

NEOCOLONIALISM: CONSTRUCTION AND SOLUTIONS

by

STEPHANIE PARENTI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the Honors in the Major Program in Political Science
In the College of Sciences
And in The Burnett Honors College
At the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Spring Term 2011

Thesis Chair: Dr. David Houghton

ABSTRACT

Many nation-states have their potential for growth hindered by the involvement of developed nations. These low-income nation-states are primarily located on the continent of Africa. There are three parts to this phenomenon of neocolonialism which is the process of continuing involvement of developed nations in developing nations that creates a negative growth in those nations. The research I've conducted is in three parts. The first consists of analyzing the social construction of neocolonialism, how the phenomenon occurs, and where it stems from. The second part is to show how this involvement is damaging to the developing nations. I will use examples such as the multinational corporation profit recycling, the life of foreign aid, and unwise economic deals. As it turns out the phenomena brings on the hindrance of developing in the low-income nation. The last part of my research is to come up with an economic improvement plan. For instance, rather than country A trading money (or some monetary value) for a resource in country B, "A" would build a school, hospital, or infrastructure in "B" to improve the conditions in the low-income nation. It is hypothesized that will leave room for growth in both nations without creating harmful economic repercussions because money would be taken out of the equation.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedication this thesis to my grandmother, Kathryn Busch, for always reminding me that I can do whatever I put my mind to and being my support system in times of immense stress. Also I would like to thank my Pop-pop and my mother for always reminding me how proud I have made them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. David Houghton for taking me on as a researcher my junior year and for his continued faith in my work through to graduation. I would also like to thank Dr. Meehan and Dr. Young for their commitment to my thesis and the input they have given me for it.

I would also like to thank Michael Alderon-Jefferies and the McNair Scholars Program at the University of Central Florida for teaching me the philosophy of research and helping me development my thesis through resources.

Finally I would like to thank Jason Jonas for his patience and understanding as I wrote this thesis, and Aaron Rosenberg for showing me how influential hard work can be to others.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NEOCOLONIALISM: CONSTRUCTION AND SOLUTIONS	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
BASIC ARGUMENT.....	1
Literature Review.....	2
Research Proposal.....	7
INTRODUCTION.....	12
CONSTRUCTION OF NEOCOLONIALISM	16
DETRIMENTS OF NEOCOLONIALISM.....	27
Foreign Aid	29
Multinational Corporations	31
Leadership.....	33
POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS.....	35
Solutions	35
Improvement Deals.....	39
COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS	42
Realist Perspective.....	43
Liberal Perspective.....	44
Marxist Theory.....	44
Conclusion.....	46
REFERENCES.....	49

BASIC ARGUMENT

Neocolonialism is a process in which developed nations continue their involvement with low income nations in a way that is detrimental to the growth of that nation. Many nation-states have their potential for growth hindered by the involvement of developed nations. Primarily located within Africa and Latin America, there are three parts to this phenomenon of neocolonialism. For this thesis, the definition clearly stated will be: A tool (or process) used to achieve imperialism which involves a developed nation's capital gain at the expense of a developing nation's potential capital gain. The research I've conducted is in three parts, the first consists of analyzing the social construction of neocolonialism, how the phenomenon occurs, and where it stems from. The second part is to show how this involvement is damaging to the developing nations. As it turns out the phenomena brings on the hindrance of developing in the low-income nation. The last part of my research is to come up with an economic improvement plan. For instance, rather than country A trading money (or some monetary value) for a resource in country B, "A" would build a school, hospital, or infrastructure in "B" to improve the conditions in the low-income nation. It is hypothesized that will leave room for growth in both nations without creating harmful economic repercussions because money would be taken out of the equation.

Literature Review

Kwame Nkrumah is the most prominent author on neocolonialism and he indeed coined the phrase. Nkrumah¹ argues that no new colonies could be created in today's world. There are colonies still present, however, but no new ones. He says that instead of colonialism, high-income nations still have a hand dipped in old colonies economically. He called this Imperialism and insists that neocolonialism is the last stage of imperialism. Nkrumah says that the State that is being neocolonized is an independent country with sovereignty but its economic system, and thus is public policy decision making, is directed from an external source which they may be dependent upon financially.

Thomas Gladwin² is also favorable to this definition of neocolonialism. He discusses the different ways in which these unfair economic deals can take place. The examples that he uses in his book include the life of foreign aid and profit recycling of multi-national corporations. Certain conditions do apply when foreign aid is handed out to other nations. Some of the stipulations include making the country giving the financial aid the only one eligible for contracting deals or other bids within the country receiving the aid. From his other example, multi-national corporations are setting themselves up in these low-income nations but the profits they make there do not go back into their host country but are recycled into their home country instead. This leaves no room for the corporation to bring growth to the low-income nation.

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame. *Neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism*. (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Inc.), 1965.

² Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

In yet another article written by Margaret Hanson and James Hentz³, the topic of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are brought up. As it turns out, there are very strict rules about the money that is loaned out of these institutions into low-income nations and it's restricted their ability to use the money for something useful such as schools or hospitals, something they need badly.

Lastly, to explain neocolonialism, John Suckling and Colin Stoneman⁴ wrote an article about overspecializing. This is another way in which low-income nations are held down by external forces. Some nations, in their colonial days, were told to overspecialize in a certain good for sale in the colonizing country. The example used in the article is that of Cuba who overspecialized in sugar for Spain and later the United States. In effect of these techniques, low-income nations never learned to produce anything else, were held back from industrializing, and definitely from training their people to do little more than produce a specific good.

It is simply to see how Neocolonialism is detrimental to the societies of low-income nations and restricted their ability to grow or industrialize. With so many loopholes, rules, regulations, and stipulations it is no wonder that these nations have become stuck in a third world status. The dependency of these nations works in the way of a cycle and it is the hope of this research to distinguish ways in which this can be changed. The greatest hope is to find solutions that are sustainable to the African continent.

³ Hanson, Margaret, and James Hentz. 1999. Neocolonialism and neoliberalism in south africa and zambia. *Political Science Quarterly* 114 (3): 479.

⁴ Suckling, John, and Colin Stoneman. 1987. Apartheid to neocolonialism. *Third World Quarterly* 9 (2): 515

One aspect to consider when thinking about how the behavior of Neocolonialism has been constructed is to think about how something like overspecialization was created. Low-income nations were to produce cheap commodities to their imperial power when they were colonies. This is no longer the case but many nations are continuing to produce one particular commodity because it is what they were trained to do. It is extremely hard to get out of this. As Stoneman and Suckling⁵ state in their article, these nations have been thrown into a market of Transnational Corporations (TNCS) which have ridiculous rules for these nation's markets. One example is to continue the pursuit of comparative advantage, where a nation specializes in one good. However, this forces low-income nations to compete with other poor countries instead of growing every poor nation's economy. Secondly, they enforce a "respect for property rights" which allows the TNCS to extract profit from the company doing business because they have a hand in the country's economy. The third example used in this article is the tendency of the elite within the low-income nation to become somewhat of an internal bourgeoisie which makes deals with the TNCS and foreign traders and owners which benefits themselves but not the country. We see this mostly in corruption of leadership.

Hentz and Hanson⁶ explain in an article geared towards understanding neocolonialism from the low-income nation side (why would they make irresponsible deals) shines some light on the construction of both sides. Governments develop ownership of bad policies because of an external force having influence over the nation. Just as in America, elections are very important to policy changes. However, also like in America, certain candidates work with industrialized

⁵ Suckling, John, and Colin Stoneman. 1987. Apartheid to neocolonialism. *Third World Quarterly* 9 (2): 515

⁶ Hanson, Margaret, and James Hentz. 1999. Neocolonialism and neoliberalism in south africa and zambia. *Political Science Quarterly* 114 (3): 479

nations in order to enforce policies that already exist or change them to what is wanted but the external nation. This constructs elections within the low-income nations and creates a pattern that is difficult to get out of when dependency is becoming a constant idea among country leaders.

