to the coup of 3 August 2005. In support of interventions for democracy, on 5th February 2005, AU leaders criticized the naming of Gnassingbe Gyadema's son as his successor after the death of his father as president of Togo. The creation of Union government was principally debated at the AU summit in July 2007 with the aim of moving towards a United States of Africa. There are divisions among African states on the proposal. Some suggest a common government with an AU army, others support the strengthening of the existing structures with reforms to deal with the administrative and political challenges in military to make the AU commission truly effective (January 2007).

The impoverished conditions of Africans and low rate of education are issues that challenge an improvement of the living standards of the people. Ecological issues such as recurring famines, desertification and lack of ecological systems are major problems facing AU and the African continent. The AU has responded in the ongoing Darfur conflict by deployment of 7000 peace keepers from Nigeria and Rwanda. Other current issues are the Casamance conflict in Senegal, the Niger Delta crisis in Southern Nigeria. The AU has adopted a number of new important documents establishing norms at continental level to supplement those already in power. The African convention on preventing and combating corruption (2003), the African Charter on democracy, elections and governance (2007) and the New Partnership on Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its associated declaration on democracy (January 2007).

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The ECOWAS is a regional organization of fifteen West African countries founded on 28 May, 1975 with the signing of the Lagos Treaty. The members include Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo (Egbepu, 1995). It aims to achieve collective self sufficiency through the following channels. The West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) plans to introduce a new common currency on 1st December 2009 to replace the CFA Franc which has been in use by six former French colonies and Guinea Bissau (Portuguese colony). The goal is to unite WAMZ which consist of Anglophone countries and UEMOA to form a single currency with the proposed name 'Eco' (ECOWAS 2004). ECOWAS Travel Certificates has been entered into circulation in Burkina Faso, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Niger and Nigeria. ECOWAS passport is now operational in Benin, Mali and Senegal. These efforts are targeted to enhance easy access and create a common market for the region. The establishment of ECOMOG was derived from the violent conflict in the state of Liberia and such violence have spread across the region necessitating the sustenance of ECOMOG. The phenomenon of the proliferation of violent conflicts has been a worrying feature of contemporary Africa. By 1990, Africa was host to over 15 violent conflicts with horrifying consequences in both human and material losses. The effect is the dislocation of the economies of affected states in the region. West Africa hosted 8 out of the 15 conflicts. They include political bloodshed in Togo, the Liberian civil war, Sierra Leone civil war, ethnic cleansing in Ghana, secession attempt in Casamance Senegal, destabilizing Tureg nationalism in Mali and Niger (Mouzalas 1995).

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Countries of the South therefore face a very crisis of development: low capacity utilization in their economies, low capital formation, capital flight, unemployment, crushing excruciating debt burden, balance of payment problems, unequal terms of trade, food shortages and insecurity, riots, misery and retrogression. Cooperation and integrations among countries of the south is therefore needed to enable them to be strong enough to deal with problems of development. Cooperation and integration will ensure a process of political and economic decisions to be accepted by their governments/countries in such a manner that common policies would be articulated to deal with their overall interests. The formation of various organizations such as the AU, G77, ECOWAS, OPEC, should be encouraged to protect and pull development to their frontiers on terms favourable to them.

As a way forward, the researcher is inclined to share the views of Ake and Alkali (Ake 1981, Alkali 1997) that there is the need for countries of the South to press home for a new international or world order defined as the restructuring of economic and political relations in such a way as to make it feasible for developing countries to initiate and accelerate autonomous processes of growth and development in their economies thereby eliminating poverty, inequalities, and ensuring equitable resource transfer, distribution and allocation. Above all, the new international economic order is hoped will among other things restructure economic relations, promote greater security, stability and transfer of resources from the developed to developing countries to enhance growth and development all in the best interest of South – South.

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