Lastly, we must keep in mind a point of historical analysis. Gladwin⁷ discusses in his book titled “Slaves of the White Myth” that almost all 3rd world nations have a period of colonial rule in their recent history. Once the nations were “independent” they were still under economic rule. Just as a teenager leaves home, they still need help from their parents every once and a while. Without making the case that these nations need the industrialized ones, low-income nations went to sovereign nations without any instructions or knowledge on how to become economically independent. This is probably what those high-income nations wanted. Gladwin talks about the Atlantic Charter which the USA pressured colonized places to strive for independence, but behind that was a motivation to dip their hands into the economy of Europe’s colonies. Economic power replaced force and the mechanism of conquest. With multinational corporations, foreign aid, and indoctrination of entrepreneurs, there is still much constructed dependence on wealthy countries to help developing nations.

Understanding the Construction of neocolonialism opens the path for a change in discourse and making a difference in this locked dependency on wealthy nations. These low-income nations have the ability to grow and the potential to be strong and independent countries. There needs to be a change in the economic system on how to deal with these nations in order to construct the future generations coming out of these countries to be healthy world players.

⁷ Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

Stoneman and Suckling⁸ say there are three main ways to escape Neocolonialism. The first is to have a strong central government with free and fair elections, and then the country must reduce its export dependence, and last make foreign capital decisions for them rather than by some external force. The authors also include the implications of escaping which include the rapid economic growth and capital accumulation that may occur, they will have to increase government expenditure and cope with the costs of rapid urbanization and provisions of social income in education, health, and welfare.

Jean-Paul Sartre⁹ has a list of problems that are keeping the low-income nations from becoming more dependent. These problems are listed as economic, social, psychological, and political. The economic problems include a great example about how to feed 9 million people without the help of others. The social problem is concerned with getting more schools and doctors in the nation. Psychological problems have to do with the inferiority complex that was discussed earlier in this review and how to relieve the dependence on wealthy nations. Lastly the political problem is a curious but strong point. If, perhaps, the country makes the decision to change itself away from dependency and it hits a hard spot where the country becomes stagnant, who is going to vote when they are starving?

It is questioned is wealthy nations can still help out low-income nations with these hardships without increasing or bringing back the dependency that was once had over them. Keep in mind that the dependency shown to these nations does not hurt them.

⁸ Suckling, John, and Colin Stoneman. 1987. Apartheid to neocolonialism. *Third World Quarterly* 9 (2): 515

⁹ Sartre, Jean-Paul. 2001. *Colonialism and neocolonialism*. Paris, France: TJ International Ltd

Raymond Crist¹⁰ suggests that more subsidies need to be given to local farmers because it will feed to local population, create jobs for local owners, and make food cheaper to get. Instead, he recognizes the subsidies given to farmers with larger plots of land to produce food for export rather than local feeding. This is backwards, says Crist, because when the population is starving, why focus on exports?

Phillip G. Altbach¹¹ wrote about the horrible education in low-income nations and prefers that we focus on the education of people within these poor countries. He does not give any instructions on how to perform this important task but calls on other researchers to do this. There is an obvious recognition of the immediate change needed between the relations of poor and wealthy nations.

Research Proposal

Part of what I want to explain is that Neocolonialism is a product of social construction in the Western World, and has now been spread to other nations such as China. When speaking of social construction, it is to say that people have constructed ideas about how the world works. These ideas come from a learned discourse through history and a solid affiliation with a particular identity that allows one to justify actions. Due to the experience of those who have held colonies, and more importantly the recent colonial history in most low-income nations, it does not seem unnatural for developed nations to involve themselves economically in the developing ones. The inability for low-income nations to develop is in denial by those who are involved in them, usually veiled by the mentality that they are actually helping. By uncovering

¹⁰ Crist, Raymond. 1987. The pattern of neocolonialism. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 46 (2): 203

¹¹ Altbach, Philip. 1971. Education and neocolonialism. *Comparative Education Review* 15 (2): 237

this myth and describing the construction of this attitude I will be able to show audiences that it is a constructed mentality in both parties (developed and developing) that these blockades to development have derived from. This is what is considered a “social fact”, which is to say that the construction of this phenomena is completely social and therefore can be changed. The opposite of a social fact would be a “brute fact”, such as the existence of lightning which cannot be denied or changed. It is important to stress that the construction of neocolonialism is not based around Dependency Theory, but instead assumes that developed nations have a socially constructed force upon them to depend economically on developed nations. In turn, developed nations have a socially constructed force to continue their involvement within these nations.

Next I want to explain how this is damaging the potential of the developing nations. My main focus will be on unwise economic deals made between those who are involved in the low-income nations and those nations themselves. There are several mechanism in which neocolonialism operates: multinational corporations, foreign aid (often becomes self-perpetuating), intelligence agencies, militaries, tax-exempt foundations, corrupt leadership, and psychological dilemmas. What is causing these deals to be accepted by the developing nation and why is the involved nation allowing these deals to be made? How much of a role do the leaders play within this phenomenon, and if they do, what is their role? Why do leaders take these deals without considering the benefit of their nation?

The final section of my research will attempt to look at the sub-state actors (those who are actually carrying through the deals under the header of their home-nations) and attempt to create a new “improvement deal” in which the developing nation would exchange a resource (i.e.

Uranium) for something with monetary worth, but is not currency, and will enhance the potential for the growth of both nations. Examples would include school houses, hospitals, legal buildings, and the like. Something also to consider is to allow the people of the developing nation to construct these building and the subsequent infrastructure in order to allow the money to go back into the economy of that nation. Often, as aforementioned, the Tier 1 countries are the only ones eligible for construction bids which would recycled the money that they paid the nation (either in foreign aid or through a multinational) back into their own country. I think there is a potential idea for “recycled improvement” in which the money that is made from tuition, hospital bills, and legal workings could be recycled back into the program thus producing one of the same (a second school house once the first is “perfected” and a profit is continuously being made.) Though this would have to be a department of government I believe if it were to work properly.

I believe that continuous involvement in nations with corrupt leaders or making unfair business trades is continuing to keep the nation at a lower level of enhancement. I believe we can continue to trade and help develop the nation at the same time. I disagree with what is called “Dependency Theory” in which low-income nations are dependent on the foreign aid of industrial nations. The theory of constructivism would say that both nations, industrial and low-income, have created the ideas that keep them one dependent upon the other. Those ideas can be changed through a different discourse, and therefore a changed identity.

I will show what is now being done by using statistics to see how much money is getting to the people of these low income nations currently. Dissecting the multinational corporation and following the life of foreign aid will allow me to show how little money is put into the

developing nation. Using historical analysis to dissect the social construction of the behavior currently held, as aforementioned. I could use SPSS to measure the growth of neighboring nations or nations who have similar history to see where major changes were made. I can also use the Human Development Index to define developing nations. Lastly, I will be using case studies such as the China-Ghana Uranium deal and the USA's land-lease program.

My units of analysis would be the nation-state for the first two parts of my research. The third part will have to switch to sub-state actors, multinational corporations, and foreign aid life. My dependent variable is the depletion of resources in developing nations and my independent is economic imperialism. The advantages of my dependent variable is that I can use qualitative and quantitative research to show that it can be a first step in the right direction to have an equal resource option. A disadvantage is that it is going to be difficult to determine the sub-state actors involved and how to get them to switch to improvement programs.

The advantage of my independent variable is the ability to assess the danger in continuing the economic involvement in low-income nations that lead to the block on their development. The disadvantage is that many of the involved nations will refuse to put the blame on themselves. The validity of my argument is simple. If resources are worth commodity, and resources are taken from the nation, then the nation has no commodity. This is a hypothetical syllogism and is crucial to understanding the magnitude of this social injustice. My methodology is to use historical analysis to examine past and present ideas towards economic imperialism, in the attempt to learn how to change the discourse of these ideas. Also, we can use statistics to give a representation of the lack of fairness involved in economic trade.

Neocolonialism is causing the blockade to developing nations by economic imperialism, corruption, and historical conduct. It would be more beneficial to do away with financial trades and move towards improvement programs. From an in depth understanding of the roots and braches of neocolonialism, there can be more research on alternative improvement deals between the developed and the developing.

INTRODUCTION

Much research can be found on the process of decolonization on the African continent, the international institutions and government policies attempting to help develop the ‘Third World’, and particularly the histories that were during and after this process. Little work, however, has been found on the economic phenomenon called neocolonialism. Although this word was used fifty four years ago, more research can be done on the young end of the Cold War than can be found on the quite metaphorical, but indeed invisible, hand over regions such as Africa and Latin America.

Therefore one must beg the question of what is neocolonialism. Writing in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah¹², former leader of Ghana, wrote what he called to be an extension of Lenin’s previous literature on imperialism. Titling his protests as Neocolonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism, and Nkrumah defines neocolonialism as the “export of the social conflicts of the capitalist countries”¹³. He argues that imperialism is still at work in the world, that the resources of developing nations are being exploited still, widening the craves between the rich imperialists and the poor Southern Hemisphere. Specifically Nkrumah uses the imagery of neocolonialism as a tool; a pick-axe would be suitable, for the action of imperialism. For this thesis, the definition clearly stated will be: A tool (or process) used to achieve imperialism which involves a developed nation’s capital gain at the expense of a developing nation’s potential capital gain.

¹² Nkrumah, Kwame. *Neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism*. (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Inc.), 1965.

¹³ Ibid.

Neocolonialism in itself is made up of several others tools. We could say that neocolonialism is the Swiss army knife of imperialism, one of the many contents of its back pocket. We will discuss further in depth the mechanisms of neocolonialism within this thesis later. What the hypothesis of this research will find is that neocolonialism is a constructed, arguably but largely unconscious, set of policies, actions, and institutions that are embedded in the ideas of Western thought and practice and perpetuated from several angles; economic, psychological, social, and political in nature.

From this we come to the decision that Neocolonialism is a socially constructed phenomena happening in today's world. To say that something is socially constructed is to have the belief that man has ideas that are extracted into reality, whether these ideas are beneficial or detrimental. For example, when we discuss the social construction of Neocolonialism in further detail, we will discuss the "White Man's Burden" referring to the idea that colonialism was not just a way to make financial capital through the occupation and governing of African nations, but indeed it was the duty of the white man to civilize the African to Western culture. The idea that Western culture is superior to the African culture is a socially constructed idea. We will discuss brute facts versus social facts¹⁴ as well, an idea well developed by Dr. David Houghton. Brute facts represent those things in the world that cannot be challenged such as the existence of colonialism in earlier centuries. Social facts represent those ideas in the world that have come about in a social manner as we will see with Neocolonialism.

The social construction comes about in several ways, as this thesis will describe, in such ways a the history of the continent before colonialism, colonialism and the white man's burden,

¹⁴ Searle, John. (1995) *The Construction of Social Reality*. New York: Free Press

the development of a perpetuating inferiority complex, educational institutions and the outlines of teaching methods used after decolonization, and the economic component of building aid into budgets. There will also be discussion of Marxism and World Systems Theory in a matter of social construction rather than through a realist perspective, and both will be developed.

Outlined so far has been the concept of Neocolonialism and the social construction of this concept. These are the first two parts of this study. The third, and probably most important part of this thesis, are the solutions to such a problem. The solution is not to stop doing business with Africa in through trade deals or multinational corporate efforts, or to stop bringing Western professors into African schools. Indeed, Kwame Nkrumah points this out also in his book. “The struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed.”¹⁵ It is important that the developed nations continue trade deals with the continent, but that the focus is more on the development of both rather than the development of one. In the last section of this thesis we discuss “Improvement Deals”. For example, rather than exchange a monetary compensation for the trade of resources, the idea would be to build a school, a hospital, a business, and provide training for the people of Africa in these specific fields. As we will come to understand, education is the foundation of social construction and to develop a better educational foundation for the civilians there is to develop the country as a whole. Although the

¹⁵ Nkrumah, Kwame. *Neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism*. (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Inc.), 1965.

process of Neocolonialism is a top-down phenomenon, it can be reversed through bottom-up development with the assistance of top-down organizations.

This introduction serves the purpose of outlining the following thesis. As little research has been done of the phenomena of Neocolonialism, we now have clearly defined this situation. We will continue to see how the concept has been socially constructed in the reality created by man how, through history, education, and social norms created through colonialism, this phenomenon can be deconstructed. The reconstruction of this practice, although beginning from a top-down basis, can happen through a bottom-up restructuring effort. The solutions to this idea are not ones that can be put into place the day after defense or even years after. The solutions will need to be carefully thought out and adapted to by both the developed and developing nations. A realist would say that these solutions, though a bright idea and kind in heart, are not something that any country would willingly participate in because of the losses that would be accumulated. To this the response should be not that this is a blueprint for how to stop Neocolonialism, but it is a process that needs attention and there are suggestions on how to take this up. The main idea of this thesis is that Neocolonialism is a socially constructed problem causing problems in the development of the African continent. Due to the social construct, the problem can be deconstructed and thus reconstructed through the ideas of man. This is possible, and the thesis does not argue that it is plausible in these years.

CONSTRUCTION OF NEOCOLONIALISM

In the introduction it was discussed that neocolonialism is a socially constructed phenomena. Before we discuss in which ways this is constructed through historical, psychological, and educational means, we must first answer the question of what social construction means in terms of international relations.

When we discuss social construction, we are coming at international relations from the identity perspective. Henry R. Nau¹⁶ wrote a fantastic book titled “Perspectives in International Relations” in which I believe the definition of both social construction and the identity perspective, however one cannot be explained without the other. The identity perspective wants to focus on the ideas that contributed to the cooperation of nation states through institutional or diplomatic means, and also how those ideas also guide the use of power. Nau¹⁷ defines ideas as the “values, norms, and beliefs” of certain nation states that guide their actions. Those ideas are what construct the identity of actors. Here is where the construction and the identity come together. The identity is constructed by means of ideas (norms, values, and beliefs.)

Our focus in dealing with neocolonialism will be to work our way through history to find out where the identities have been developed and how they have, and can continue to, change. The school of thought attributed to this research is social constructivism. This hypothesizes that the construction of ideas, and thus identities, can only be acquired through the repetition of interactions. In this case we are talking about the repetition of actions between the continent of

¹⁶Nau, Henry. *Perspectives on international relations*. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2009). 2nd ed.

¹⁷Ibid

African and those who have colonized in the past. This also allows for new state actors to come into the process of neocolonialism because the psychological social structure of some African countries is already constructed, as we will discuss in particular with China.

Some of the repetitive action that Nau¹⁸ talks about in his book is “communicative action, social discourse, and shared knowledge” that will develop between those who are participants in the actions. The ideas of neocolonialism are social in nature, which is to say that they cannot be reduced down to an individual. We cannot say Person X is responsible for the actions in Africa because they cooperated/oppressed Person Y. This research operates at the state level of analysis in that we are looking at the state actions of the Neocolonists towards Africa. States will only legitimize their understanding of another state through the interactions they have with that state, and thus the social construction of identities comes through this way. The identity that Africa has of itself and the identity it has of others vs. the identity others have of Africa and then of themselves.

Peter Katzenstein¹⁹ comes to us with the ideas of a distribution of identities. These include the internal and the external identities states have. The internal identity will come from the reflection that populations within a nation state have of themselves and their country. This includes the memory they have of their history and the nationalism they share with it. Each of these are in themselves also prioritized in the minds of the populations. External priorities, says

¹⁸ Nau, Henry. *Perspectives on international relations*. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2009). 2nd ed.

¹⁹ Nau, Henry. *Perspectives on international relations*. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2009). 2nd ed

Katzenstein²⁰, are the “historical experiences known, trade relationships had, and memberships to certain institutions and alliances.”

Regardless of the different aspects of identities and the construction of these from ideas, the most important part to focus on is that social constructivism explains that identities are constructed from the ideas that are developed from repetitive social interactions. This means that ideas can change, diverge, and converge. What this research will focus on primarily after the social construction is explained, and then the ways in which neocolonialism is active, is the changing of this phenomena through conscious change in action and policies by both parties of the process. We will call this deconstruction (which will be the main goal of this research), and thus there should be reconstruction (the remaking of this phenomena into a beneficial trade relationship).

Fanon, when writing during the Algerian struggle, focused on the effect of colonialism on the psyche of Africans. In his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, he discusses the mental health and the role of intellectuals. He puts an emphasis on the lowest classes who have the least amount of connection to the colonizer. Sometimes the native families would be so attached to their colonizer that they refused to let their children speak the native language.²¹ As we will see in the following dissection of colonialism, Fanon’s work on the psyche follows in line with constructivism.

²⁰Nau, Henry. *Perspectives on international relations*. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2009). 2nd ed.

²¹ Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove, 1963. Print.

In addition to Fanon's issues with colonialism, Cabral also had much to say about the African perspective of colonialism. He said that Africans wanted to defend rights and the true interests of the African people. Some colonizers did not adhere to UN charters and Cabral was searching for a way to re-establish human dignity among Africans. He discusses neocolonialism as indirect domination as introducing money and development of conglomerates, loss of prestige of the native ruling class, and a forced exodus. We will now look over the history of this colonialism that Fanon and Cabral witnesses and wanted so terribly to escape.²²

It has already been identified that there are three main identity changes that lead to neocolonialism. The history of imperialism on the continent, the system of education placed in Africa after decolonization, and the psychological inferiority complex developed by the populations in Africa. Before discussing the detriments of neocolonialism and the mechanisms through which it is employed, we must first go into each of these changes in depth.

The history of imperialism goes all the way back to Mesopotamia and the ancient Egypt. These do not concern the research being done here and therefore, for clarity, we will be discussing what is referred to as the "New Imperialism"²³. This refers to the expansion of European nations into the continent of Africa. Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, and Frank M. Turner²⁴ give a detailed and easy to follow explanation of imperialism in the 19th century. They begin by discussing the explosive development of science as a tipping point that allowed the Europeans to colonize so easily. The developments involving everything from agriculture to

²² Cabral, Amílcar. *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings*. New York: Monthly Review, 1979.

²³ Kagan, Donald, Steven Ozment, and Frank Turner *The western heritage*. (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2007) 9th ed.

²⁴ Kagan, Donald, Steven Ozment, and Frank Turner *The western heritage*. (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2007) 9th ed.

military weapons were a main tactic to support the spread of imperial rule. Even though the populations in Africa far outnumbered the Europeans, the force used (or threat of) allowed them to impose their will. Aside from the weapons of military use, the Europeans had another mental power used to justify their expansion, an idea of superiority in culture and civilization.

Although the doctrine of free trade, then the most dominant of all economic systems, declared that military involvement is not profitable, it occurred anyway. Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, and Britain had extensive control of lands in Africa from centuries, Britain holding onto its colonies for the longest period and were usually content to trade overseas without annexation.²⁵ It is estimated to be about ten million square miles and over 150 million people that Europe had control over during this period, a fifth of the world and a tenth of its population.

Colonialism in ancient past was usually the seizing of land and the settlement of imperial populations, or establishing major trade centers to exploit resources. These devices were not abandoned but were certainly expanded upon by the New Imperialism. The industrialized countries would now invest capital into the African nations, “developing mines, agriculture, railroads, bridges, harbors, telegraph systems and employ natives.”²⁶ The economic systems of Africa would change drastically after this due to being fed money through imperialist nations or being intimidated by them. If these tactics did not work, direct control or puppet governments would. These different ‘spheres of influence’ would receive special rights. ²⁷

²⁵Ibid

²⁶Kagan, Donald, Steven Ozment, and Frank Turner *The western heritage*. (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2007) 9th ed.

²⁷Ibid

It is probably not difficult to assume that the primary motive for imperialism was economics. The colonies offered profits from investments, markets for their products, and safe sources for raw materials.²⁸ None of these ever worked completely or even simultaneously in the ways Europeans would have liked to see, but profits were made and the process continued. However, the economic aspects of colonialism were not the only motivating factor behind their actions. Many felt it was their duty as the members of a 'superior' culture to civilize the populations of Africa whom they referred to as 'backwards people'.²⁹ Religious groups would demand that their European governments send Christian missionaries to the colonies in order to fulfill the 'white man's burden' and that they could use political or military means to achieve this end. Still other governments were motivated by the thought that having extracurricular involvement would somehow distract European populations from the domestic policies that they were unhappy with. The final motive to imperialism was that the new areas under rule of their government would attract the surplus populations of Europe. Only the Americas and Australia were actually migrated to in great amounts.³⁰

All of these motives were in full force when the European nations scrambled for African nations. When the slave trade ended in the late 1870s it ended profitable business on the coastal areas of Africa. The imperialists delved into the interior of Africa to secure raw materials. The nations eventually divided almost the entire continent amongst themselves, separating tribes and families with ridiculous boundaries drawn up without regard to these factors. Many long and short term catastrophes were a result of this division. These African societies were not exposed

²⁸Ibid

²⁹Ibid

³⁰Ibid

to new forms of social organization, market economies, and political structures that would remain with Africa even after decolonization. Negotiations over African territories took place frantically in order to avoid war and often these new lands were used as bargaining chips or kept as trophies. If European governments were not in direct control of these lands, they had a puppet leader do their rule for them. If they could not gain the national interests in these areas through investments and loans, or diplomatic pressure, force was always an option.³¹

So now it has been identified that the history of colonialism, their motives and abilities, left a devastating wreck in Africa. The construction of identities left behind from this will take decades to undo, but this is a possible feat. However, the colonial aspect is only one of three constructing phenomena that led into neocolonialism. The other two, education and the psychological inferiority complex, are also important in this discussion.

The aspect of education will be looked at from the period of decolonization forward. The main research found on this issue comes from Gladwin and Saidin in the book “Colonialism and Neocolonialism”. Much is discussed about identities and the educational system left behind from independence movements left out a major part of the African culture. Even today, the education of the ‘white man’s culture’ is held more valuable than a degree from an African university. Students during the decolonization were plunged into a degraded status and kept here for generations. 32

³¹Kagan, Donald, Steven Ozment, and Frank Turner *The western heritage*. (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2007) 9th ed.

³² Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

To begin with, the education left to Africans was still, and continues to be in some areas, a Western educational system. This system indoctrinated the populations of Africa through Western values and often comes as “made in the U.S.A. or the U.K”. Often the history of the African country and their cultural values are left out of the classroom as students learn about the American Revolution and Industrialization. This creates an identity crisis for students who do not live in a Western country but learn the values of what they will rarely see in their lifetime; capitalism. 33

Education is a powerful tool to use. It can be used for good, like to develop a country and the people within it. It can also be used for evil, such as indoctrination purposes. The truth of the matter, however, is that it is dangerous and is a construction method for populations. An American student should be able to tell you when the Declaration of Independence was signed, but cannot tell you when Iran had their last revolution. Often education is central, meaning people learn about that is utilized in their reality. Unfortunately, African students are learning about a culture they do not belong in. This hinders the development of their own nation, and also constructs false identities.³⁴ (Talk about centrality from Bledsoe’s class).

The other issue with African education is the university system. Even after decolonization, schools were segregated. Once universities were established in the different countries, they copied the Western idea of higher education. Again, the forced educational

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Ibid

system is present. It is doubtful that this is a conscious effort; however it is masked by the continued idea to ‘civilize’ the nation.³⁵

Degrees earned abroad at Western institutions hold more weight than a degree offered in Africa. Those who were granted into Western universities were carefully selected, choosing only those who would not challenge the white man’s education. Those institutions that were founded by natives were subjected to evaluations by teams of Westerners. Even today graduates may be subjected to examination by Western teams.³⁶

The essential part of this educational situation and the construction of identities that comes with it is the process of developing Africa. Universities do not make development a goal in their institutions and all the preparation that students go through to get into a Western school will distract this from this and stunts the development further. The stigma of getting a good education is a Western value now constructed into the minds of Africans. The problem here is that even if students are learning about global development in school, they are learning it in a foreign language and find it difficult to translate these ideas back to their own culture. ³⁷

Furthermore, the development goals of some universities are always backed by ulterior motives. For instance, in Nigeria the leader at the time, Chinweizu, was funded by Carnegie in 1959. The universities, which just recently started to offer PhDs was supported by Ford and US

³⁵ Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

foreign aid with the mindset that social sciences be developed to transform tribal life into urban and national life.³⁸

What is the final point of the problem with education is making the attempt to change the system. Resistance from the universities when a goal is trying to be changed is overwhelming. And example would be from Nkrumah when he tried to change the goals of education and focus on the development of national culture and identity. The University of Ghana had no support to give him and he eventually found himself alone in the battle for change towards a national identity. ³⁹

Education is a very strong method of constructing populations. It is used every day in every society. The fact is that African schools are being drenched in Western thought, hiding the continued goal to civilize the nation and creating an identity crisis. Degrees earned abroad are much more valuable, but it is near impossible to translate foreign development goals to a population of uneducated natives who have never heard these ideas before. Universities in Africa do not have goal set on the development of the nations and if they do then it is backed by political motives supported by capitalist agencies. Without universities helping the change towards nationalism and development, the continent will not see change for even longer than decades to come.

The final element of construction of neocolonialism is the psychology of inferiority. The truth of the matter is that inferiority of a race cannot be proven and in lieu of that fact can only be historically construction through the minds of people. Inferiority of a race of people is only an

³⁸ Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

³⁹ Ibid

accident of the environments created and not of some divine ruling. Many things can be attributed to races not of North European descent such as the creation of civilization, the alphabet, and the numeric systems. Art, pottery, and the use of nature in non-destructive ways are all accounted for by “non-whites”. However still, in the 21st century and before, the North European is the superior race historically. Even when testing was done between Northern African-Americans and Southern whites, it was found that the Southerner’s IQ was significantly lower. It is therefore easy to distinguish that IQ is based off the experience of education rather than the spoiled stock of a race. There are aspects that make races physically inferior such as short Chinese in playing basketball (which has been seen to be overcome), and certain races such as the Eskimos not being about to develop an immunity to smallpox or TB, but these are on a case by case study. No one race is scientifically proven to be overall inferior to another. The only way this seems to be is on a psychological account of historically construction views. The Aztec, the Jap, even the North European have all experiences their times of constructed inferiority, but none so much and so long as the African.⁴⁰

Colonial capitalist values underscore pervasive psychological distortion and dependency which is perpetuated and amplified by neocolonialism. This undermines the will of leaders to pursue a national identity. It infiltrates institutions, policies, and the minds of the people in Africa. All sectors are interlocked and improvement in one will fail without the success in all factors of development within Africa. 41

⁴⁰Estabrooks, G. H. “That question of racial inferiority” American Anthropologists.1928, 470-5

⁴¹Ibid

DETRIMENTS OF NEOCOLONIALISM

In the previous chapter we discussed social construction and the development Neocolonialism is terms of this construct. Now that there is an understanding of how this phenomenon came to be, we can discuss the different mechanisms that neocolonialism is executed by and the pillars of problems that arise because of it.

The pillars that are described in this chapter are the economic, social, political, and psychological issues derived from Africa's history and the process of neocolonialism. Sartre⁴² is the person who talks about these different pillars the best. Once the pillars have been described, we will discuss the processes and corruption of foreign aid and multinational corporations. Although there are other mechanisms of neocolonialism, this research will focus on these two aspects particularly.

The economic pillar⁴³ is one that is obvious but could use more explanation. The continent is extremely poor. One could fit all the GDP of the African countries into separate states of the United States and there would still be more money made in the U.S. To look at it in terms of the populations though is what we will try to do here. The fact of the matter is that there are 9 million people who need food, medical care, education, and clothing. Although corrupt leadership and a perpetual dependency on foreign aid hinders this, developed nations are slow to realize this is hurting rather than helping the continent as a whole. The simple problem of food, when put into context, is not so simple. 9 million people need to get fed, and how will this

⁴²Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Colonialism and neocolonialism*. (Paris, France: TJ International Ltd. 2001.)

⁴³Ibid

happen without the foreign aid dished out by developed nations? This is not even including the financial debt that many of these countries owe, being almost 25% of GDP for many of these nations!⁴⁴ We will discuss foreign aid in further depth soon.

The social problem⁴⁵ looks at the need for schools, teachers, hospitals, and doctors. For this thesis I would like to take this one step further and discuss the need for trained construction workers (to build these edifices), farms, miners, and small businesses (to support community development). This is fairly easy to recognize as it would be devastating to imagine a world without these luxuries, however many are shocked to hear that these are buildings of squalor and little training, if an area of Africa is so lucky to have one at all. The developments of these institutions are described in the following chapter. This step is crucial for the area to have control over their own resources and have the power to make their own decisions on how much those resources should cost to the international community rather than being dictated through puppet governments or developed countries.

The political problem⁴⁶ arises when you take away the goods of a population, or further more have war in a population. Who will want to take the time to vote for a leader when they are starving or are taking refuge for the life of their family and their self. People are dying from disease and war, children are being kidnapped to be indoctrinated as soldiers, and drugs are used to hold down populations during civil unrest. In order to develop a nation, the nation must want to participate in the political process as needed or else there is a lost cause even if all other

⁴⁴Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Colonialism and neocolonialism*. (Paris, France: TJ International Ltd. 2001

⁴⁵Ibid

⁴⁶Ibid

problems are solvable. The economic, social, and political problems are deeply intertwined, as we will see is also the case with the psychological problem⁴⁷.

This problem is one of complexity. Under this heading we can discuss inferiority complex, World Systems Theory, and Marxism. This is deeply embedded with the social construction of the area that we just discussed. The populations of Africa, not all but most, do have a feeling of intense dependency upon developed nations. This is not to say that they feel themselves inferior human beings to the developed nations of the world, and to anyone who did say that they should feel ashamed. The product we see here is a perpetual dependency on foreign aid, multinational corporations, and corrupt or puppet governments. This does not make the people of Africa inferior in being but rather inferior economically, socially, and politically because the development of their region is being hindered.

Foreign Aid

One aspect of foreign aid is the support the policy of the donor country. Somewhat like lobbying is how this process works. In 1957 4 billion towards a country in foreign aid would be split into several pieces for different policy supporting reasons. 2.5 billion would be in support of military aid, arms sales from the donor country to the country accepting the aid. One billion would be in support of the defense policies of the donor country, and the other .5 billion would towards support of technology and non military aid. So only half a billion dollars could arguably be used for actual aid, although this would not be likely. 48

⁴⁷Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Colonialism and neocolonialism*. (Paris, France: TJ International Ltd. 2001

⁴⁸Tendler, Judith. *Inside foreign aid* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975)

The original intentions of foreign aid were to contain communism and expand U.S. markets, undo wrongs against the third world, and feed the hungry. Even with the ‘good’ intentions of this program, it provided hidden subsidies to businessmen and sustained democracy instead.⁴⁹ Milton Friedman even stated that foreign aid would retard development and promote socialism.⁵⁰ What seems to really come from the idea of foreign aid is that it strengthens the government of the country accepting aid and not the nation itself.⁵¹ The organization adapts to constraints and is incorporated into organizational behavior. The organization attracts insensitive technicians however who have no training in development problems when the organization could really use the control of the environment itself.⁵²

What really happens is that the foreign aid is contracting bids, it gets built into the budget of countries accepting the aid, it is friendly only to leaders, and most importantly it is self-perpetuating. It keeps the nation impoverished.⁵³ With foreign aid, the debt of countries grows to almost 25% of their GDP. The aid tied to the donor country makes that country eligible to contract bids from the donor country. Aid is only given to countries that are friendly for benefits of capitalist elite, keeping corrupt leaders on both sides in power.⁵⁴ According to Julius Nyerere aid is used only to support and shape political and economic structures.⁵⁵ Foreign aid is used mostly as a weapon, food as a tool. Foreign aid blinds starts to the real causes of aid need.

⁴⁹Tendler, Judith. *Inside foreign aid* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975)

⁵⁰Ibid

⁵¹Ibid

⁵²Ibid

⁵³Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

⁵⁴Ibid

⁵⁵Ibid

Examples are family planning, elite owners give the impression that it was the populations fault rather than the fault of the program itself. 56

So the process of foreign aid is chocked full of corruption and ulterior motives. IT self-perpetuates poverty in accepting countries because it gets built into their budget. Programs that are supposedly supported by aid that fail get blamed on the populations rather than the redirection of the aid money into corruptleader's pockets. Corrupt leaders in the donor and accepting countries continue to stay in power through aid means. The aid given to these countries acts as an allowance to make bids with the donor countries for contracting. The broken system of the aid program causes more problems than it solves. A better solution would be "trade not aid". This will be discussed further in the next chapter on solutions to neocolonialism. One more aspect of foreign aid is how it is tied to multinational corporations (MNC). Very often the money that gets donated is put into MNCs to support capitalist systems. 57

Multinational Corporations

Multinational corporations that are located in countries in Africa operate in as separate technical companies usually under the laws of the country that is hosting them. However they very often suck up a lot of the capital that is centered locally, within the country they operate in. However, a lot of these countries don't even have enough capital for the needs of their own people and so the money comes from other MNCs within the nation or from foreign aid funds that are sent through the government from which the MNC originated. In the past, during colonial days, there were no laws locally or and no interests to take account for. A company in colonial days only needs to assure that the resources extracted were extracted at a low cost and

⁵⁶ Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

⁵⁷ Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

would return a large profit. Nowadays, the profits of MNCs can seldom be known because they go to separate MNCs or branches which hide profits. Often the MNC avoids taxes or ships their business somewhere where the taxes are more favorable to the corporation. Excuses are used that the profits created would hinder national interests in their home country and the profits never make it to the host country under the excuse that it would hinder the development of that nation, however without any profit reaching the country the answer is clear that it hinders development by being pushed out of the profits for their own resources. This system costs nothing to the home country however because they do at least receive some profit by assuring the materials from the extracted country and finished product.⁵⁸

The issue of foreign aid and MNCs is that the aid is channeled through them by such organizations like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, different development banks, and UN agencies. All of these are controlled and financed by governments of major powers. A significant sum of the aid money goes into infrastructure companies under the disguise of development. However these programs actually support commercial or industrial companies that develop only the MNCs. A good example here is the Volta Dam in Ghana whose bulk of hydroelectricity is put into an aluminum factory (Valco) which is a subsidiary of Kaiser Aluminum, a foreign company using the power of the Dam for its cheaper power source. This dam was financed largely by the US and Ghana's foreign exchange reserves. The factory being built was held over the heads of the government of Ghana and pressured them into offering the power of Valco. As stated before, it is common that the MNCs in the local country be the only allowed corporation to bid for contracts in that country based on the foreign aid given to the aid-

⁵⁸ Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

needing country. Then the aid money goes only towards the purchase of materials in the donor country. Not to mention that these MNCs often employ people from their own countries rather than use labor in the host country to help development as well.⁵⁹

Foreign aid and MNC corruption can go hand-in-hand with little differences here and there. These two mechanisms of neocolonialism are extremely detrimental to then nations attempting to build and develop themselves. Another aspect of the detriment in these nations is corrupt leadership.

Leadership

The elite within African nations are under immense pressure to be ‘white’ and they do so by sucking up all the wealth. There is an enormous pressure to be corruptive in this atmosphere and the corruption trickles down. Bribes at low levels are shared by elites and the circle completes. This is also a process seen in the West but the amount of money involved compared to the states in Africa, it largely goes unnoticed.

The importance of leadership cannot go unnoted. For instance, just today in Zimbabwe land is stolen from the locals and used for the government use and cholera outbreaks go ignored. In the Sudan civil war carries on and some rebel groups are supported by the leader, Omar al-Bashir. In the Congo women are raped as a tool of war and coltan fields are the cause of local violence since the resources is valuable. Diamonds cause violence, children are soldiers, and leaders steal money from the country rather than help the populations. While this thesis hasn’t researched leadership aspects as well as others within this work, it is important to note that with such situations going on in the continent now, without oversight or accountability taking place,

⁵⁹ Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

nothing can change without the help of these leaders or the change of power. Either the leaders must change or they must commit class suicide in which they give up the luxuries they have stolen to be one with their people.

The different pillars of distress draw a picture for the readers of this research to understand where the detriment of neocolonialism lies. It does, in fact, contribute to all aspects of poor living standards within the nation of Africa by affects the economic, the political, the social, and the psychology of the populations there. By continuing to have a hand in the economics of Africa, the nations colonizing the continent have in fact destroyed the development of the nation under the disguise of the attempt to help develop it. It is not completely conscious that this is happening, indeed I believe the countries do want to see the nation develop. However, subconsciously, the programs put in place to help, like foreign aid, are actually causing more problems than they are solving.

In addition, the key is to trade, not give aid. By placing multinational corporations in the continent there is another measure added to keep the countries there under the control of capitalist economic policies. This is not to assume that capitalism is an evil system designed to keep the little man down, as Marx would assume. In fact, as we will see in the following and final chapter, capitalism may be a way to help these countries develop more through by developing stronger trade agreements. The corrupt leadership, on both sides, is what keeps these broken systems in place. It is my hope that the following chapter, however utopian it may seem, can give some light to the issue at hand and a thought to those in policy making.

POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

Solutions

Gladwin states that neocolonialism has made most of the third world too dependent on foreign capital, world commodity prices, technology, and military assistance to handle their own affairs.⁶⁰ The goal to development would be to have Africa dependent upon themselves for their affairs, but in an interdependent relationship with the international community for economic livelihood. Where would the U.S. be without China? And where would Mexico be without the U.S., and so on. Economic interdependence is not a taboo issue as some political scientists like to think it is, or even some American citizens for that matter. I cannot consume products without them being made and without a job. I have an economic interdependent relationship with my workplace and with Wal-Mart. It is a fact of life and Africa is getting the short end of the stick.

Dependency Theory⁶¹ would tell us that these nations need a change, and they absolutely do, but they also need each other, other nations outside of Africa, and education to pass on their knowledge and advances to future generations. This will involve pressuring leaders and the interference of military and agency aid. Not in the sense of foreign aid or military occupations, but in the sense of development. I believe that strengthening the free market in less developed nations, removing obstacles to private international trade, and encouragement of private investments will allow a greater ability to develop that dependency on aid and the secret flow of capital from multinational corporations.

⁶⁰ Gladwin, Thomas. *Slaves of the white myth* (United States: Humanities Press Inc., 1980).

⁶¹ So, Alvin..*Social change and development: Modernization, dependency and world-system theories* (Sage Publications, Inc.1990)

Stoneman and Suckling give three lists of what nations need to do to escape from neocolonialism. At first they discuss what the nations need in order to start the process of escaping.

Nations Need⁶²

- 1) Transcend existing comparative advantage
- 2) Close-ended grant aid/debt
- 3) The state to play a large role in economics

The nation of Africa (the continent as a whole) is nowhere on the list of comparatively advantageous countries. Aside from minerals and rocks that are extracted through the use of force and the creation of conflict areas, Africa doesn't exactly specialize in anything. They also need to close the aid and begin to pay off debts. Lastly, going along with 'trade not aid', the continent needs to play a larger role financially in the international world. Next, Stoneman and Suckling have a list on how to escape neocolonialism.

Escape Neocolonialism⁶³

- 1) Have a strong central government
- 2) Reduce export dependence
- 3) Make foreign capital decisions

These three suggestions are essentially self-explanatory and in order. Without a strong government to make these important decisions, one can not follow the rest of the suggestions.

⁶²Suckling, John, and Colin Stoneman. "Apartheid to neocolonialism." *Third World Quarterly* 9 (2): (1987) 515.

⁶³Ibid

Reducing their dependence of export and having more dependence on the consumption of goods in their countries will raise not only their tax income of the state, but also the livelihood of local business. These decisions, again, cannot be made without the strong government.

Implications of Escaping⁶⁴

- 1) Rapid economic growth and capital accumulation.
- 2) Increase government expenditure and cope with costs of rapid urbanization and provisions of social income in education, health, and welfare

This last part is where the developed nations can come in. The shift from defense toward education of the continent would greatly help them develop. Education is first and foremost the most important way to help move away from detrimental policies. As we discussed in chapter one, it is the foundation of construction. However, in order to complete the above lists, Stoneman and Suckling say each country would need to save 30% or more of their GDP for this process alone! In comes the factor of over-borrowing and increased debt, not to mention a replay of the pillars discussed in chapter two.

Another process that is prominent in the field of Neocolonialism is called ‘delinking’. This is the refusal to submit to the demands of the worldwide law of values, or ‘rationality’ of the system of world prices that demand of reproduction.⁶⁵ There are two main ways to complete the ‘delinking’ process. Either through the Non-Alignment Movement, or through Pan-Africanism.

⁶⁴Suckling, John, and Colin Stoneman. “Apartheid to neocolonialism.” *Third World Quarterly* 9 (2): (1987) 515.

⁶⁵ Samir, Amin. *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World*. :London: Zed Books, 1989.

The Non-Alignment Movement(NAM) was the brainchild of the Bandung Conference\ in 1955. Twenty-nine countries, mostly newly independent, aimed to promote the Afro-Asian relationship through economic and/or cultural cooperation. At the time the US was opposed to the USSR and these countries wanted to avoid neocolonialism from either. All forms of colonialism was condemned.⁶⁶

The NAM is an intergovernmental organization of countries that, in 1961, decided not to formally align with or against any major power or bloc of powers. Currently it has 118 members and 18 observers. Kwame Nkrumah was one of the brainchildren of this movement and it was to ensure that these countries should protect themselves against all forms of foreign aggression.⁶⁷

The other way to delink is Pan-Africanism. This idea seeks to unify all the African countries and populations into ‘one African community’. The AU is the largest government body that supports this movement which reexamines the African history and culture through an African perspective.⁶⁸

I believe in a different concept of how to change the Neocolonial system. While Non-alignment is a good move to be independent, the days of the Cold War are over and there is no

⁶⁶"Malcolm Uses the 1954 Bandung Conference of African and Asian Nations as a Model for Black Unity in America." *Columbia Center for New Media Teaching and Learning | Home*. Web. 17 Apr. 2011.

<<http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/mxp/speeches/mxt26.html>>.

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ "African History - Pan-Africanism." *Stanford University Libraries & Academic Information Resources*. Web. 17 Apr. 2011. <<http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/history/hispanafrican.html>>.

one way or the other to align with. Trading does not align a country with another, it is business. While African can un-align itself, it does not solve the issues on the continent because they need to create trade relationships. What I argue neither denies or agrees with this movement, it just isn't possible to isolate trade deals and does not harm the integrity of the African continent. Pan-Africanism is something I don't see being profitable or successful in Africa. The corruption of leadership in this day and age will block this type of movement until they either die or commit class suicide and become one with the population. My improvement plan avoids the corrupt hands of leadership and can begin today if governments chose to.

What I suggest is called "Improvement Deals". They are ways that the systems do not have to change completely but can work in ways that actually help develop the nations rather than cause more implications against development. It encompassed helping local business, agricultural development, education building, training, and the creation of much-needed institutions within Africa.

Improvement Deals

The way that these improvement deals will work is through continued foreign aid programs. However, rather than the aid going into the hands of the government, there will be different ways in which the aid can help the populations directly and nations that are giving the aid can use their own contracting businesses to do so. With the aid given to the nations, we can contract businesses to build schools, hospitals, and infrastructure. The most important part about this, however, is that we will be educating the populations to learn the process of construction, teaching, and medical skills along the way.

To begin with, the donating nations take the aid they would have sent to the country anyway, but develop a private fund for local business owners instead of giving it to the government. People could apply for these funds like the lottery. When an entrepreneur ‘wins’ the funds, they have the right to build their business, improve upon their technology (by importing or buying locally), and increase their employment staff which would decrease the unemployment bracket of the continent or nation the aid went to. This is only the beginning though.

Secondly, I have been putting a lot of emphasis on trade not aid programs. This could work with aid just like the solution given above, however it could also be a deal made between two nations. Let us say that the United States want to have uranium mined from Ghana to develop their nuclear program. Rather than buying the uranium from Ghana for a monetary value, the United States would instead take the money they owe for the uranium, contract an American business, and build a school, hospital, or infrastructure setting in Ghana. It would be the hope of these deals that training would be included on site. So, when the contracting business begins to build, they will hire local populations of people to come on site and learn how the construction business works, how to construct a building, and how to begin one’s own business so that in the future they can be contracted rather than an American company, or wherever the company may have come from who donated the money. In these types of deals, continuing with the example, America now has their uranium for their program, and Ghana now has, say, a hospital for the population that they desperately needed.

Now comes the question of who works in this hospital? This continues the improvement deal. Following along with the trade, America will continue to import its uranium for the export

now of service-people. These people can come from the military, Peace Corps, doctors without borders, engineers without borders, or volunteer programs and so on. They will give classes and hands-on experience to develop the skills of local populations so that they will be able to do the same in the future. There is some fear of a “republic of NGOs” when depending highly on the work of volunteers to complete development projects in the Third World. However, this improvement deal is not meant to rely on the work of NGOs completely. It is the hope that trade barriers would be lifted to promote the “Trade Not Aid” ideals of many African intellectuals.

To conceptualize the development process, one could turn to the development of East Asia. Their focus was one of export-oriented development. Africa, being extremely rich in natural resources, should have the same outlook on developing processes which would stimulate trade. This trade, for long periods, will be met with the improvement deal of exchanging a school, hospital, infrastructure, and training. Cutting out aid to leaders could potentially help political stability arise in Africa since the money will not be pocketed and possible corruption is hindered by removing the ends (money) and therefore removing the cause for a means (oppression), giving the populations of Africa a chance to overcome the political pillar discussed in Chapter 2. The focus on education, discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 creates a primarily educated population, and the training of skilled labor among educated persons develops a demand for higher education. An educated labor force also allows for investments which would in turn raise employment and so on.

The fear that this would be a republic of NGOs is legitimate only if the NGOs were the only means in the improvement deal. They will help for potentially decades, but the NGOs will

be phased out as development and trade begins to snowball into the above explained series of events. The NGOs will be phased out by the populations of Africa who will then be skilled workers and able to train others. Once staff is fully trained, they then can turn around and teach other Africans the ‘tricks of the trade’ if you will and in theory the turnaround rate of hospital staff, teaching staff, and construction staff will develop itself. Unfortunately there is no evidence of this taking place since this is a new improvement plan. The NGOs, although in the hands of the Global North, will have to rely on accountability. Many NGOs themselves are watch-dog groups.

Although this idea may sound rather utopian, I believe that to have hope and a plan is the first step to creating a developed society. It will more than likely take decades for a system like this to reach a point that is self-sustaining. However, once it begins, the process of deconstruction and reconstruction of neocolonialism has begun. The idea is that Africa is not just some hopeless case on the map, it is indeed a continent made up of people, land, and resources valuable to the international stage. If the world continues to ignore the status of this continent, then it will continue programs that add to the detrimental situation it is in.

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This research took the positions of constructivism rather than realism or liberalism. In the next section of this thesis, we look at these two theories and discuss why they do not work in this

research. We will also discuss Marxism and the false consciousness idea he developed. Later the research will take a conclusion to what has been found and how the world can take a stance for a solution.

Realist Perspective

The realist perspective focuses on conflict and war and suggests that the international behavior is a consequence of anarchy. This makes the nation-states of the world depend on self-help in order to avoid conflicting situations. The nation-state therefore develops their military and other forms of power in order to protect their security. It is a matter of balancing power and gaining polarity that can protect the nation-state. ⁶⁹

If we were to contribute realist theory to this research, one could say that the developed nations create a balance of power system to decolonize Africa so that they may continuously extract resources at little to no cost. One could also say that foreign aid and multinational corporations also work in this system so that the continent of Africa would not rise against these systems in fight for independence.

The reason this argument does not work is because it would require a viewing of African nations attempting to build their militaries or power structures to avoid their resources being depleted at the rates they are for little to no return. Since there is no threat to security from Africa, the theory that developed nations build this status to protect their security is null.

⁶⁹Nau, Henry. *Perspectives on international relations*. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2009). 2nd ed.

Liberal Perspective

The liberal perspective⁷⁰ is interested in the process of cooperation. Conflicts can be overcome through the use of diplomacy and institutions, centralizing and legitimizing power through this idea of working together. This is to say that groups behave depending on how other groups behave towards them. There is an emphasis on interdependence here that was seen in this research. This theory argues that the more frequently states interact with each other, the friendlier they will be with each other.

To apply this perspective to neocolonial research would be to say that the institutions at work now, multinational corporations, diplomatic ties, foreign aid, should all be working perfectly for the benefit of both developed and African nations. As discussed in this research, there clearly is no success in these processes. Developed nations are not met with hostility from Africa, but treat Africa with programs hostile to the development.

Interdependence is a common ground between liberal perspective and constructivist hopes, but the interdependence itself needs to be constructed manually through improvement deals, it does not just happen on a whim because liberal perspective says it should just happen that way due to their interaction.

Marxist Theory

Marxist theory would state that the world would be in a constant state of revolutions by the oppressed (working) class unto the bourgeoisie (the upper class) until the bourgeoisie was faded out of society completely. He stated that wherever there was a capitalist expansion, the lower classes would rebel and resist against exploitation. His literal statements on the role of

⁷⁰Nau, Henry. *Perspectives on international relations*. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2009). 2nd ed.

capitalism was: “The capitalist state perpetuates the low income areas through huge state and chronic deficits...the causes changes in income distribution to benefit local elite and reliance on assistance.”⁷¹ Marx believed that there was a scientific way of explaining the seemingly ongoing exploitation of the Third World by the capitalist system. Some also argue that this was not only the fault of capitalistic systems, but also the fault of the underdeveloped areas not taking advantage of new independence.⁷² Neither of these are believed by the researcher. The constructed view of the world is that capitalist societies have all the technology, markets, and resources to sustain their development. African nations would need more extensive investments to develop even a small amount. No matter the construction of neocolonialism, the consciousness of the international community now is that there is no cutting-off support of these areas. This difference in dependency theory of Marx and the dependency I feel is taking actions is a matter of actor-structure debate. Marx feels that not only does capitalism lead to the uneven development of the Global North and South, but also that the consciousness of classes contributes to the exploitation of nations, whereas this research debates that the structure has been created to maintain this exploitation and dependency.

His theory of false consciousness, however, states that in capitalist societies the working class is blinded to the exploitation they are under. They merely continue their exploiting work in what he called the POUM, or the probability of upward movement. In this idea of Marx, the working class would support interests outside of their own in the hopes that one day they will be able to reap the benefits of the interests of the upper class.⁷³ A simply way to distinguish my

⁷¹Nau, Henry. *Perspectives on international relations*. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2009). 2nd ed.

⁷² Little, Richard, Smith, Michael: *Perspectives on World Politics*, (Longon: Routledge, 1991). 2nd ed

⁷³ Eagleton, Terry. *Ideology: An introduction*.(London: Verso. 1991).

hypothesis separated from that of the false consciousness of Marx is the following. Marx states that the populations of the nation works and sacrifices with the eventual hope of gaining capital and providing for their families. The goal to come is a happy life, retirement maybe, and a better future for the offspring of the family or generations to come. To distinguish clearly, it is the belief of the researcher that the populations of African work and sacrifice fully conscious of the fact that this hard work will not get them to a better standard of living and that the desperation of living in their regions is consistent. This leads the people of Africa to sense their inferiority to the Northern Hemisphere, therefore, rather than being falsely conscious of their position in the world, they are completely aware and it affects their identity in the world.

To apply this to the research on neocolonialism, one should expect to see continued rebellion against foreign aid and multinational corporations, as well as rebellions against the corrupt leaders there. We are just now seeing these rebellions taking place, but not on the ground of detrimental programs. Conflict areas are also on the rise, sadly civil wars continue to decimate populations, but again, not for the purposes of removing these aid programs. As far as the idea of false consciousness, it is the belief of the researcher that the people of Africa do not have an idea of POUM. It is my belief that the people of Africa are much too distracted by war, conflict, disease, lack of resources for themselves, to believe that their work day in and day out will raise their standard of living. Although they may be blinded to the exploitation there are under through these programs.

Conclusion

The abstract, proposal, and chapter one all discuss the construction of neocolonialism. This construction comes from the colonial history within Africa and for Western nations, the

educational development after independence of Africa, and the psychological aspects developed in the populations of Africa of inferiority, and the superiority complex of developed nations. No other theory discusses ideas and how they are transmitted throughout generations. It took decades of repeated actions to construct this identity for both parties.

Neocolonialism is indeed a detrimental process to the continent of Africa. The four different pillars to focus on are the economic, political, social, and psychological aspects of how this process hurts the populations of Africa. Without money or livelihood, people do not care about voting. With disease, resource depletion, and conflict, their standards of living have little hope of rising. The psychological inferiority faced by the African populations not only is constructed but reinforced through the process of neocolonialism.

Finally, there are certain ways in which this process can be reversed through deconstruction and reconstruction. Other researchers have given their suggestions on how to escape neocolonialism, but I feel that improvement deals are the best way to help reverse the process of neocolonialism. By creating a lottery within the foreign aid program, local business owners can improve their business and build their employment staff. Trading infrastructure for goods and resources skips the middle pocket of corrupt leaders and goes directly to helping develop the continent. Also, by training the people there, we are allowing a turnaround rate for future generations to help develop themselves and create a self-sustaining environment.

The other theories, realism, liberalist, and Marxist, do not provide adequate arguments for neocolonialism and indeed do not contribute a possible solution to the problems associated with it. Constructivism is the only theory that explains how and why this occurs, why it is detrimental,

and how it can be solved. It is my greatest hope that this research be developed further in oncoming years and eventually, possibly, developed within policy making.

REFERENCES

Abraham, Kinfu. 1995. *The Missing Millions: Why and how Africa is Underdeveloped Africa*. World PR.

"African History - Pan-Africanism." *Stanford University Libraries & Academic Information Resources*. Web. 17 Apr. 2011. <<http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/history/hispanafrican.html>>.

Altbach, Philip. 1971. Education and neocolonialism. *Comparative Education Review* 15 (2): 237.

Amin, Samir. 1977. *Imperialism and Unequal Development*. Monthly Review Press.

Bagchi, Amiya. 1971. The theory of efficient neocolonialism. *Economic and Political Weekly* 6 (30/32): 1669.

Cabral, Amílcar. *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings*. New York: Monthly Review, 1979.

Crist, Raymond. 1987. The pattern of neocolonialism. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 46 (2): 203.

Desai, Guarav. 2005. *Postcolonialisms: An anthology of cultural theory and criticism*. Rutgers University Press.

Eagleton, Terry. 1991. *Ideology: An introduction*. London: Verso.

Estabrooks, G. H. 1928. That questions of racial inferiority. *American Anthropologists*: 470-5.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove, 1963. Print.

Gladwin, Thomas. 1980. *Slaves of the white myth*. United States: Humanities Press Inc.

- Hanson, Margaret, and James Hentz. 1999. Neocolonialism and neoliberalism in south africa and zambia. *Political Science Quarterly* 114 (3): 479.
- Kagan, Donald, Steven Ozment, and Frank Turner. 2007. *The western heritage*. 9th ed. New Jersey: Pearson Education.
- Larrain, Jorge. 1989. *Theories of development: Capitalism, colonialism and dependency* Polity Press.
- Little, Richard and Smith, Michael. 1991: *Perspectives on World Politics*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge
- "Malcolm Uses the 1954 Bandung Conference of African and Asian Nations as a Model for Black Unity in America." *Columbia Center for New Media Teaching and Learning / Home*. Web. 17 Apr. 2011. <<http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/mxp/speeches/mxt26.html>>.
- Nau, Henry. 2009. *Perspectives on international relations*. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Nkrumah, Kwame. 1965. *Neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Inc.
- Pines, Christopher. 1993. State University of New York Press.
- Randall, Vicky, and Robin Theobald. 1998. *Political change and underdevelopment: A critical introduction to third world politics*. 2nd ed. Duke University Press.
- Rodney, Walter. 1981. *A history of the guyanese working people, 1881-1905* The John Hopkins University Press.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. 2001. *Colonialism and neocolonialism*. Paris, France: TJ International Ltd.
- Searle, John. (1995) *The Construction of Social Reality*. New York: Free Press

So, Alvin. 1990. *Social change and development: Modernization, dependency and world-system theories* Sage Publications, Inc.

Suckling, John, and Colin Stoneman. 1987. Apartheid to neocolonialism. *Third World Quarterly* 9 (2): 515.

Tendler, Judith. 1975. *Inside foreign aid*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.